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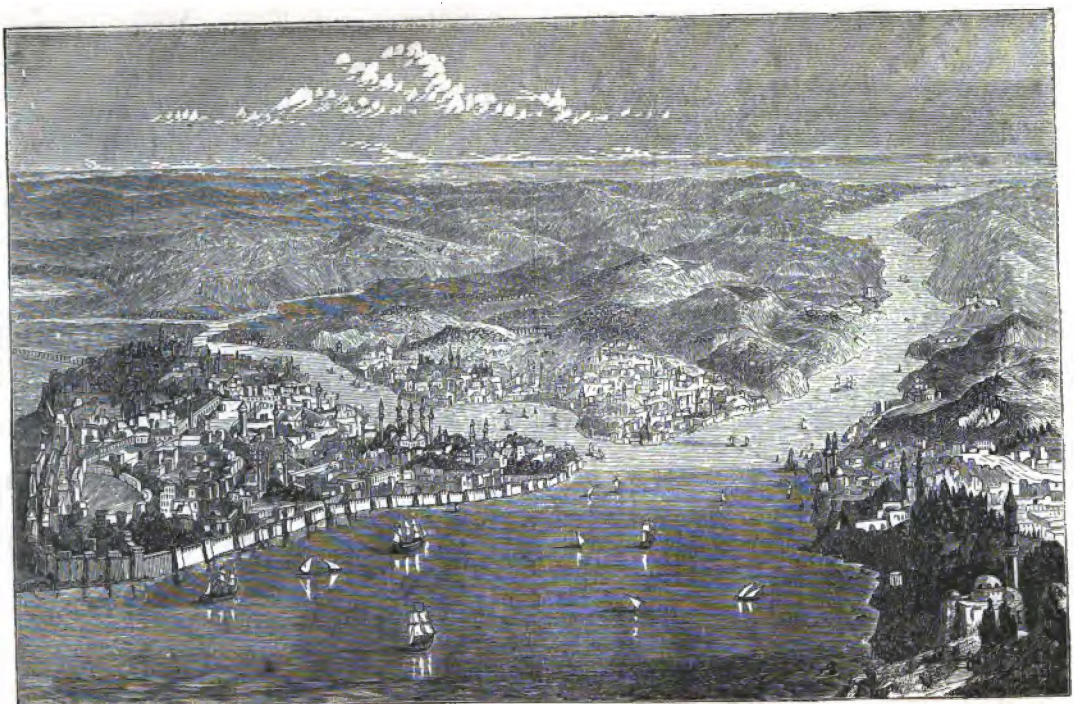

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PREFACE.

GIBBON'S Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire forms the important link between Ancient and Modern history. Its title conveys an inadequate idea of its contents. It contains nearly a complete history of the world for a period of more than twelve centuries, from the time of the Antonines to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. The decay and fall of the empire which had so long ruled the world; the progress and establishment of Christianity; the foundation of Constantinople and the history of the new empire upon the Bosporus; the invasions and settlements of the barbarians of Germany and Scythia; the legislation of Justinian and the institutions of the civil law; the life and religion of Mahomet, the conquests of the Saracens, and the glories and vicissitudes of the caliphs; the temporal sovereignty of the popes; the restoration of the Western empire by Charlemagne, and its decay under his successors; the adventures of the Normans in Italy and Sicily, almost realising the fables of romance; the Crusades of the nations of Western Europe to obtain possession of the Holy Land; the conquests of Zingis Khan, Tamerlane and the Turks; the fall of Constantinople; the state and revolutions of Rome in the middle ages: such are some of the important and interesting events narrated in Gibbon's great Work. Since the history of all ancient nations ends in that of Rome, and the history of the

modern states of Europe springs out of the Roman empire, the youthful student, after making himself acquainted with the leading facts in the histories of Greece, Rome and England, cannot employ his time more profitably than in mastering the history of the vast period comprehended in Gibbon's Work. It is mainly for the benefit of such students that the present Abridgment has been prepared: the original work is too voluminous for their purpose; and at present there is no compendious account of this period corresponding to the ordinary manuals of Greek, Roman and English history. It is believed that this Abridgment will also prove acceptable to the general reader, whose time or circumstances prevent him from studying so large a work as Gibbon's, but who wishes to make himself acquainted with some of the most memorable events in the history of man.

In drawing up the present Abridgment, it has not been my aim to make an epitome of every circumstance mentioned in the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Such an epitome would have been a comparatively easy task, and would have relieved me from much responsibility; but it would have presented little more than a dry skeleton of events, without the warmth and life which give to history its real interest and value. I have therefore treated briefly, and occasionally omitted entirely, many circumstances of inferior importance; and I have thus gained space for narrating at length, and sometimes as fully as in the original work, those grand events which have influenced the history of the world. By adopting this plan it is hoped that the present work will prove interesting as well as instructive, and will not be liable to the reproach of dulness, which is generally, and too often with justice, brought against compendious histories. It may be observed, however, that there are only few subjects in the original, which have been passed over altogether in the Abridgment. The most important omissions relate to the history of the Church, in

which Gibbon too frequently displayed the hostility he felt towards the Christian religion; but I have at the same time given some account of those ecclesiastical events which materially affected the decline and fall of the Roman empire. Thus while I have omitted entirely Gibbon's polemical dissertation on the causes of the spread of Christianity, and his account of the theological disputes of the Oriental sects, I have dwelt at some length upon the conduct of the Roman government towards the early Christians, the legal establishment of Christianity, the Arian disputes, and the quarrel in the eighth century respecting the worship of images, which produced the temporal power of the popes and the restoration of the Roman empire in the West. In treating of these subjects I have suppressed the sarcasms and inuendoes, by which, rather than by any open attacks, Gibbon sought to undermine the religion which he rejected.

It is stated on the title-page that the researches of recent commentators upon the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire are incorporated in the text of the present work. These additions are taken from my own notes and from those of Dean Milman and M. Guizot, inserted in the edition of the original work published in 1854–1855. In drawing up an Abridgment intended for younger students and general readers, it seemed desirable to interweave in the text the necessary corrections and additions, instead of distracting their attention by references to foot-notes, contradicting or modifying assertions in the text.

The illustrations have been selected with a view to instruction, and not for the sake of ornament. Most of them are very characteristic, and will convey a lively picture of the state of the arts in the different periods comprehended in the history. For several of the architectural illustrations I am indebted to Mr. Fergusson's "Handbook of Architecture;" and I have added from the same valuable authority a few remarks

upon some of the different styles of architecture. I have also much pleasure in acknowledging the important assistance I have derived from the gentlemen connected with the Medal Room of the British Museum; and my thanks are especially due to Mr. R. S. Poole, of that department, for his translation of the Arabic inscriptions upon the coins of the Abbasside and Fatimite Caliphs.

WILLIAM SMITH.

London, December, 1856.

The Genius of the Roman People, from a coin of Antoninus Pius, in the British Museum.

Medal of Pope Eugenius IV., from the British Museum. (See p. 618.)

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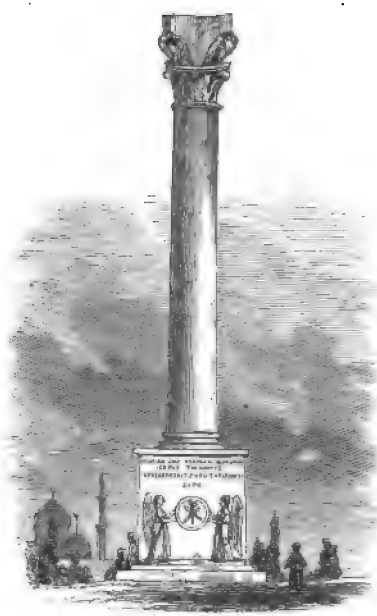
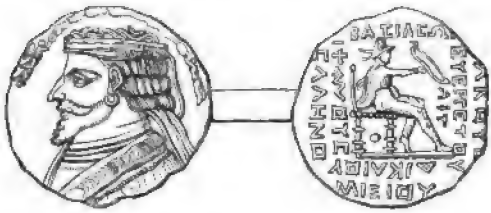


Column of the Emperor Marcian at Constantinople.



Coin of the Parthian Arsacidæ.

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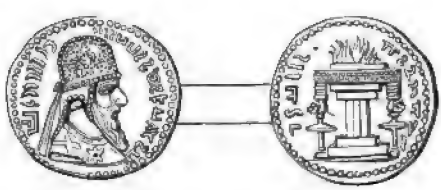
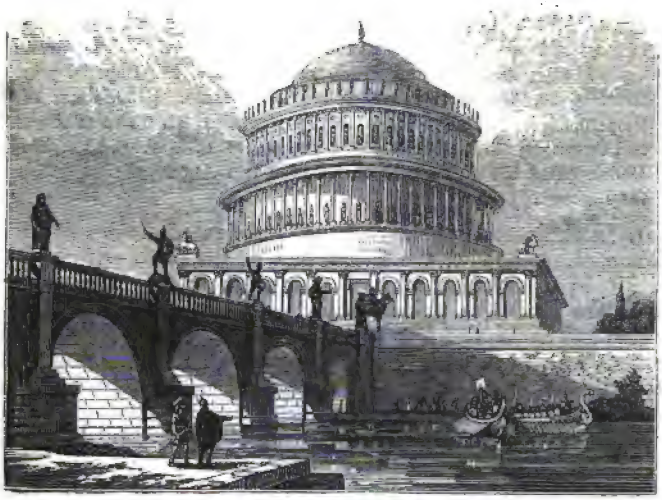


Coin of Artaxerxes, the founder of the Persian dynasty of the Sassanidæ.

Columns of Temple in the Roman Forum.

THE STUDENT'S GIBBON.



Mole of Hadrian restored.

CHAPTER I.

THE EXTENT, PROSPERITY, AND CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE IN THE AGE OF THE ANTONINES.

§ 1. Introduction § 2. Moderation of Augustus. § 3. Imitated by his successors. § 4. Conquest of Britain was the first exception to it. § 5. Conquest of Dacia, the second exception, A.D. 101–106. § 6. Conquest of Trajan in the East, A.D. 115–117: resigned by his successor Hadrian, A.D. 117. § 7. Pacific system of Hadrian and the two Antonines. § 8. Number and disposition of the Legions. § 9. View of the provinces of the Roman Empire: Italy. § 10. Western division of the European provinces: Spain, Gaul, Britain. § 11. Eastern division of the European provinces: Rhætia, Noricum and Pannonia, Mœsia and Dacia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Achaia. § 12. Asiatic provinces: Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnecia, and Palestine. § 13. Egypt. § 14. Africa. § 15. The Mediterranean, with its islands. § 16. General idea of the Roman Empire. § 17. Italy and the provinces. § 18. Colonies and municipal towns. § 19. Division of the Latin and Greek provinces. § 20. General use of both

languages. § 21. Populousness of the Roman Empire. § 22. Obedience and union. § 23. System of the Imperial government: image of civil liberty for the people, and image of civil government for the armies. § 24. Augustus takes the title of *Princeps*, but receives the command of the army and the government of the provinces under the names of *Imperator* and *Proconsul:* division of the provinces between the Emperor and the Senate. § 25. Augustus reserves his military command and guards in Rome itself. § 26. He receives the *Consular* and *Tribunitian* powers: is made *Pontifex Maximus* and *Præfectus Morum.* § 27. Imperial prerogatives. § 28. The Magistrates. § 29. The Senate. § 30. Court of the Emperors. § 31. Deification of the Emperors. § 32. Titles of Augustus and Cæsar. § 33. Designation of a successor: of Tiberius, Titus, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines. § 34. The two Antonines: happiness of the Romans..

§ 1. IN the second century of the Christian æra, the empire of Rome comprehended the fairest part of the earth, and the most civilized portion of mankind. During a happy period of more than fourscore years the public administration was conducted by the virtue and abilities of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines. It is the design of this chapter to describe the prosperous condition of their empire; and afterwards, from the death of Marcus Aurelius, to deduce the most important circumstances of its decline and fall: a revolution which will ever be remembered, and is still felt by the nations of the earth.

§ 2. The principal conquests of the Romans were achieved under the republic; but it was reserved for Augustus to relinquish the ambitious design of subduing the whole earth, and to introduce a spirit of moderation into the public councils. On the death of that emperor, his testament was publicly read in the senate. He bequeathed, as a valuable legacy to his successors, the advice of confining the empire within those limits which nature seemed to have placed as its permanent bulwarks and boundaries: on the west the Atlantic Ocean; the Rhine and Danube on the north; the Euphrates on the east; and towards the south the sandy deserts of Arabia and Africa.

§ 3. Happily for the repose of mankind, the moderate system recommended by the wisdom of Augustus was adopted by the fears and vices of his immediate successors; and the (§ 4) only accession which the Roman empire received during the first century of the Christian æra was the province of Britain. After a war of about forty years, undertaken by the most stupid, maintained by the most dissolute, and terminated by the most timid of all the emperors,* the far greater part of the island submitted to the Roman yoke.

§ 5. The accession of Trajan interrupted the peaceful system of

* Claudius, Nero, and Domitian.

his predecessors. That virtuous and active prince had received the education of a soldier, and possessed the talents of a general. His first exploits were against the Dacians, who dwelt beyond the Danube, and who, during the reign of Domitian, had insulted, with impunity, the majesty of Rome. Decebalus, the Dacian king, approved himself a rival not unworthy of Trajan; but this memorable war was terminated, after lasting five years, by an absolute submission of the barbarians. The new province of Dacia, which formed a second exception to the precept of Augustus, was bounded by the Dniester, the Theiss or Tibiscus, the Lower Danube, and the Euxine Sea.*

§ 6. Trajan next turned his arms against the nations of the East. The degenerate Parthians, broken by intestine discord, fled before him. He descended the river Tigris in triumph, from the mountains of Armenia to the Persian Gulf. Every day the astonished senate received the intelligence of new names and new nations that acknowledged his sway. They were informed that the kings of Bosporus, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Osrhoëne, and even the Parthian monarch himself, had accepted their diadems from the hands of the emperor; that the independent tribes of the Median and Carduchian hills had implored his protection; and that the rich countries of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria were reduced into the state of provinces. But the death of Trajan soon clouded the splendid prospect, and his successor Hadrian wisely resolved to surrender these eastern conquests. He restored to the Parthians the election of an independent sovereign; withdrew the Roman garrisons from the provinces of Armenia, Mesopotamia,

* The column of Trajan, which is figured on this page, still stands at Rome, and is the finest monument of the kind in the world. The height of the column, including the pedestal, is 127½ English feet. Round the column runs a spiral band of admirable reliefs, representing the wars of Trajan against Decebalus, and containing no fewer than 2500 human figures.

and Assyria; and, in compliance with the precept of Augustus, once more established the Euphrates as the frontier of the empire.

§ 7. The general system of Augustus was uniformly pursued by Hadrian and by the two Antonines. They persisted in the design of maintaining the dignity of the empire, without attempting to enlarge its limits. The reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius were scarcely disturbed by any hostilities, and offer the fair prospect of universal peace; but Marcus Aurelius had to defend the frontiers of the empire against the Parthians and the Germans, over whom he and his generals obtained many signal victories, both on the Euphrates and on the Danube.

§ 8. These emperors still maintained the valor and discipline of the Roman legions, at a time when every other virtue was oppressed by luxury and despotism. The legion, which was itself a body of 6831 Romans, might, with its attendant auxiliaries, amount to about 12,500 men. The peace establishment of Hadrian and his successors was composed of no less than 30 of these formidable brigades; and most probably formed a standing force of 375,000 men. Instead of being confined within the walls of fortified cities, the legions were encamped on the banks of the great rivers, and along the frontiers of the barbarians. As their stations, for the most part, remained fixed and permanent, we may venture to describe the distribution of the troops. Three legions were sufficient for Britain. The principal strength lay upon the Rhine and Danube, and consisted of sixteen legions, in the following proportions; two in the Lower and three in the Upper Germany; one in Rhætia, one in Noricum, four in Pannonia, three in Mœsia, and two in Dacia. The defence of the Euphrates was intrusted to eight legions, six of whom were planted in Syria, and the other two in Cappadocia. With regard to Egypt, Africa, and Spain, as they were far removed from any important scene of war, a single legion maintained the domestic tranquillity of each of those great provinces. Even Italy was not left destitute of a military force. Above 20,000 chosen soldiers, distinguished by the titles of City Cohorts and Prætorian Guards, watched over the safety of the monarch and the capital. As the authors of almost every revolution that distracted the empire, the Prætorians will, very soon, demand our attention; but in their arms and institutions we cannot find any circumstance which discriminated them from the legions, unless it were a more splendid appearance, and a less rigid discipline.

§ 9. The dominions of the Roman Emperors consisted of Italy and the provinces, and comprised various countries once united under their sway, but at present divided into many independent states. Before the Roman conquest the country which is now called Lombardy was not considered as a part of Italy. It had been occu-

pied by a powerful colony of Gauls, who carried their arms and diffused their name from the Alps to the Apennines. The Ligurians dwelt on the rocky coast which once formed the republic of Genoa, and now belongs to the kingdom of Sardinia. The middle part of the peninsula, that now composes the duchy of Tuscany and the ecclesiastical states, was the ancient seat of the Etruscans and Umbrians. The Tiber rolled at the foot of the seven hills of Rome, and the country of the Sabines, the Latins, and the Volsci, from that river to the frontiers of Naples, was the theatre of her infant victories. Capua and Campania possessed the immediate territory of Naples; the rest of the kingdom was inhabited by many warlike nations, the Marsi, the Samnites, the Apulians, and the Lucanians; and the sea-coasts had been covered by the flourishing colonies of the Greeks.

§ 10. Spain, the western extremity of the empire, of Europe, and of the ancient world, has, in every age, invariably preserved the same natural limits; the Pyrenæan mountains, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic Ocean. That great peninsula, at present so unequally divided between two sovereigns, was distributed by Augustus into three provinces, Lusitania, Bætica, and Tarraconensis. The kingdom of Portugal now fills the place of the warlike country of the Lusitanians. The confines of Grenada and Andalusia correspond with those of ancient Bætica. The remainder of Spain contributed to form the third and most considerable of the Roman governments, which, from the name of its capital, was styled the province of Tarragona.

Ancient Gaul, as it contained the whole country between the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine, and the ocean, was of greater extent than modern France. The sea-coast of the Mediterranean, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, received their provincial appellation from the colony of Narbonne. The government of Aquitaine was extended from the Pyrenees to the Loire. The country between the Loire and the Seine was styled the Celtic Gaul, and soon borrowed a new denomination from the celebrated colony of Lugdunum, or Lyons. The Belgic lay beyond the Seine, and in more ancient times had been bounded only by the Rhine; but a little before the age of Cæsar, the Germans, abusing their superiority of valor, had occupied a considerable portion of the Belgic territory. The Roman conquerors very eagerly embraced so flattering a circumstance, and the Gallic frontier of the Rhine from Basel to Leyden received the pompous names of the Upper and the Lower Germany. Such, under the reign of the Antonines, were the six provinces of Gaul; the Narbonnese, Aquitaine, the Celtic or Lyonnese, the Belgic, and the two Germanies.

Britain comprehended all England, Wales, and the Lowlands of Scotland as far as the friths of Dumbarton and Edinburgh. Between

these friths Agricola erected a line of forts, and a general of Antoninus Pius constructed a rampart of turf, usually called the wall of Antoninus Pius; but the more usual boundary of the Roman dominions in Britain was the stone wall built by Hadrian and extending from the Solway to the mouth of the Tyne. The space between this wall and that of Antoninus was held by a precarious tenure, and was frequently in the possession of the unconquered Caledonians. Spain, Gaul, and Britain constituted the western division of the European provinces.

§ 11. The provinces of the Danube, which formed the eastern division of the European provinces, soon acquired the general appellation of Illyricum, or the Illyrian frontier, and were esteemed the most warlike of the empire; but they deserve to be more particularly considered under the names of Rhætia, Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Dacia, Mœsia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece.

The province of Rhætia extended from the summit of the Alps to the banks of the Danube, from its source as far as its conflux with the Inn. The greatest part of the flat country is subject to the king of Bavaria; the Grisons are safe in their mountains; and the country of Tyrol is ranked among the numerous provinces of the house of Austria.

The wide extent of territory which is included between the Inn, the Danube, and the Save—Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Lower Hungary, and Slavonia—was known to the ancients under the names of Noricum and Pannonia. They now form the centre, as well as strength, of the Austrian power.

Dalmatia, to which the name of Illyricum more properly belonged, was a long but narrow tract between the Save and the Adriatic. The best part of the sea-coast, which still retains its ancient appellation, is a province of Austria. The inland parts have assumed the Slavonian names of Croatia and Bosnia; the former obeys an Austrian governor, the latter a Turkish Pasha; but the whole country is still infested by tribes of barbarians, whose savage independence irregularly marks the doubtful limit of the Christian and Mahometan power.

The Danube formerly divided Mœsia and Dacia, the latter of which, as we have already seen, was a conquest of Trajan, and the only province beyond the river. If we inquire into the present state of those countries we shall find that, on the left hand of the Danube, Temesvar and Transylvania have been annexed, after many revolutions, to the crown of Hungary; while the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia acknowledge the supremacy of the Ottoman Porte. On the right hand of the Danube, Mœsia, which during the middle ages was broken into the barbarian kingdoms of Servia and Bulgaria, is again united in Turkish slavery.

The appellation of Roumelia, which is still bestowed by the Turks on the extensive countries of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, preserves the memory of their ancient state under the Roman empire. In the time of the Antonines the martial regions of Thrace, from the mountains of Hæmus and Rhodope to the Bosporus and the Hellespont, had assumed the form of a province. The kingdom of Macedonia, which, under the reign of Alexander, gave laws to Asia, had long been a province of the Roman empire. Greece, from the superior influence of the Achæan league at the time of its conquest, was usually denominated the province of Achaia.

§ 12. Such was the state of Europe under the Roman emperors. The provinces of Asia are all comprehended within the limits of the Turkish power. In Asia Minor the most extensive and flourishing district westward of mount Taurus and the river Halys was dignified by the Romans with the exclusive title of Asia. The jurisdiction of that province extended over the ancient monarchies of Troy, Lydia, and Phrygia, the maritime countries of the Pamphylians, Lycians, and Carians, and the Grecian colonies of Ionia, which equalled in arts, though not in arms, the glory of their parent. The kingdoms of Bithynia and Pontus possessed the northern side of the peninsula from Constantinople to Trebizond. On the opposite side the province of Cilicia was terminated by the mountains of Syria: the inland country, separated from the Roman Asia by the river Halys, and from Armenia by the Euphrates, had once formed the independent kingdom of Cappadocia.

Syria formed the eastern frontier of the empire: nor did that province, in its utmost latitude, know any other bounds than the mountains of Cappadocia to the north, and, toward the south, the confines of Egypt and the Red Sea. Phœnicia and Palestine were sometimes annexed to, and sometimes separated from, the jurisdiction of Syria.

§ 13. The geographers of antiquity have frequently hesitated to what portion of the globe they should ascribe Egypt. By its situation that celebrated kingdom is included within the immense peninsula of Africa; but it is accessible only on the side of Asia, whose revolutions, in almost every period of history, Egypt has humbly obeyed. A Roman præfect was seated on the splendid throne of the Ptolemies. The Nile flows down the country above 500 miles, from the tropic of Cancer to the Mediterranean, and marks on either side the extent of fertility by the measure of its inundations. Cyrene, situate towards the west and along the sea-coast, was first a Greek colony, afterwards a province of Egypt, and is now lost in the desert of Barca.

§ 14. From Cyrene to the ocean the coast of Africa extends above 1500 miles; yet so closely is it pressed between the Mediterranean

and the Sahara, or sandy desert, that its breadth seldom exceeds fourscore or an hundred miles. The eastern division, which was the seat of the Carthaginian empire, was considered by the Romans as the more peculiar and proper province of Africa. This was the province of Numidia, once the kingdom of Masinissa and Jugurtha, but now a dependency of the French empire. In the time of Augustus the limits of Numidia were contracted; and at least two-thirds of the country acquiesced in the name of Mauritania, with the epithet of Cæsariensis. The genuine Mauritania, or country of the Moors, was distinguished by the appellation of Tingitana, from the ancient city of Tingi, or Tangier.

§ 15. Having now finished the circuit of the Roman empire, we may observe that Africa is divided from Spain by a narrow strait of about twelve miles, through which the Atlantic flows into the Mediterranean. The Columns of Hercules, so famous among the ancients, were two mountains which seemed to have been torn asunder by some convulsion of the elements; and at the foot of the European mountain the fortress of Gibraltar is now seated. The whole extent of the Mediterranean Sea, its coasts, and its islands, were comprised within the Roman dominion. Of the larger islands, the two Baleares, which derive their names of Majorca and Minorca from their respective size, are subject at present to Spain. Corsica is now a department of France. Two Italian sovereigns assume a regal title from Sardinia and Sicily. Crete and Cyprus, and the smaller islands of Asia, are subject to Turkey; but the islands in the western part of the Ægean form part of the new kingdom of Greece.

§ 16. This long enumeration of provinces, whose broken fragments have formed so many powerful kingdoms, might almost induce us to forgive the vanity or ignorance of the ancients, who confounded the Roman monarchy with the globe of the earth. But we may form a juster image of the greatness of Rome by observing that the empire was above 2000 miles in breadth from the wall of Antoninus and the northern limits of Dacia to Mount Atlas and the tropic of Cancer; that it extended in length more than 3000 miles, from the Western Ocean to the Euphrates; that it was situated in the finest part of the temperate zone, between the 24th and 56th degrees of northern latitude; and that it was supposed to contain above sixteen hundred thousand square miles, for the most part of fertile and well-cultivated land.

§ 17. It has been already said that the Roman empire consisted of Italy and the provinces; an important distinction was preserved between them till the privileges of Romans were extended to all the inhabitants of the empire. Italy was esteemed the centre of public unity, and the firm basis of the constitution. The estates

of the Italians were exempt from taxes, their persons from the arbitrary jurisdiction of governors. Their municipal corporations, formed after the perfect model of the capital, were intrusted, under the immediate eye of the supreme power, with the execution of the laws. From the foot of the Alps to the extremity of Calabria all the natives of Italy were born citizens of Rome. Their partial distinctions were obliterated, and they insensibly coalesced into one great nation, united by language, manners, and civil institutions. The republic gloried in her generous policy, and was frequently rewarded by the merit and services of her adopted sons. Had she always confined the distinction of Romans to the ancient families within the walls of the city, that immortal name would have been deprived of some of its noblest ornaments. Virgil was a native of Mantua; Horace was inclined to doubt whether he should call himself an Apulian or a Lucanian: it was in Padua that an historian was found worthy to record the majestic series of Roman victories. The patriot family of the Catos emerged from Tusculum; and the little town of Arpinum claimed the double honor of producing Marius and Cicero.

The provinces of the empire were destitute of any public force or constitutional freedom. The public authority was everywhere exercised by the ministers of the senate and of the emperors, and that authority was absolute and without control. But the same salutary maxims of government, which had secured the peace and obedience of Italy, were extended to the most distant conquests. A nation of Romans was gradually formed in the provinces, by the double expedient of introducing colonies, and of admitting the most faithful and deserving of the provincials to the freedom of Rome.

§ 18. "Wheresoever the Roman conquers, he inhabits," is a very just observation of Seneca,* confirmed by history and experience. Throughout the empire, but more particularly in the western parts, the most fertile districts, and the most convenient situations, were reserved for the establishment of colonies; some of which were of a civil, and others of a military nature. In their manners and internal policy the colonies formed a perfect representation of their great parent; and as they were soon endeared to the natives by the ties of friendship and alliance, they effectually diffused a reverence for the Roman name. The right of Latium, as it was called, conferred on the cities to which it had been granted a more partial favour. The magistrates only, at the expiration of their office, assumed the quality of Roman citizens; but as those offices were annual, in a few years they circulated round the principal families.

* Seneca in Consolat. ad Helviam, c. 7.

Those of the provincials who were permitted to bear arms in the legions; those who exercised any civil employment; all, in a word, who performed any public service or displayed any personal talents, were rewarded with the Roman citizenship. Even in the age of the Antonines, when the freedom of the city had been bestowed on the greater number of their subjects, it was still accompanied with very solid advantages. The bulk of the people acquired, with that title, the benefit of the Roman laws, particularly in the interesting articles of marriage, testaments, and inheritances; and the road of fortune was open to those whose pretensions were seconded by favour or merit.

§ 19. So sensible were the Romans of the influence of language over national manners, that it was their most serious care to extend, with the progress of their arms, the use of the Latin tongue. The ancient dialects of Italy, the Sabine, the Etruscan, and the Venetian, sunk into oblivion; but in the provinces, the East was less docile than the West to the voice of its victorious preceptors. This obvious difference marked the two portions of the empire with a distinction of colours, which, though it was in some degree concealed during the meridian splendour of prosperity, became gradually more visible as the shades of night descended upon the Roman world. The western countries were civilized by the same hands which subdued them. The language of Virgil and Cicero was almost universally adopted in Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Pannonia. Education and study insensibly inspired the natives of those countries with the sentiments of Romans; and Italy gave fashions, as well as laws, to her Latin provincials. The situation of the Greeks was very different from that of the barbarians. The former had been long since civilized and corrupted. They had too much taste to relinquish their language, and too much vanity to adopt any foreign institutions. Nor was the influence of the Grecian language and sentiments confined to the narrow limits of that once celebrated country. Their empire, by the progress of colonies and conquest, had been diffused from the Adriatic to the Euphrates and the Nile. Asia was covered with Greek cities, and the long reign of the Macedonian kings had introduced a silent revolution into Syria and Egypt. Such was the general division of the Roman empire into the Latin and Greek languages.

§ 20. It is a just though trite observation, that victorious Rome was herself subdued by the arts of Greece. But the elegant amusements of the Romans were not suffered to interfere with the sound maxims of policy. Whilst they acknowledged the charms of the Greek, they asserted the dignity of the Latin tongue, and the exclusive use of the latter was inflexibly maintained in the administration of civil as well as military government. The two lan-

guages exercised at the same time their separate jurisdiction throughout the empire: the former, as the natural idiom of science; the latter, as the legal dialect of public transactions. Those who united letters with business were equally conversant with both; and it was almost impossible, in any province, to find a Roman subject, of a liberal education, who was at once a stranger to the Greek and to the Latin language.

§ 21. The number of subjects who acknowledged the laws of Rome, of citizens, of provincials, and of slaves, cannot be fixed with accuracy. We are informed that, when the emperor Claudius exercised the office of censor, he took an account of 6,945,000 Roman citizens, who, with the proportion of women and children, must have amounted to about twenty millions of souls. The multitude of subjects of an inferior rank was uncertain and fluctuating. But, after weighing with attention every circumstance which could influence the balance, it seems probable that there existed in the time of Claudius about twice as many provincials as there were citizens, of either sex and of every age; and that the slaves were at least equal in number to the free inhabitants of the Roman world. The total amount of this imperfect calculation would rise to about one hundred and twenty millions of persons.

§ 22. Domestic peace and union were the natural consequences of the moderate and comprehensive policy embraced by the Romans. The vanquished nations, blended into one great people, resigned the hope, nay even the wish, of resuming their independence, and scarcely considered their own existence as distinct from the existence of Rome. The established authority of the emperors pervaded without an effort the wide extent of their dominions, and was exercised with the same facility on the banks of the Thames, or of the Nile, as on those of the Tiber. The legions were destined to serve against the public enemy, and the civil magistrate seldom required the aid of a military force.

§ 23. The system of the Imperial government, as it was instituted by Augustus and maintained by those princes who understood their own interests and that of the people, may be defined an absolute monarchy disguised by the forms of a commonwealth. Augustus wished to deceive the people by an image of civil liberty, and the armies by an image of civil government. He was sensible that mankind is governed by names; nor was he deceived in his expectation that the senate and people would submit to slavery, provided they were respectfully assured that they still enjoyed their ancient freedom. A feeble senate and enervated people cheerfully acquiesced in the pleasing illusion, as long as it was supported by the virtue, or by even the prudence, of the successors of Augustus. It was a motive of self-preservation, not a principle of

liberty, that animated the conspirators against Caligula, Nero, and Domitian. They attacked the person of the tyrant without aiming their blow at the authority of the emperor. The insolence of the armies inspired Augustus with fears of a still more alarming nature. The despair of the citizens could only attempt what the power of the soldiers was, at any time, able to execute. Augustus summoned to his aid whatever remained in those fierce minds of Roman prejudices; enforced the rigour of discipline by the sanction of law; and, interposing the majesty of the senate between the emperor and the army, boldly claimed their allegiance as the first magistrate of the republic.

§ 24. Augustus declined the names of King and Dictator, and was content with the modest title of PRINCEPS,* or Prince of the Senate, which had been always conferred by the censors on the citizen the most eminent for his honours and services. But this title conferred no power; and the crafty tyrant received from the senate the general command of the Roman armies, and the government of the provinces, under the well-known names of IMPERATOR and PROCONSUL. Under the republic *Imperator* was no more than *general*, and was emphatically bestowed by the soldiers, when on the field of battle they proclaimed their victorious leader worthy of that title. It was then placed after his name with the number of his victory, and in this, the republican sense, Augustus was imperator twenty-one times.† But the title, as now conferred upon the senate by Augustus, was prefixed to his name,‡ and was so borne by all succeeding emperors. As *Proconsul*, Augustus possessed the *Imperium Consulare*, which placed in his hands the government of all the provinces in the empire. But after receiving this extensive power, he resolved to gratify the pride of the senate by an easy sacrifice. He retained the command of the provinces on the frontiers, which required the presence of an army; but he restored to the senate the administration of the more peaceful and secure provinces. Hence arose a distinction which lasted to the latest times, between the *Provinces of the Senate* and the *Provinces of the Cæsar*, as those of the emperor were called. The former were governed by Proconsuls, chosen by lot from among those who had been previously consuls or prætors; the latter were governed by the *Legati*, or lieutenants of the emperor, who were nominated by the emperor himself, and continued in the administration of the provinces as long as he pleased. The emperor however delegated

* Non regno neque dictatura, sed principis nomine constitutam rempublicam. Tacit. Annal. i. 9. Tu (Romule) domini nomen, *principis* ille (Augustus) tenet. Ovid, Fasti, ii., 412.

† Nomen imperatoris semel atque vicies partum. Tacit. Annal. i. 9.

‡ Prænomen Imperatoris. Suet. Tiber. c. 26.

his power to the members of the senate; and his lieutenants were always of consular or prætorian dignity. There was another kind of imperial provinces, which on account of the nature of the country, the character of the inhabitants, or other causes, such as the Alpine districts, Judæa and Egypt, could not readily receive the provincial form and be administered according to Roman laws. Accordingly these countries were treated as if they were the private domains of the emperor, and were administered by his stewards, who bore in other provinces the title of *Procuratores*, but in Egypt, that of *Præfectus*. This Præfectus was always a Roman knight, and was the only important trust not committed to a senator. Yet the authority of the senate even in their own provinces was more nominal than real. A law was passed, that, wherever the emperor was present, his extraordinary commission should supersede the ordinary jurisdiction of the governor; a custom was introduced, that the new conquests belonged to the imperial portion; and it was soon discovered that the authority of the *Prince*, the favourite epithet of Augustus, was the same in every part of the empire.

§ 25. In return for this imaginary concession, Augustus obtained an important privilege, which rendered him master of Rome and Italy. By a dangerous exception to the ancient maxims, he was authorised to preserve his military command, supported by a numerous body of guards, even in time of peace, and in the heart of the capital. His command, indeed, was confined to those citizens who were engaged in the service by the military oath; but such was the propensity of the Romans to servitude, that the oath was voluntarily taken by the magistrates, the senators, and the equestrian order, till the homage of flattery was insensibly converted into an annual and solemn protestation of fidelity.

§ 26. Although Augustus considered a military force as the firmest foundation, he wisely rejected it as a very odious instrument, of government. It was more agreeable to his temper, as well as to his policy, to reign under the venerable names of the ancient magistracy, and artfully to collect in his own person all the scattered rays of civil jurisdiction. With this view he permitted the senate to confer upon him, for his life, the powers of the consular and tribunitian offices, which were, in the same manner, continued to all his successors. The emperors never called themselves tribunes, but the *Tribunitia Potestas*, which was conferred upon them, secured to them all the rights and privileges of the ancient tribunes,—the inviolability of their persons, the *Intercessio*, or right of putting a veto upon the resolutions of the senate and the people, and the power of convening their meetings.

Upon the death of Lepidus, Augustus assumed the title of Pontifex Maximus, or Supreme Pontiff, which gave him the manage-

ment of the Roman religion, and this important dignity was borne by all his successors. Although he did not assume the title of Censor, yet under the name of PRÆFECTUS MORUM he possessed all the powers of the office, and exercised an inspection over the manners and fortunes of the Roman people.

§ 27. If so many distinct and independent powers did not exactly unite with each other, the complaisance of the senate was prepared to supply every deficiency by the most ample and extraordinary concessions. The emperors, as the first ministers of the republic, were exempted from the obligation and penalty of many inconvenient laws: they were authorised to convoke the senate, to make several motions in the same day, to recommend candidates for the honours of the state, to enlarge the bounds of the city, to employ the revenue at their discretion, to declare peace and war, to ratify treaties; and by a most comprehensive clause, they were empowered to execute whatsoever they should judge advantageous to the empire, and agreeable to the majesty of things private or public, human or divine.

§ 28. When all the various powers of executive government were committed to the *Imperial magistrate*, the ordinary magistrates of the commonwealth languished in obscurity, without vigour, and almost without business. The names and forms of the ancient administration were preserved by Augustus with the most anxious care. The usual number of consuls, prætors, and tribunes, were annually invested with their respective ensigns of office, and continued to discharge some of their least important functions. Those honours still attracted the vain ambition of the Romans; and the emperors themselves, though invested for life with the powers of the consulship, frequently aspired to the title of that annual dignity, which they condescended to share with the most illustrious of their fellow-citizens. During the reign of Augustus these magistrates continued to be elected by the people; but upon the accession of Tiberius the elections were transferred to the senate. The assemblies of the people were forever abolished, and the emperors were delivered from a dangerous multitude, who, without restoring liberty, might have disturbed, and perhaps endangered, the established government.

§ 29. Augustus and his successors founded their new empire upon the dignity of the senate. In the administration of their own powers they frequently consulted the great national council, and *seemed* to refer to its decision the most important concerns of peace and war. Rome, Italy, and the internal provinces, were subject to the immediate jurisdiction of the senate. With regard to civil objects, it was the supreme court of appeal; with regard to criminal matters, a tribunal, constituted for the trial of all offences that were

committed by men in any public station, or that affected the peace and majesty of the Roman people. The exercise of the judicial power became the most frequent and serious occupation of the senate; and the important causes that were pleaded before them afforded a last refuge to the spirit of ancient eloquence. As a council of state, and as a court of justice, the senate possessed very considerable prerogatives; but in its legislative capacities, in which it was supposed virtually to represent the people, the rights of sovereignty were acknowledged to reside in that assembly. Every power was derived from their authority, every law was ratified by their sanction. Their regular meetings were held on three stated days in every month, the Calends, the Nones, and the Ides. The debates were conducted with decent freedom; and the emperors themselves, who gloried in the name of senators, sat, voted, and divided with their equals.

§ 30. The face of the court corresponded with the forms of the administration. The emperors, if we except those tyrants whose capricious folly violated every law of nature and decency, disdained that pomp and ceremony which might offend their countrymen, but could add nothing to their real power. In all the offices of life they affected to confound themselves with their subjects, and maintained with them an equal intercourse of visits and entertainments. Their habit, their palace, their table, were suited only to the rank of an opulent senator. Their family, however numerous or splendid, was composed entirely of their domestic slaves and freedmen. Augustus or Trajan would have blushed at employing the meanest of the Romans in those menial offices which, in the household and bedchamber of a limited monarch, are so eagerly solicited by the proudest nobles of Britain.

§ 31. The deification of the emperors is the only instance in which they departed from their accustomed prudence and modesty. A regular custom was introduced, that, on the decease of every emperor, the senate by a solemn decree should place him in the number of the gods: and the ceremonies of his apotheosis were blended with those of his funeral.

§ 32. In the consideration of the Imperial government, we have frequently mentioned the artful founder under his well-known title of Augustus. The obscure name of Octavianus he derived from a mean family in the little town of Aricia. The illustrious surname of Cæsar he had assumed as the adopted son of the dictator. The title of Augustus was conferred upon him by the senate as expressive of the character of peace and sanctity which he uniformly affected. *Augustus* was therefore a personal, *Cæsar* a family distinction. The former should naturally have expired with the prince on whom it was bestowed; and however the latter was diffused by adoption and

female alliance, Nero was the last prince who could allege any hereditary claim to the honours of the Julian line. But, at the time of his death, the practice of a century had inseparably connected those appellations with the Imperial dignity, and they were preserved by a long succession of emperors—Romans, Greeks, Franks, and Germans—from the fall of the republic to the time of Napoleon. A distinction was, however, soon introduced. The sacred title of Augustus was always reserved for the monarch, whilst the name of Cæsar was more freely communicated to his relations; and, from the reign of Hadrian, at least, was appropriated to the second person in the state, who was considered as the presumptive heir of the empire.

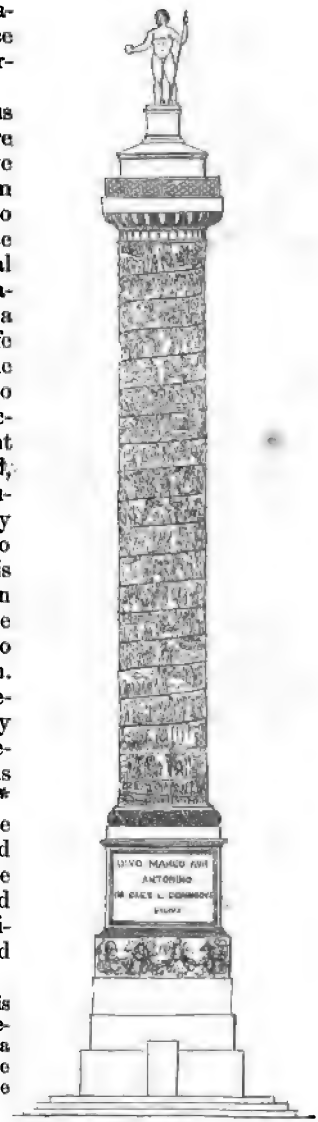
§ 33. In elective monarchies the vacancy of the throne is a moment big with danger and mischief. The Roman emperors invested their designed successor with so large a share of present power, as should enable him, after their decease, to assume the remainder without suffering the empire to perceive the change of masters. Thus Augustus obtained for Tiberius authority equal to his own over the provinces and the armies. Thus Vespasian associated Titus in the full powers of the Imperial dignity. Thus Nerva, feeling that his feeble age was unequal to the weight of empire, declared Trajan his colleague and successor in the empire. Trajan adopted his kinsman Hadrian, under whose reign, as has been already mentioned, the empire flourished in peace and prosperity. Hadrian at first selected as his successor Ælius Verus, a gay and voluptuous nobleman; but on the death of Verus the emperor named as his son and successor one of the most virtuous of the Romans, who afterwards reigned under the name of Antoninus Pius. He was adopted by Hadrian on condition that he should adopt in his turn the young Marcus Aurelius, and the son of Ælius Verus, and he gave to the former his daughter Faustina in marriage. Pius was succeeded (A.D. 161) by his two adopted sons; but the younger Verus, with many vices, possessed one virtue—a dutiful reverence for his wiser colleague, to whom he willingly abandoned the ruder cares of empire. Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, or the two Antonines, as they are usually called, governed the Roman world 42 years (A.D. 138-180) with the same invariable spirit of wisdom and virtue. Their united reigns are possibly the only period of history in which the happiness of a great people was the sole object of government.

§ 34. The reign of Titus Antoninus Pius is marked by the rare advantage of furnishing very few materials for history; which is, indeed, little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind. In private life he was an amiable as well as a good man. The native simplicity of his virtue was a stranger to

vanity or affectation. He enjoyed with moderation the conveniences of his fortune and the innocent pleasures of society; and the benevolence of his soul displayed itself in a cheerful serenity of temper.

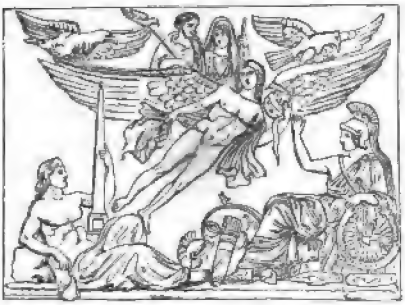
The virtue of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was of a severer and more laborious kind. At the age of twelve years he embraced the rigid system of the Stoics, which taught him to consider virtue as the only good, vice as the only evil, all things external as things indifferent. His Meditations, composed in the tumult of a camp, are still extant. But his life was the noblest commentary on the precepts of Zeno. He was severe to himself, indulgent to the imperfection of others, just and beneficent to all mankind. War he detested, as the disgrace and calamity of human nature; but when the necessity of a just defence called upon him to take up arms, he readily exposed his person to eight winter campaigns on the frozen banks of the Danube, the severity of which was at last fatal to the weakness of his constitution. His memory was revered by a grateful posterity, and above a century after his death, many persons preserved the image of Marcus Aurelius among those of their household gods.*

If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed



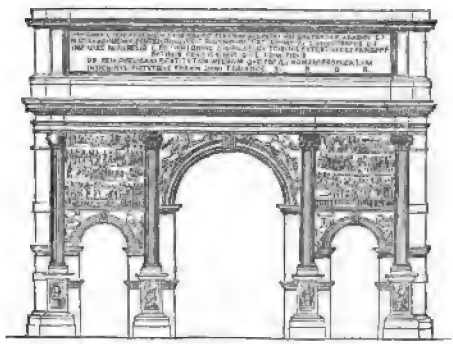
* The Antonine column, figured on this page, was erected in honour of M. Aurelius, and still stands at Rome. It is a repetition of the column of Trajan. The bas-reliefs represent the conquests of the Marcomanni.

from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus. The vast extent of the Roman empire was governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom. The armies were restrained by the firm but gentle hand of four successive emperors whose characters and authority commanded involuntary respect. The forms of the civil administration were carefully preserved by Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, who delighted in the image of liberty, and were pleased with considering themselves as the accountable ministers of the laws. Such princes deserved the honour of restoring the republic, had the Romans of their days been capable of enjoying a rational freedom.



Apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and Faustina (from the Pedestal of the Column of Antoninus Pius):*

* This column must not be confounded with that of M. Aurelius, figured on the preceding page. It no longer remains. It was discovered in 1709, but was broken in the attempt to raise it.



Arch of Septimius Severus.*

CHAPTER II.

REIGNS OF COMMODUS, PERTINAX, DIDIUS JULIANUS, AND SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

§ 1. Accession of COMMODUS: his character. § 2. Conspiracy against his life: his hatred and cruelty towards the Senate. § 3. His dissolute and degrading pleasures. § 4. His assassination. § 5. Choice of PERTINAX for Emperor. § 6. His virtues: his murder by the Prætorian guards. § 7. The Prætorian guards: their institution and specious claims. § 8. They offer the empire to sale: it is purchased by JULIAN. § 9. Revolt of Clodius Albinus in Britain, of Pescennius Niger in Syria, and of Septimius Severus in Britain: SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS marches to Rome, and is declared Emperor: death of Julian. § 10. Defeat and death of Niger and Albinus: siege of Byzantium. § 11. Government of Severus: general peace and prosperity: relaxation of military discipline. § 12. New establishment of the Prætorian guards. § 13. The office of Prætorian Præfect. § 14. New maxims of the Imperial prerogative. § 15. Julia Domna, the wife of Severus: their two sons, Caracalla and Geta. § 16. Severus goes into Britain: his death.

§ 1. THE golden age of Trajan and the Antonines was succeeded by an age of iron. Commodus, the son of Marcus Aurelius, was only nineteen years of age at the death of his father (A.D. 180). He succeeded to the throne amidst the acclamations of the senate and armies; and the happy youth saw around him neither competitor to

* The arch of Septimius Severus still exists in good preservation at the top of the Roman forum. It was dedicated to Severus and his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, in the 11th year of his reign, A.D. 203.

remove nor enemies to punish. Nature had formed him of a weak rather than a wicked disposition; but his mind was gradully corrupted by his attendants; and his cruelty, which at first obeyed the dictates of others, degenerated into habit, and at length became the ruling passion of his soul.

The first measure of his reign was to conclude peace with the Quadi and Marcomanni, against whom his father had carried on war in person for several years. He then hurried to Rome to enjoy the pleasures of the capital with the servile and profligate youths whom Marcus had banished, but who soon regained their station and influence about the new emperor. But although he indulged in a dissolute course of amusements, he entrusted, during the three first years of his reign, the administration to the faithful counsellors of his father; his hands were yet unstained with blood; and he had even displayed a generosity of sentiment, which might perhaps have ripened into solid virtue. A fatal incident decided his fluctuating character.

§ 2. One evening, as the emperor was returning to the palace, through a dark and narrow portico in the amphitheatre, an assassin, who waited his passage, rushed upon him with a drawn sword, loudly exclaiming, "*The senate sends you this.*" The menace prevented the deed; the assassin was seized by the guards, and immediately revealed the authors of the conspiracy. It had been formed, not in the senate, but within the walls of the palace. Lucilla, the emperor's sister, and widow of Lucius Verus, impatient of the second rank, and jealous of the reigning empress, had armed the murderer against her brother's life. But the words of the assassin sunk deep into the mind of Commodus, and left an indelible impression of fear and hatred against the whole body of the senate. The Delators, a race of men discouraged, and almost extinguished, under the former reigns, again became formidable as soon as they discovered that the emperor was desirous of finding disaffection and treason in the senate. Suspicion was equivalent to proof; trial to condemnation. The execution of a considerable senator was attended with the death of all who might lament or revenge his fate; and when Commodus had once tasted human blood, he became incapable of pity or remorse.

Commodus.

§ 3. The first minister of his crimes was Perennis; but the

emperor was obliged to sacrifice him to the complaints of the legions of Britain (A.D. 185). Perennis was succeeded in the imperial favour and in the command of the Prætorian troops, by Cleander, a Phrygian by birth, who during four years governed the empire with absolute sway, till at length his avarice and cruelty excited a revolt of the populace, which was only appeased by the execution of the guilty favourite (A.D. 189). Meanwhile every sentiment of virtue and humanity had become extinct in the mind of Commodus. Whilst he abandoned the reins of empire to these unworthy favourites, his only occupations were the indulgence of his sensual appetites, and the sports of the circus and amphitheatre. The Roman emperor even deigned to descend into the arena of the amphitheatre, and to exhibit his skill before the populace of Rome. Not content with slaying wild beasts with his own hands, he entered the lists as a gladiator, and gloried in a profession which the laws and manners of the Romans had branded with the justest infamy. The servile crowd, whose fortune depended on their master's vices, applauded these ignoble pursuits, and saluted him as the *Roman Hercules*, a title which Commodus eagerly embraced, and which we still read upon his medals.

§ 4. But amidst the acclamations of a flattering court, Commodus was unable to disguise from himself that he had deserved the contempt and hatred of every man of sense and virtue in his empire. His ferocious spirit was irritated by the consciousness of that hatred, by the envy of every kind of merit, by the just apprehension of danger, and by the habit of slaughter which he contracted in his daily amusements. His cruelty proved at last fatal to himself. Marcia, his favourite concubine, Eclectus, his chamberlain, and Lætus, his Prætorian præfect, alarmed by the fate of their companions and predecessors, resolved to prevent the destruction which every hour hung over their heads. Marcia seized the occasion of presenting a draught of poisoned wine to her lover, after he had fatigued himself with hunting some wild beasts. Commodus retired to sleep; but whilst he was labouring with the effects of poison and drunkenness, a robust youth, by profession a wrestler, entered his chamber, and strangled him without resistance. Commodus perished December 31, A.D. 192, after a reign of eleven years.

§ 5. The measures of the conspirators were conducted with the deliberate coolness and celerity which the greatness of the occasion required. They resolved instantly to fill the vacant throne with an emperor whose character would justify and maintain the action that had been committed. They fixed on Pertinax, præfect of the city, an ancient senator of consular rank, whose conspicuous merit had broke through the obscurity of his birth, and raised him to the first honors of the state. He now remained almost alone of the

friends and ministers of Marcus; and when, at a late hour of the night, he was awakened with the news that the chamberlain and the præfect were at his door, he received them with intrepid resignation, and desired they would execute their master's orders. Instead of death they offered him the throne of the Roman world. During some moments he distrusted their intentions and assurances. Convinced at length of the death of Commodus, he accepted the purple with a sincere reluctance, the natural effect of his knowledge both of the duties and of the dangers of the supreme rank.

Lætus conducted without delay his new emperor to the camp of the Prætorians, diffusing at the same time through the city a seasonable report that Commodus died suddenly of an apoplexy; and that the virtuous Pertinax had *already* succeeded to the throne. The guards were rather surprised than pleased with the suspicious death of a prince whose indulgence and liberality they alone had experienced: but they stifled their secret discontents, and swore allegiance to the new emperor. The senate joyfully ratified the election, and conferred upon him all the titles of Imperial power. The memory of Commodus was branded with eternal infamy. They decreed that his honours should be reversed, his titles erased from the public monuments, his statues thrown down, and his body dragged with a hook into the stripping-room of the gladiators, to satiate the public fury.

§ 6. Pertinax found a nobler way of condemning his predecessor's memory—by the contrast of his own virtues with the vices of Commodus. He endeavoured to heal, as far as it was possible, the wounds inflicted by the hand of tyranny. The innocent victims who yet survived were recalled from exile, released from prison, and restored to the full possession of their honours and fortunes. The Delators were punished. Strict economy was introduced into the public expenditure. He remitted all the oppressive taxes invented by Commodus, and cancelled all the unjust claims of the treasury. He removed the oppressive restrictions which had been laid upon commerce, and granted all the uncultivated lands in Italy and the provinces to those who would improve them; with an exemption from tribute during the term of ten years. Such an uniform conduct had already secured to Pertinax the noblest reward of a sovereign, the love and esteem of his people. But amidst the

Pertinax.

general joy the sullen and angry countenance of the Prætorian guards betrayed their inward dissatisfaction. They had reluctantly submitted to Pertinax; they dreaded the strictness of the ancient discipline, which he was preparing to restore; and they regretted the licence of the former reign. On the 28th of March (A.D. 193), eighty-six days only after the death of Commodus, a general sedition broke out in the camp. Two or three hundred of the most desperate soldiers marched at noon-day, with arms in their hands and fury in their looks, towards the Imperial palace. The gates were thrown open by their companions upon guard; and Pertinax was speedily despatched with a multitude of wounds.

§ 7. The power of the sword is more sensibly felt in an extensive monarchy than in a small community. To illustrate this observation we need only reflect that the tyrant of a single town, or a small district would soon discover that an hundred armed followers were a weak defence against ten thousand peasants or citizens; but an hundred thousand well disciplined soldiers will command, with despotic sway, ten millions of subjects; and a body of ten or fifteen thousand guards will strike terror into the most numerous populace that ever crowded the streets of an immense capital. The Prætorian bands, whose licentious fury was the first symptom and cause of the decline of the Roman empire, scarcely amounted to the last-mentioned number. They derived their institution from Augustus. That crafty tyrant, sensible that laws might colour, but that arms alone could maintain his usurped dominion, had gradually formed this powerful body of guards, in constant readiness to protect his person, to awe the senate, and either to prevent or to crush the first motions of rebellion. He distinguished these favoured troops by a double pay and superior privileges; but, as their formidable aspect would at once have alarmed and irritated the Roman people, three cohorts only were stationed in the capital; whilst the remainder was dispersed in the adjacent towns of Italy. But after fifty years of peace and servitude, Tiberius ventured on a decisive measure, which for ever riveted the fetters of his country. Under the fair pretences of relieving Italy from the heavy burden of military quarters, and of introducing a stricter discipline among the guards, he assembled them at Rome in a permanent camp, which was fortified with skilful care, and placed on a commanding situation.

Such formidable servants are always necessary, but often fatal to the throne of despotism. By thus introducing the Prætorian guards as it were into the palace and the senate, the emperors taught them to perceive their own strength, and the weakness of the civil government. Even the firmest and best established princes were obliged to mix blandishments with commands, rewards with punishments, to flatter their pride, indulge their pleasures, connive at their irre-

gularities, and to purchase their precarious faith by a liberal donative; which, since the elevation of Claudius, was exacted as a legal claim on the accession of every new emperor. The advocates of the guards endeavoured to justify by arguments the power which they asserted by arms; and to maintain that, according to the purest principles of the constitution, *their* consent was essentially necessary in the appointment of an emperor. The election of consuls, of generals, and of magistrates, however it had been recently usurped by the senate, was the ancient and undoubted right of the Roman people. But where was the Roman people to be found? Not surely amongst the mixed multitude of slaves and strangers that filled the streets of Rome; a servile populace, as devoid of spirit as destitute of property. The defenders of the state, selected from the flower of the Italian youth, and trained in the exercise of arms and virtue, were the genuine representatives of the people, and the best entitled to elect the military chief of the republic. These assertions, however defective in reason, became unanswerable when the fierce Prætorians increased their weight by throwing, like the barbarian conqueror of Rome, their swords into the scale.

§ 8. The Prætorians had violated the sanctity of the throne by the atrocious murder of Pertinax; they dishonoured the majesty of it by their subsequent conduct. Anxious to obtain the highest price for the valuable commodity they had to sell, they proclaimed from the ramparts that the Roman world was to be disposed of to the best bidder by public auction. This infamous offer, the most insolent excess of military licence, diffused an universal grief, shame, and indignation throughout the city. But two purchasers were found,—Didius Julianus, a wealthy senator, and Sulpicianus, the father-in-law of the late emperor, who had been already in treaty with the guards for the imperial dignity. The unworthy negotiation was transacted by faithful emissaries, who passed alternately from one candidate to the other, and acquainted each of them with the offers of his rival. Sulpicianus had already promised a donative of 5000 drachms (above 160*l.*) to each soldier; when Julian, eager for the prize, rose at once to the sum of 6250 drachms, or upwards of 200*l.* sterling. The gates of the camp were instantly thrown open to the purchaser; he was declared emperor, and received an oath of allegiance from the soldiers. He was conducted by the soldiers to the senate, who obsequiously conferred on him all the branches of the imperial power. From the senate he was carried to the palace. The first objects that struck his eyes were the abandoned trunk of Pertinax, and the frugal entertainment prepared for his supper. The one he viewed with indifference; the other with contempt. A magnificent feast was prepared by his order, and he amused himself till a very late hour with dice and the performances

of Pylades, a celebrated dancer. Yet it was observed that after the crowd of flatterers dispersed, and left him to darkness, solitude, and terrible reflection, he passed a sleepless night; revolving most probably in his mind his own rash folly, the fate of his virtuous predecessor, and the doubtful and dangerous tenure of an empire which had not been acquired by merit, but purchased by money.

§ 9. He had reason to tremble. On the throne of the world he found himself without a friend, and even without an adherent. The guards themselves were ashamed of the prince whom their avarice had persuaded them to accept; nor was there a citizen who did not consider his elevation with horror, as the last insult on the Roman name. The public discontent was soon diffused from the centre to the frontiers of the empire. The armies of Britain, of Syria, and of Pannonia sternly refused to ratify the ignominious bargain of the Prætorians. Their immediate and unanimous revolt was fatal to Julian, but it was fatal at the same time to the public peace; as the generals of the respective armies, Clodius Albinus in Britain, Pescennius Niger in Syria, and Septimius Severus in Pannonia, were still more anxious to succeed than to revenge the murdered Pertinax. Their forces were exactly balanced. Each of them was at the head of three legions, with a numerous train of auxiliaries; and, however different in their characters, they were all soldiers of experience and capacity. But Septimius Severus had a great advantage over his competitors in his proximity to Italy. His province extended to the Julian Alps; and he remembered the saying of Augustus, That a Pannonian army might in ten days appear in sight of Rome. By a celerity proportioned to the greatness of the occasion, he might reasonably hope to revenge Pertinax, punish Julian, and receive the homage of the senate and people as their lawful emperor, before his competitors were apprised of his success, or even of his election. Accordingly he crossed the Alps and advanced towards Rome with the utmost speed. Upon reaching Interamna, about seventy miles from Rome, he despatched his emissaries to the capital to assure the guards, that, provided they would abandon their worthless prince, and the perpetrators of the murder of Pertinax, to the justice of the conqueror, he would no longer consider that melancholy event as the act of the whole body. The faithless Prætorians, who trembled at the name of the Pannonian legions, gladly complied with the easy conditions, seized the greatest part of the assassins, and signified to the senate that they no longer defended the cause of Julian. That assembly, convoked by the consul, unanimously acknowledged Severus as lawful emperor, decreed divine honours to Pertinax and pronounced a sentence of deposition and death against his unfortunate successor. Julian was conducted into a private apartment of the baths of the palace and

beheaded as a common criminal, after having purchased, with an immense treasure, an anxious and precarious reign of only sixty-six days (June 2, A.D. 193).

§ 10. Septimius Severus left Rome at the end of thirty days in order to encounter his two formidable rivals. In order to lull one into security while he attacked the other, he conferred upon Albinus the rank of Cæsar, and treated him with every mark of esteem and regard. But as soon as he had worsted Pescennius Niger in Syria, he threw off the mask and hastened from the East to the West at the head of his victorious armies. In less than four years (A.D. 193–197) both wars were brought to a close, and Severus became the undisputed master of the empire. Three battles, the first near the Hellespont, the second near Nicæa in Bithynia, and the third in the narrow defiles of Cilicia, decided the fate of his Syrian competitor; and the troops of Europe asserted their usual ascendant over the effeminate natives of Asia. The battle of Lyons, where 150,000 Romans were engaged, was equally fatal to Albinus. Both Niger and Albinus were discovered and put to death in their flight from the fields of battle.

Upon the death of Niger all the East at once submitted to Severus with the exception of Byzantium. This city sustained a siege of three years, and remained faithful to the name and memory of Niger. The citizens and soldiers (we know not from what cause) were animated with equal fury; the fortifications were esteemed impregnable, and, in the defence of the place, a celebrated engineer displayed all the mechanic powers known to the ancients. Byzantium at length surrendered to famine. The magistrates and soldiers were put to the sword, the walls demolished, the privileges suppressed, and the destined capital of the East subsisted only as an open village, subject to the insulting jurisdiction of Perinthus. The historian Dion accused the revenge of Severus for depriving the Roman people of the strongest bulwark against the barbarians of Pontus and Asia. The truth of this observation was but too well justified in the succeeding age, when the Gothic fleets covered the Euxine, and passed through the undefended Bosporus into the centre of the Mediterranean.

§ 11. Severus exercised his victory with cruelty. He put to death a large number of senators, who had belonged to the party of his unfortunate competitors, and the noblest provincials of Spain and Gaul were involved in the same ruin. His general government, however, was characterised by wisdom and justice. Salutary laws, executed with inflexible firmness, soon corrected most of the abuses with which, since the death of Marcius, every part of the government had been infected. In the administration of justice, the judgments of the emperor were characterised by attention, dis-

cernment, and impartiality; and, whenever he deviated from the strict line of equity, it was generally in favour of the poor and oppressed; not so much indeed from any sense of humanity, as from the natural propensity of a despot to humble the pride of greatness, and to sink all his subjects to the same common level of absolute dependence. His expensive taste for building, magnificent shows, and, above all, a constant and liberal distribution of corn and provisions, were the surest means of captivating the affection of the Roman people. The misfortunes of civil discord were obliterated. The calm of peace and prosperity was once more experienced in the provinces. The fame of the Roman arms was revived by that warlike and successful emperor, and he boasted, with a just pride, that, having received the empire oppressed with foreign and domestic wars, he left it established in profound, universal, and honourable peace.

Septimius Severus.

Although the wounds of civil war appeared completely healed, its mortal poison still lurked in the vitals of the constitution. The vanity of his soldiers was flattered with the honour of wearing gold rings; their ease was indulged in the permission of living with their wives in the idleness of quarters. He increased their pay beyond the example of former times, and taught them to expect, and soon to claim, extraordinary donatives on every public occasion of danger or festivity. Elated by success, enervated by luxury, and raised above the level of subjects by their dangerous privileges, they soon became incapable of military fatigue, oppressive to the country, and impatient of a just subordination.

§ 12. The Prætorians, who murdered their emperor and sold the empire, had been disbanded by Severus; but the necessary, though dangerous, institution of guards, was soon restored on a new model by Severus, and increased to four times the ancient number. Formerly these troops had been recruited in Italy; and as the adjacent provinces gradually imbibed the softer manners of Rome, the levies were extended to Macedonia, Noricum, and Spain. In the room of these elegant troops, better adapted to the pomp of courts than to the uses of war, it was established by Severus, that from all the legions of the frontiers the soldiers most distinguished for strength, valour, and fidelity should be occasionally draughted, and promoted, as an honour and reward, into the more eligible service of the guards. By this new institution the Italian youth were diverted from the exercise of arms, and the capital was terrified by the strange aspect and manners of a multitude of barbarians. But Severus flattered himself that the legions would consider these chosen Prætorians as the representatives of the whole military order; and that the present aid of 50,000 men, superior in arms and appointments to any force that could be brought into the field against them, would for ever crush the hopes of rebellion, and secure the empire to himself and his posterity.

§ 13. The command of these favoured and formidable troops soon became the first office of the empire. As the government degenerated into military despotism, the Prætorian præfect, who in his origin had been a simple captain of the guards, was placed not only at the head of the army, but of the finances, and even of the law. In every department of administration, he represented the person, and exercised the authority, of the emperor. The first præfect who enjoyed and abused this immense power was Plautianus, the favourite minister of Severus. His reign lasted above ten years, till the marriage of his daughter with the eldest son of the emperor, which seemed to assure his fortune, proved the occasion of his ruin. The animosities of the palace, by irritating the ambition and alarming the fears of Plautianus, threatened to produce a revolution, and obliged the emperor, who still loved him, to consent with reluctance to his death. After the fall of Plautianus, the celebrated Papinian, an eminent lawyer, was appointed to execute the motley office of Prætorian præfect.

§ 14. Till the reign of Severus the virtue, and even the good sense, of the emperors had been distinguished by their real or affected reverence for the senate, and by a tender regard to the nice frame of civil policy instituted by Augustus. But the youth of Severus had been trained in the implicit obedience of camps, and his riper years spent in the despotism of military command. His haughty and inflexible spirit could not discover, or would not

acknowledge, the advantage of preserving an intermediate power, however imaginary, between the emperor and the army. He disdained to profess himself the servant of an assembly that detested his person and trembled at his frown; he issued his commands where his request would have proved as effectual; assumed the conduct and style of a sovereign and a conqueror, and exercised, without disguise, the whole legislative as well as the executive power. The fine theory of a republic insensibly vanished, and made way for the more natural and substantial feelings of monarchy. The lawyers and the historians concurred in teaching that the Imperial authority was held, not by the delegated commission, but by the irrevocable resignation of the senate; that the emperor was freed from the restraint of civil laws, could command, by his arbitrary will, the lives and fortunes of his subjects, and might dispose of the empire as of his private patrimony. The most eminent of the civil lawyers, and particularly Papinian, Paulus, and Ulpian, flourished under the house of Severus; and the Roman jurisprudence, having closely united itself with the system of monarchy, was supposed to have attained its full maturity and perfection.

The contemporaries of Severus, in the enjoyment of the peace and glory of his reign, forgave the cruelties by which it had been introduced. Posterity, who experienced the fatal effects of his maxims and example, justly considered him as the principal author of the decline of the Roman empire.

§ 15. The wife of Severus was Julia Domna, a native of Emesa in Syria. She possessed, even in her advanced age, the attractions of beauty, and united to a lively imagination a firmness of mind and strength of judgment seldom bestowed on her sex. Her amiable qualities never made any deep impression on the dark and jealous temper of her husband; but, in her son's reign, she administered the principal affairs of the empire with a prudence that supported his authority, and with a moderation that sometimes corrected his wild extravagancies. Julia applied herself to letters and philosophy with some success and with the most splendid reputation. She was the patroness of every art, and the friend of every man of genius.

Two sons, Caracalla and Geta, were the fruit of this marriage, and the destined heirs of the empire. The fond hopes of the father, and of the Roman world, were soon disappointed by these vain youths, who displayed the indolent security of hereditary princes, and a presumption that fortune would supply the place of merit and application. Without any emulation of virtue or talents, they discovered, almost from their infancy, a fixed and implacable antipathy for each other. The unhappy discord of his sons clouded all the prospects of Severus, and threatened to overturn a throne raised

with so much labour, cemented with so much blood, and guarded with every defence of arms and treasure. With an impartial hand he maintained between them an exact balance of favour, conferred on both the rank of Augustus, with the revered name of Antoninus; and for the first time the Roman world beheld three emperors.

§ 16. In these circumstances the intelligence of a war in Britain, and of an invasion of the provinces by the barbarians of the North, was received with pleasure by Severus. He resolved to embrace the honourable pretext of withdrawing his sons from the luxury of Rome, which enervated their minds and irritated their passions; and of inuring their youth to the toils of war and government. Notwithstanding his advanced age (for he was above three-score), and his gout, which obliged him to be carried in a litter, he transported himself in person into that remote island, attended by his two sons, his whole court, and a formidable army (A.D. 208). He immediately passed the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, and entered the country of the Caledonians, who were compelled to submit to his arms. But as soon as the Roman legions had retired, they resumed their hostile independence. Severus was preparing to send a new army into Caledonia with orders not to subdue but to extirpate the natives. They were saved by the death of their haughty enemy. Severus expired at York in the 65th year of his age, and in the 18th of a glorious and successful reign (A.D. 211).

The Septizonium, a building erected at Rome by Septimius Severus, of which considerable remains existed till the end of the 16th century.

Caracalla.

CHAPTER III.

REIGNS OF CARACALLA, MACRINUS, ELAGABALUS, AND ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

§ 1. Accession of CARACALLA and GETA: Murder of Geta. § 2. Remorse and cruelty of Caracalla: death of Papinian. § 3. Assassination of Caracalla. § 4. Edict of Caracalla. § 5. Accession of MACRINUS: he attempts to reform the army. § 6. Revolt of Elagabalus: death of Macrinus: ELAGABALUS Emperor. § 7. Picture of Elagabalus: his superstition and profligacy: his murder by the troops. § 8. Accession of ALEXANDER SEVERUS: wise administration of his grandmother Mamæa: character of Alexander. § 9. State of the army: death of Ulpian: the historian Dion Cassius. § 10. The Persian monarchy restored by Artaxerxes. § 11. Recapitulation of the war between the Parthian and Roman Empires. § 12. War between the Persians and Alexander. § 13. Murder of Alexander Severus.

§ 1. SEVERUS in his last moments had recommended concord to his sons, and his sons to the army. The salutary advice never reached the heart, or even the understanding, of the impetuous youths; but the more obedient troops resisted the solicitations of Caracalla, and proclaimed both brothers emperors of Rome. The new princes soon left the Caledonians in peace, returned to the capital, and were cheerfully acknowledged as lawful sovereigns by the senate, the people, and the provinces. Some pre-eminence of rank seems to have been allowed to the elder brother; but they both administered the empire with equal and independent power. Such a divided form of government would have proved a source of discord between the

most affectionate brothers. It was impossible that it could long subsist between two implacable enemies, who neither desired nor could trust a reconciliation. On their return to Rome their mother endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between them; but while they were conversing in her apartment, some centurions, who had contrived to conceal themselves, rushed with drawn swords upon the unfortunate Geta. His distracted mother strove to protect him in her arms; but, in her unavailing struggle she was wounded in the hand, and covered with the blood of her younger son, while she saw the elder animating and assisting the fury of the assassins (Feb. 27, A.D. 212). To secure the support of the soldiers, Caracalla distributed in one lavish donative the accumulated treasures of his father's reign.

§ 2. The crime went not unpunished. Neither business, nor pleasure, nor flattery, could defend Caracalla from the stings of a guilty conscience; and he confessed, in the anguish of a tortured mind, that his disordered fancy often beheld the angry forms of his father and his brother rising into life to threaten and upbraid him. The consciousness of his crime should have induced him to convince mankind, by the virtues of his reign, that the bloody deed had been the involuntary effect of fatal necessity. But the repentance of Caracalla only prompted him to remove from the world whatever could remind him of his guilt, or recall the memory of his murdered brother. It was computed that, under the vague appellation of the friends of Geta, above twenty thousand persons of both sexes suffered death Among the victims of his cruelty was the celebrated Papinian, the Prætorian præfect under Severus. After the murder of Geta, Papinian was commanded to exert the powers of his skill and eloquence in a studied apology for that atrocious deed. "That it was easier to commit than to justify a parricide," was the glorious reply of Papinian; who did not hesitate between the loss of life and that of honour. Such intrepid virtue, which had escaped pure and unsullied from the intrigues of courts, the habits of business, and the arts of his profession, reflects more lustre on the memory of Papinian than all his great employments, his numerous writings, and the superior reputation as a lawyer which he has preserved through every age of the Roman jurisprudence.

§ 3. The tyranny of Tiberius, Nero, and Domitian, who resided almost constantly at Rome or in the adjacent villas, was confined to the senatorial and equestrian orders. But Caracalla was the common enemy of mankind. He left the capital (and he never returned to it) about a year after the murder of Geta. The rest of his reign was spent in the several provinces of the empire, particularly those of the East, and every province was, by turns, the scene of his rapine and cruelty. In the midst of peace, and upon the slightest provoca-

tion, he issued his commands at Alexandria, in Egypt, for a general massacre. From a secure post in the temple of Serapis, he viewed and directed the slaughter of many thousand citizens, as well as strangers, without distinguishing either the number or the crime of the sufferers; since, as he coolly informed the senate, *all* the Alexandrians, those who had perished, and those who had escaped, were alike guilty. Caracalla, however, took care to secure the affections of the army. He increased their pay, encouraged their insolent familiarity, and affected to imitate the dress and manners of a common soldier. As long as his vices were beneficial to his armies he was secure from the danger of rebellion. A secret conspiracy, provoked by his own jealousy, was fatal to the tyrant. The Prætorian præfecture was divided between two ministers. The military department was intrusted to Adventus, an experienced rather than an able soldier; and the civil affairs were transacted by Opilius Macrinus, who, by his dexterity in business, had raised himself, with a fair character, to that high office. An African soothsayer had predicted that Macrinus and his son were destined to reign over the empire. The report was soon diffused through the province; and when the man was sent in chains to Rome, he still asserted, in the presence of the præfect of the city, the faith of his prophecy. That magistrate, who had received the most pressing instructions to inform himself of the *successors* of Caracalla, immediately communicated the examination of the African to the Imperial court, which at that time resided in Syria. The emperor received the letters from Rome; and, as he was then engaged in the conduct of a chariot-race, he delivered them unopened to the Prætorian præfect, directing him to despatch the ordinary affairs, and to report the more important business that might be contained in them. Macrinus read his fate and resolved to prevent it. He inflamed the discontents of some inferior officers, and employed the hand of Martialis, a desperate soldier, who had been refused the rank of centurion. The devotion of Caracalla prompted him to make a pilgrimage from Edessa to the celebrated temple of the Moon at Carrhæ. He was murdered upon the road by Martialis (March A.D. 217). Such was the end of a monster whose life disgraced human nature, and whose reign accused the patience of the Romans.

§ 4. One important event in the reign of Caracalla must not be passed over in silence. An edict of this emperor communicated to all the free inhabitants of the empire the name and privileges of Roman citizens. His liberality flowed not, however, from the sentiments of a generous mind; he found himself under the necessity of gratifying the insatiable avarice which he had excited in the army, and he granted a worthless privilege in order to extort a large

revenue. Augustus had imposed upon Roman citizens a tax of five per cent. on all legacies and inheritances. This tax was one of the most productive in the empire, and Caracalla therefore compelled the reluctant provincials to assume the vain title and the real obligations of Roman citizens. Nor was the rapacious son of Severus contented with such a measure of taxation as had appeared sufficient to his moderate predecessors. Instead of a twentieth he exacted a tenth of all legacies and inheritances; and during his reign (for the ancient proportion was restored after his death) he crushed alike every part of the empire under the weight of his iron sceptre.

§ 5. After the extinction of the house of Severus, the Roman world remained three days without a master. The troops with some reluctance proclaimed Macrinus emperor, for they despised his military talents and suspected his personal courage. The senate of course ratified the choice of the army; but they were indignant that a man of equestrian rank should dare to invest himself with the purple, instead of bestowing it on some distinguished senator, equal in birth and dignity to the splendour of the Imperial station. Macrinus might have despised the murmurs of the senate, if he had possessed the affections of the army. To alienate the soldiers, and to provoke inevitable ruin, the character of a reformer was only wanting; and such was the peculiar hardship of his fate, that Macrinus was compelled to exercise that individious office. The prodigality of Caracalla had left behind it a long train of ruin and disorder; and if that worthless tyrant had been capable of reflecting on the sure consequences of his own conduct, he would perhaps have enjoyed the dark prospect of the distress and calamities which he bequeathed to his successors. In the management of this necessary reformation, Macrinus proceeded with prudence. To the soldiers already engaged in the service he was constrained to leave the dangerous privileges and extravagant pay given by Caracalla; but the new recruits were received on the more moderate though liberal establishment of Severus, and gradually formed to modesty and obedience. One fatal error destroyed the salutary effects of this judicious plan. The numerous army assembled in the East by the late emperor, instead of being immediately dispersed by Macrinus through the several provinces, was suffered to remain united in Syria during the winter that followed his elevation. In the luxurious idleness of their quarters, the troops viewed their strength and numbers, communicated their complaints, and revolved in their minds the advantages of another revolution. The murmurs of the army swelled with impunity into seditious clamours; and the partial mutinies betrayed a spirit of discontent and disaffection that waited only for the slightest occasion to break out on every side into

a general rebellion. To minds thus disposed the occasion soon presented itself.

§ 6. The empress Julia had descended with a painful struggle into the condition of a subject, and soon withdrew herself, by a voluntary death, from the anxious and humiliating dependence. Julia Mæsa, her sister, was ordered to leave the court and Antioch. She retired to Emesa with an immense fortune, the fruit of twenty years' favour, accompanied by her two daughters, Soæmias and Mamæa, each of whom was a widow, and each had an only son. Bassianus, for that was the name of the son of Soæmias, was consecrated to the honourable ministry of high priest of the Sun; and this holy vocation, embraced either from prudence or superstition, contributed to raise the Syrian youth to the empire of Rome. A numerous body of troops was stationed at Emesa. The soldiers, who resorted in crowds to the temple of the Sun, beheld with veneration and delight the elegant dress and figure of the young pontiff; they recognised, or they thought that they recognised, the features of Caracalla, whose memory they now adored. The artful Mæsa saw and cherished their rising partiality, and readily sacrificing her daughter's reputation to the fortune of her grandson, she insinuated that Bassianus was the natural son of their murdered sovereign. The sums distributed by her emissaries with a lavish hand silenced every objection. The young Antoninus (for he had assumed and polluted that respectable name) was declared emperor by the troops of Emesa (May 16, A.D. 218), asserted his hereditary right, and called aloud on the armies to follow the standard of a young and liberal prince, who had taken up arms to revenge his father's death and the oppression of the military order. His cause was rapidly espoused by the camps and garrisons of Syria, and he soon found himself at the head of a formidable body of troops. At length Macrinus marched out of Antioch, to meet the increasing and zealous army of the young pretender. In the heat of the battle Macrinus betrayed his own cause by a shameful and precipitate flight. His cowardice served only to protract his life a few days, and to stamp deserved ignominy on his misfortunes. His son Diadumenianus, upon whom he had conferred the Imperial title, was involved in the same fate (June 7, A.D. 218). The contending parties of the Roman army united under the banners of the imagined son of Caracalla, and the East acknowledged with pleasure the first emperor of Asiatic extraction.

§ 7. The new emperor wasted many months in his luxurious progress from Syria to Italy, passed at Nicomedia his first winter after his victory, and deferred till the ensuing summer his triumphal entry into the capital. A faithful picture, however, which preceded his arrival, and was placed by his immediate order over the altar of

Victory in the senate-house, conveyed to the Romans a just but unworthy resemblance of his person and manners. He was drawn in his sacerdotal robes of silk and gold, after the loose flowing fashion of the Medes and Phœnicians; his head was covered with a lofty tiara, his numerous collars and bracelets were adorned with gems of an inestimable value. His eyebrows were tinged with black, and his cheeks painted with an artificial red and white. The grave senators confessed with a sigh, that, after having long experienced the stern tyranny of their own countrymen, Rome was at length humbled beneath the effeminate luxury of Oriental despotism.

Elagabalus.

The Sun was worshipped at Emesa, under the name of Elagabalus, and under the form of a black conical stone, which, as it was universally believed, had fallen from heaven on that sacred place. To this protecting deity, Antoninus, not without some reason, ascribed his elevation to the throne. The display of superstitious gratitude was the only serious business of his reign. The triumph of the god of Emesa over all the religions of the earth was the great object of his zeal and vanity; and the appellation of Elagabalus (for he presumed as pontiff and favourite to adopt that sacred name) was dearer to him than all the titles of Imperial greatness. In a solemn procession through the streets of Rome the way was strewed with gold-dust: the black stone, set in precious gems, was placed on a chariot drawn by six milk-white horses richly caparisoned. In a magnificent temple raised on the Palatine Mount, the sacrifices of the god Elagabalus were celebrated with every circumstance of cost and solemnity. To this temple, as to the common centre of religious worship, the Imperial fanatic attempted to remove the Ancilia, the Palladium, and all the sacred pledges of the faith of Numa.

The young emperor, corrupted by his youth, his country, and his fortune, abandoned himself to the grossest pleasures with ungoverned fury, and soon found disgust and satiety in the midst of his enjoyments. To confound the order of seasons and climates, to sport with the passions and prejudices of his subjects, and to subvert every law of nature and decency, were in the number of his most delicious amusements. Even the licentious soldiers, who had raised him to the throne, blushed at their ignominious choice, and turned with disgust from that monster to contemplate with pleasure the opening virtues of his cousin Alexander, the son of Mamæa. The crafty Mæsa, sensible that her grandson Elagabalus must inevitably

destroy himself by his own vices, had provided another and surer support of her family. She had persuaded the young emperor to adopt Alexander and to invest him with the title of Cæsar (A.D. 221), that his own divine occupations might be no longer interrupted by the care of the earth. In the second rank that amiable prince soon acquired the affections of the soldiers, and excited the tyrant's jealousy. The report of the death of Alexander, and the natural suspicion that he had been murdered, inflamed the passions of the soldiers into fury, and the tempest of the camp could only be appeased by the presence and authority of the popular youth. Provoked at this instance of their affection for his cousin, and their contempt for his person, the emperor ventured to punish some of the leaders of the mutiny. His unseasonable severity proved instantly fatal to his minions, his mother, and himself. Elagabalus was massacred by the indignant Prætorians, his mutilated corpse dragged through the streets of the city and thrown into the Tiber (March 10, A.D. 222). His memory was branded with eternal infamy by the senate, the justice of whose decree has been ratified by posterity.

§ 8. In the room of Elagabalus his cousin Alexander was raised to the throne by the Prætorian guards. His relation to the family of Severus, whose name he assumed, was the same as that of his predecessor; his virtue and his danger had already endeared him to the Romans, and the eager liberality of the senate conferred upon him in one day the various titles and powers of the Imperial dignity. But as Alexander was a modest and dutiful youth of only seventeen years of age, the reins of government were in the hands of two women, of his mother Mamæa, and of Mæsa his grandmother. After the death of the latter, who survived but a short time the elevation of Alexander, Mamæa remained the sole regent of her son and of the empire. The general tenor of her administration was equally for the benefit of her son and of the empire. With the approbation of the senate she chose sixteen of the wisest and most virtuous senators as a perpetual council of state, before whom every public business of moment was debated and determined. The celebrated Ulpian, equally distinguished by his knowledge of, and his respect for, the laws of Rome, was at their head; and the prudent firmness of this aristocracy restored order and authority to the government.

Alexander himself was distinguished by his love of learning, by his virtues, and by his laborious attention to the duties of his high office. The simple journal of his ordinary occupations exhibits a pleasing picture of an accomplished emperor. Alexander rose early; the first moments of the day were consecrated to private devotion, and his domestic chapel was filled with the images of those heroes

who, by improving or reforming human life, had deserved the grateful reverence of posterity. The greatest part of his morning hours was employed in his council, where he discussed public affairs, and determined private causes, with a patience and discretion above his years. The dryness of business was relieved by the charms of literature; and a portion of time was always set apart for his favourite studies of poetry, history, and philosophy. The works of Virgil and Horace, the Republics of Plato and Cicero, formed his taste, enlarged his understanding, and gave him the noblest ideas of man and government. The exercises of the body succeeded to those of the mind; and Alexander, who was tall, active, and robust, surpassed most of his equals in the gymnastic arts. Refreshed by the use of the bath and a slight dinner, he resumed, with new vigour, the business of the day; and, till the hour of supper, the principal meal of the Romans, he was attended by his secretaries, with whom he read and answered the multitude of letters, memorials and petitions, that must have been addressed to the master of the greatest part of the world. His table was served with the most frugal simplicity; and whenever he was at liberty to consult his own inclination, the company consisted of a few select friends, men of learning and virtue, amongst whom Ulpian was constantly invited. Their conversation was familiar and instructive; and the pauses were occasionally enlivened by the recital of some pleasing composition, which supplied the place of the dancers, comedians, and even gladiators, so frequently summoned to the tables of the rich and luxurious Romans.

§ 9. Since the accession of Commodus the Roman world had experienced, during the term of 40 years, the successive and various vices of four tyrants. From the death of Elagabalus it enjoyed an auspicious calm of 13 years. But the state of the army still excited the liveliest apprehension. The long licence in which they had been indulged rendered them impatient of the restraints of discipline, and careless of the blessings of public tranquillity. A reformation was absolutely necessary for the safety of the state; and Alexander laboured by the most gentle arts to inspire the fierce multitude with a sense of duty, and to restore at least a faint image of that discipline to which the Romans owed their empire over so many other nations as warlike and more powerful than themselves. But his prudence was vain, and the attempt towards a reformation served only to inflame the ills it was meant to cure. His abilities were inadequate to the difficulties of his situation; and his virtues, as well as the vices of Elagabalus, contracted a tincture of weakness and effeminacy from the soft climate of Syria, of which he was a native. He was obliged to sacrifice to the fury of the guards their præfect Ulpian, the friend of the laws and the people, whom the

soldiers regarded as their enemy, and to whose pernicious counsels they imputed every scheme of reformation. The tyranny of the army threatened with instant death the most faithful ministers who were suspected of an intention to arrest their intolerable disorders. The historian Dion Cassius had commanded the Pannonian legions with the spirit of ancient discipline. Their brethren of Rome, embracing the common cause of military licence, demanded the head of the reformer. But in this instance Alexander, instead of yielding to their seditious clamours, appointed him his colleague in the consulship; but, apprehensive of the wrath of the soldiers, he retired, by the emperor's advice, from the city, and spent the greatest part of his consulship in Campania.

§ 10. In the fourth year of the reign of Alexander Severus (A.D. 226) an important revolution occurred in Asia, which exercised a fatal influence upon the declining empire of Rome. In this year the formidable power of the Parthians, which spread from India to the frontiers of Syria, was subverted by Ardshir, or Artaxerxes, the founder of a new dynasty, which, under the name of Sassanidæ, governed Persia till the invasion of the Arabs. Artaxerxes had served with great reputation in the armies of Artabanus, the last king of the Parthians, and it appears that he was driven into exile and rebellion by royal ingratitude, the customary reward for superior merit. His birth was obscure; but he claimed to be descended from a branch of the ancient kings of Persia, and as the lineal heir of the monarchy he asserted his right to the throne. The Parthians were defeated in three great battles. In the last of these their king, Artabanus, was slain, and the spirit of the nation was for ever broken. The authority of Artaxerxes was solemnly acknowledged in a great assembly held at Balch in Khorasan. He restored the Magian religion in its ancient splendour, and prohibited the exercise of every worship except that of Zoroaster. At the head of a numerous and disciplined army, he visited in person every province of Persia. The defeat of the boldest rebels, and the reduction of the strongest fortifications, diffused the terror of his arms, and prepared the way for the peaceful reception of his authority. An obstinate resistance was fatal to the chiefs; but their followers were treated with lenity. A cheerful submission was rewarded with honours and riches. His kingdom was on every side bounded by the sea, or by great rivers,—by the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, the Oxus, and the Indus; by the Caspian Sea and the Gulf of Persia.

Alexander Severus.

§ 11. As soon as the ambitious mind of Artaxerxes had triumphed over the resistance of his vassals, he began to threaten the neighbouring states, who, during the long slumber of his predecessors, had insulted Persia with impunity. He obtained some easy victories over the wild Scythians and the effeminate Indians; but the Romans were an enemy who, by their past injuries and present power, deserved the utmost efforts of his arms. A forty years' tranquillity, the fruit of valour and moderation, had succeeded the victories of Trajan. During the period that elapsed from the accession of Marcus to the reign of Alexander, the Roman and the Parthian empires were twice engaged in war; and although the whole strength of the Arsacidæ contended with a part only of the forces of Rome, the event was most commonly in favour of the latter. Macrinus, indeed, prompted by his precarious situation and pusillanimous temper, purchased a peace at the expense of near two millions of our money; but the generals of Marcus, the emperor Severus, and his son, erected many trophies in Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. Among their exploits, the imperfect relation of which would have unseasonably interrupted the more important series of domestic revolutions, we shall only mention the repeated calamities of the two great cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon.

Seleucia, on the western bank of the Tigris, about 45 miles to the north of ancient Babylon, was the capital of the Macedonian conquests in Upper Asia. Many ages after the fall of their empire, Seleucia retained the general characters of a Grecian colony—arts, military virtue, and the love of freedom. Ctesiphon had been founded by the Parthians on the eastern bank of the Tigris, at the distance of only three miles from Seleucia. Under the reign of Marcus, the Roman generals penetrated as far as Ctesiphon and Seleucia. They were received as friends by the Greek colony; they attacked as enemies the seat of the Parthian kings; yet both cities experienced the same treatment (A.D. 165). The sack and conflagration of Seleucia, with the massacre of 300,000 of the inhabitants, tarnished the glory of the Roman triumph. Seleucia, already exhausted by the neighbourhood of a too powerful rival, sunk under the fatal blow; but Ctesiphon, in about 33 years, had sufficiently recovered its strength to maintain an obstinate siege against the emperor Severus (A.D. 198). The city was, however, taken by assault; the king, who defended it in person, escaped with precipitation; an hundred thousand captives and a rich booty rewarded the fatigues of the Roman soldiers. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, Ctesiphon succeeded to Babylon and to Seleucia as one of the great capitals of the East.

From these successful inroads the Romans derived no real or lasting benefit; nor did they attempt to preserve such distant con-

quests, separated from the provinces of the empire by a large tract of intermediate desert. The reduction of the kingdom of Osrhoene was an acquisition of less splendour indeed, but of a far more solid advantage. That little state occupied the northern and most fertile part of Mesopotamia, between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Edessa, its capital, was situated about 20 miles beyond the former of those rivers, and the inhabitants, since the time of Alexander, were a mixed race of Greeks, Arabs, Syrians, and Armenians. The feeble sovereigns of Osrhoene, placed on the dangerous verge of two contending empires, were attached from inclination to the Parthian cause; but the superior power of Rome exacted from them a reluctant homage, which is still attested by their medals. After the conclusion of the Parthian war under Marcus, it was judged prudent to secure some substantial pledges of their doubtful fidelity. Forts were constructed in several parts of the country, and a Roman garrison was fixed in the strong town of Nisibis. During the troubles that followed the death of Commodus, the princes of Osrhoene attempted to shake off the yoke; but the stern policy of Severus confirmed their dependence, and the perfidy of Caracalla completed the easy conquest. Abgarus, the last king of Edessa, was sent in chains to Rome, his dominions reduced into a province, and his capital dignified with the rank of colony (A.D. 216); and thus the Romans, about ten years before the fall of the Parthian monarchy, obtained a firm and permanent establishment beyond the Euphrates.

§ 12. Prudence as well as glory might have justified a war on the side of Artaxerxes, had his views been confined to the defence or the acquisition of a useful frontier. But the ambitious Persian openly avowed a far more extensive design of conquest; he claimed all the dominions which had belonged to Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy, and sent an embassy to Alexander commanding the Romans instantly to depart from all the provinces of his ancestors, and, yielding to the Persians the empire of Asia, to content themselves with the undisturbed possession of Europe. The war which followed (A.D. 233) is differently related. Although Alexander, in an oration delivered to the senate, claimed a brilliant victory over the Persians, he appears in reality to have obtained no advantage over the enemy, and to have led back to Antioch an army diminished by sickness, and provoked by disappointment. But at the same time the Persian monarch had lost the flower of his troops, in several obstinate engagements against the veteran legions of Rome. Even his victories had weakened his power. The favourable opportunities of the absence of Alexander, and of the confusions that followed that emperor's death, presented themselves in vain to his ambition. Instead of expelling the Romans, as he pretended, from the continent of Asia, he found

himself unable to wrest from their hands their little province of Mesopotamia.

The reign of Artaxerxes, which from the last defeat of the Parthians lasted only fourteen years, forms a memorable æra in the history of the East, and even in that of Rome. His character seems to have been marked by those bold and commanding features that generally distinguish the princes who conquer, from those who inherit, an empire. Till the last period of the Persian monarchy his code of laws was respected as the groundwork of their civil and religious policy. He bequeathed his new empire and his ambitious designs against the Romans to Sapor, a son not unworthy of his great father; but those designs were too extensive for the power of Persia, and served only to involve both nations in a long series of destructive wars and reciprocal calamities.

§ 13. The unsuccessful event of the Persian wars had degraded the military reputation of Alexander and inflamed the discontent of the soldiers. Maximin, a soldier of fortune, who had risen from the condition of a Thracian peasant to the highest commands in the army, turned the discontent of the soldiers to his own advantage. His emissaries upbraided the troops for supporting with ignominious patience during thirteen years the vexatious discipline imposed by an effeminate Syrian, the timid slave of his mother and the senate. It was time, they said, to cast away that useless phantom of the civil power, and to elect for their prince and general a real soldier, educated in camps, exercised in war, who would assert the glory and distribute among his companions the treasures of the empire. A great army was at that time assembled on the banks of the Rhine, under the command of the emperor himself, who, almost immediately after his return from the Persian war, had been obliged to march against the barbarians of Germany. The important care of training and reviewing the new levies was entrusted to Maximin. One day, as he entered the field of exercise, the troops saluted him emperor, and hastened to consummate their rebellion by the murder of Alexander Severus. The son of Mamæa, betrayed and deserted, withdrew into his tent, desirous at least to conceal his approaching fate from the insults of the multitude. He was soon followed by a tribune and some centurions, the ministers of death; but instead of receiving with manly resolution the inevitable stroke, his unavailing cries and entreaties disgraced the last moments of his life, and converted into contempt some portion of the just pity which his innocence and misfortunes must inspire. His mother Mæmea perished with her son (March 19, A.D. 235).

Balbinus.

CHAPTER IV.

REIGNS OF MAXIMIN, THE TWO GORDIANS, MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS, THE THIRD GORDIAN, AND PHILIP.

§ 1. Birth and fortunes of MAXIMIN. § 2. He succeeds Alexander Severus: his cruelty. § 3. Election of the two GORDIANS in Africa: their death. § 4. Election of MAXIMUS and BALBINUS by the Senate. § 5. Siege of Aquileia by Maximin: death of Maximin. § 6. Massacre of Maximus and Balbinus. § 7. Reign of the third GORDIAN. § 8. Reign of PHILIP: he celebrates the secular games.

§ 1. MAXIMIN was descended from a mixed race of barbarians. His father was a Goth, and his mother of the race of the Alani. The emperor Severus, returning from an eastern expedition, halted in Thrace, to celebrate with military games the birthday of his younger son, Geta. The country flocked in crowds to behold their sovereign, and a young barbarian of gigantic stature earnestly solicited, in his rude dialect, that he might be allowed to contend for the prize of wrestling. As the pride of discipline would have been disgraced in the overthrow of a Roman soldier by a Thracian peasant, he was matched with the stoutest followers of the camp, sixteen of whom he successively laid on the ground. His victory was rewarded by some trifling gifts and a permission to enlist in the troops. The next day the happy barbarian was distinguished above a crowd of recruits, dancing and exulting after the fashion of his country. As soon as he perceived that he had attracted the emperor's notice, he instantly ran up to his horse, and followed him on foot, without the least appearance of fatigue, in a long and rapid

career. "Thracian," said Severus, with astonishment, "art thou disposed to wrestle after thy race?" "Most willingly, Sir," replied the unwearied youth; and, almost in a breath, overthrew seven of the strongest soldiers in the army. A gold collar was the prize of his matchless vigour and activity, and he was immediately appointed to serve in the horse-guards, who always attended on the person of the sovereign. This barbarian, afterwards known by the name of Maximin, displayed on every occasion a valour equal to his strength, and his native fierceness was soon tempered or disguised by the knowledge of the world. Under the reign of Severus and his son, he obtained the rank of centurion, with the favour and esteem of both those princes, the former of whom was an excellent judge of merit. Gratitude forbade Maximin to serve under the assassin of Caracalla. Honour taught him to decline the effeminate insults of Elagabalus. On the accession of Alexander he returned to court, and was placed by that prince in the command of the fourth legion.

§ 2. The murder of Alexander Severus had placed Maximin upon the throne (A. D. 235). His mean and barbarian origin, his savage appearance, and his total ignorance of the arts and institutions of civil life, formed a very unfavourable contrast with the amiable manners of the unhappy Alexander. His dark and sanguinary soul was open to every suspicion against those among his subjects who were the most distinguished by their birth or merit. Whenever he was alarmed by the sound of treason, his cruelty was unbounded and unrelenting. Italy and the whole empire were infested with innumerable spies and informers. On the slightest accusation, the first of the Roman nobles were chained on the public carriages, and hurried away to the emperor's presence. Confiscation, exile, or simple death, were esteemed uncommon instances of his lenity. Some of the unfortunate sufferers he ordered to be sewed up in the hides of slaughtered animals, others to be exposed to wild beasts, others again to be beaten to death with clubs. During the three years of his reign he disdained to visit either Rome or Italy. His camp, occasionally removed from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Danube, was the seat of his stern despotism, which trampled on every principle of law and justice, and was supported by the avowed power of the sword. No man of noble birth, elegant accomplishments, or knowledge of civil business, was suffered near his person; and the court of a Roman emperor revived the idea of those ancient chiefs of slaves and gladiators, whose savage power had left a deep impression of terror and detestation.

As long as the cruelty of Maximin was confined to the illustrious senators, the body of the people viewed their sufferings with indifference, or perhaps with pleasure. But the tyrant's avarice, stimu-

lated by the insatiate desires of the soldiers, at length attacked the public property. Every city of the empire was possessed of an independent revenue, destined to purchase corn for the multitude, and to supply the expenses of the games and entertainments. By a single act of authority, the whole mass of wealth was at once confiscated for the use of the Imperial treasury. The temples were stripped of their most valuable offerings of gold and silver, and the statues of gods, heroes, and emperors, were melted down and coined into money. Throughout the Roman world a general cry of indignation was heard, imploring vengeance on the common enemy of human kind; and at length, by an act of private oppression, a peaceful and unarmed province was driven into rebellion against him.

§ 3. The procurator of Africa had pronounced an iniquitous sentence against some opulent youths of that country, the execution of which would have stripped them of far the greater part of their patrimony. In this extremity, a resolution that must either complete or prevent their ruin was dictated by despair. They assassinated the procurator, erected the standard of rebellion against the sovereign of the Roman empire, and compelled Gordianus, the proconsul of the province, to accept the Imperial purple (February, A.D. 238). Gordianus was more than fourscore years of age. His family was one of the most illustrious of the Roman senate. On the father's side he was descended from the Gracchi; on his mother's, from the emperor Trajan. A great estate enabled him to support the dignity of his birth, and in the enjoyment of it he displayed an elegant taste and beneficent disposition. His long life was innocently spent in the study of letters and the peaceful honours of Rome; and, till he was named proconsul of Africa by the voice of the senate and the approbation of Alexander, he appears prudently to have declined the command of armies and the government of provinces. With the venerable proconsul, his son, who had accompanied him into Africa as his lieutenant, was likewise declared emperor. His manners were less pure, but his character was equally amiable with that of his father. As soon as the Gordians had appeased the first tumult of a popular election they removed their court to Carthage, and sent a deputation to Rome to solicit the approbation of the senate.

The inclinations of the senate were neither doubtful nor divided. The birth and noble alliances of the Gordians had intimately connected them with the most illustrious houses of Rome. Their mild administration opened the flattering prospect of the restoration, not only of the civil but even of the republican government. The hatred of Maximin towards the senate was declared and implacable; the tamest submission had not appeased his fury, the most cautious

innocence could not remove his suspicions; and even the care of their own safety urged them to share the fortune of an enterprise, of which (if unsuccessful) they were sure to be the first victims. Accordingly, by an unanimous decree, the election of the Gordians was ratified; Maximin, his son, and his adherents were pronounced enemies of their country; the capital of the empire acknowledged with transport the authority of the two Gordians and the senate; and the example of Rome was followed by the rest of Italy.

The senate assumed the reins of government, and, with a calm intrepidity, prepared to vindicate by arms the cause of freedom. The defence of Italy was intrusted to twenty consular senators. Each was appointed to act in his respective department, authorised to enrol and discipline the Italian youth, and instructed to fortify the ports and highways against the impending invasion of Maximin. But, while the cause of the Gordians was embraced with such diffusive ardour, the Gordians themselves were no more. The feeble court of Carthage was alarmed with the rapid approach of Capelianus, governor of Mauritania, who, with a small band of veterans and a fierce host of barbarians, attacked a faithful but unwarlike province. The younger Gordian sallied out to meet the enemy at the head of a few guards, and a numerous undisciplined multitude, educated in the peaceful luxury of Carthage. His useless valour served only to procure him an honourable death on the field of battle. His aged father, whose reign had not exceeded 36 days, put an end to his life on the first news of the defeat (March, A.D. 238). Carthage, destitute of defence, opened her gates to the conqueror, and Africa was exposed to the rapacious cruelty of a slave, obliged to satisfy his unrelenting master with a large account of blood and treasure.

§ 4. The fate of the Gordians filled Rome with just but unexpected terror. Maximin, implacable by nature and exasperated by injuries, was advancing towards Italy at the head of the military force, of the empire; and the senate had no alternative but either to meet him bravely in the field, or tamely to expect the tortures and ignominious death reserved for unsuccessful rebellion. They, therefore conferred the Imperial dignity upon Maximus and Balbinus, two distinguished senators, whose virtues and reputation justified the most sanguine hopes of the Romans. The various nature of their talents seemed to appropriate to each his peculiar department of peace and war, without leaving room for jealous emulation. Balbinus was an admired orator, a poet of distinguished fame, and a wise magistrate, who had exercised with innocence and applause the civil jurisdiction in almost all the interior provinces of the empire. His birth was noble, his fortune affluent, his manners liberal and affable. The mind of Maximus was formed in a rougher mould.

By his valour and abilities he had raised himself from the meanest origin to the first employments of the state and army. But the licentious multitude demanded that, besides the two emperors chosen by the senate, a third should be added of the family of the Gordians, as a just return of gratitude to those princes who had sacrificed their lives for the republic. The senate at first refused; but when the populace supported their demand by arms, it was considered more prudent to confer the title of Cæsar upon the grandson of the elder and nephew of the younger Gordian, who was a boy only 13 years of age.

§ 5. Maximin, meantime, had crossed the Alps, and in the month of April appeared before the city of Aquileia. This city received and withstood the shock of the invasion. It was defended by its citizens with the greatest bravery; its magazines were plentifully supplied, and several fountains within the walls assured them of an inexhaustible resource of fresh water. The soldiers of Maximin were, on the contrary, exposed to the inclemency of the season, the contagion of disease, and the horrors of famine. In accordance with the wise orders of the generals of the senate, the cattle had been driven away from the surrounding country, the provisions removed or destroyed, nor was anything left which could afford either shelter or subsistence to an invader. A spirit of despair and disaffection began to diffuse itself among the troops. The fierce temper of the tyrant was exasperated by disappointments, which he imputed to the cowardice of his army; and his wanton and ill-timed cruelty, instead of striking terror, inspired hatred and a just desire of revenge. A party of Prætorian guards, who trembled for their wives and children in the camp of Alba, near Rome, executed the sentence of the senate. Maximin, abandoned by his guards, was slain in his tent with his son, whom he had associated to the honours of the purple (May, A.D. 238). The sight of their heads, borne on the point of spears, convinced the citizens of Aquileia that the siege was at an end; the gates of the city were thrown open, a liberal market was provided for the hungry troops of Maximin, and the whole army joined in solemn protestations of fidelity to the senate and the people of Rome, and to their lawful emperors Maximus and Balbinus. Such was the deserved fate of a brutal savage, destitute, as he has generally been represented, of every sentiment that distinguishes a civilized, or even a human being. The body was suited to the soul. The stature of Maximin exceeded the measure of eight feet, and circumstances almost incredible are related of his matchless strength and appetite. Had he lived in a less enlightened age, tradition and poetry might well have described him as one of those monstrous giants whose supernatural power was constantly exerted for the destruction of mankind.

§ 6. It is easier to conceive than to describe the universal joy of the Roman world on the fall of the tyrant, the news of which is said to have been carried in four days from Aquileia to Rome. The return of Maximus, who had gone to oppose the tyrant, was a triumphal procession; his colleague and young Gordian went out to meet him, and the three princes were received on their entry into the capital with the unfeigned acclamations of the senate and people, who persuaded themselves that a golden age would succeed to an age of iron. The conduct of the two emperors corresponded with these expectations. They administered justice in person; and the rigour of the one was tempered by the other's clemency. The oppressive taxes with which Maximin had loaded the rights of inheritance and succession were repealed, or at least moderated. Discipline was revived, and with the advice of the senate many wise laws were enacted by their Imperial ministers, who endeavoured to restore a civil constitution on the ruins of military tyranny. "What reward may we expect for delivering Rome from a monster?" was the question asked by Maximus in a moment of freedom and confidence. Balbinus answered it without hesitation, "The love of the senate, of the people, and of all mankind." "Alas!" replied his more penetrating colleague, "alas! I dread the hatred of the soldiers and the fatal effects of their resentment." His apprehensions were but too well justified by the event. The Prætorians had attended the emperors on the memorable day of their public entry into Rome; but, amidst the general acclamations, the sullen dejected countenances of the guards sufficiently declared that they considered themselves as the object, rather than the partners, of the triumph. When the whole body was united in their camp, those who had served under Maximin, and those who had remained at Rome, insensibly communicated to each other their complaints and apprehensions. The emperors chosen by the army had perished with ignominy; those elected by the senate were seated on the throne. The soldiers must now learn a new doctrine of submission to the senate. But their fate was still in their own hands; and if they had courage to despise the vain terrors of an impotent republic, it was easy to convince the world that those who were masters of the arms were masters of the authority of the state. A few days afterwards, while the whole city was employed in the Capitoline games, a troop of desperate assassins from the Prætorian camp burst into the palace, seized on these emperors of the senate, for such they called them with malicious contempt, stripped them of their garments, and dragged them in insolent triumph through the streets of Rome, with the design of inflicting a slow and cruel death on these unfortunate princes. The fear of a rescue from the faithful Germans of the Imperial guards shortened their

tortures; and their bodies, mangled with a thousand wounds, were left exposed to the insults or to the pity of the populace.

§ 7. In the space of a few months six princes had been cut off by the sword. Gordian, who had already received the title of Cæsar, was the only person that occurred to the soldiers as proper to fill the vacant throne. They carried him to the camp and unanimously saluted him Augustus and emperor. His name was dear to the senate and people; his tender age promised a long impunity of military licence; and the submission of Rome and the provinces to the choice of the Prætorian guards saved the republic, at the expense indeed of its freedom and dignity, from the horrors of a new civil war in the heart of the capital.

As the third Gordian was only nineteen years of age at the time of his death, the history of his life, were it known to us with greater accuracy than it really is, would contain little more than the account of his education and the conduct of the ministers who by turns abused or guided the simplicity of his inexperienced youth. Immediately after his accession he fell into the hands of his mother's eunuchs, who sold without his knowledge the honours of the empire to the most worthless of mankind. We are ignorant by what fortunate accident the emperor escaped from this ignominious slavery, and devolved his confidence on a minister whose wise counsels had no object except the glory of his sovereign and the happiness of the people. It should seem that love and learning introduced Misitheus* to the favour of Gordian. The young prince married the daughter of his master of rhetoric, and promoted his father-in-law to the first offices of the empire. The life of Misitheus had been spent in the profession of letters, not of arms; yet such was the versatile genius of that great man, that, when he was appointed Prætorian præfect, he discharged the military duties of his place with vigour and ability. The Persians had invaded Mesopotamia, and threatened Antioch (A.D. 242). By the persuasion of his father-in-law, the young emperor quitted the luxury of Rome, opened, for the last time recorded in history, the temple of Janus, and marched in person into the East. On his approach with a great army, the Persians withdrew their garrisons from the cities which they had already taken, and retired from the Euphrates to the Tigris. Gordian enjoyed the pleasure of announcing to the senate the first success of his arms, which he ascribed with a becoming modesty and gratitude to the wisdom of his father and præfect. But the prosperity of Gordian expired with Misitheus, who died of a flux, not without very strong suspicions of poison. Philip, his successor in the præfecture, was an Arab by birth, and consequently, in the earlier part

* By other authorities he is called Timesicles or Timesitheus, which is the more probable form of his name.

of his life, a robber by profession. His rise from so obscure a station to the first dignities of the empire seems to prove that he was a bold and able leader. But his boldness prompted him to aspire to the throne, and his abilities were employed to supplant, not to serve, his indulgent master. The minds of the soldiers were irritated by an artificial scarcity, created by his contrivance in the camp; and the distress of the army was attributed to the youth and incapacity of the prince. It is not in our power to trace the successive steps of the secret conspiracy and open sedition which were at length fatal to Gordian (March, A.D. 244). A sepulchral monument was erected to his memory on the spot where he was killed, near the conflux of the Euphrates with the little river Aboras. The fortunate Philip, raised to the empire by the votes of the soldiers, found a ready obedience from the senate and the provinces.

§ 8. On his return from the East to Rome, Philip, desirous of obliterating the memory of his crimes, and of captivating the affections of the people, solemnised the secular games with infinite pomp and magnificence (April 21, A.D. 248). Since their institution or revival by Augustus, they had been celebrated by Claudius, by Domitian, and by Severus, and were now renewed the fifth time, on the accomplishment of the full period of a thousand years from the foundation of Rome. Every circumstance of the secular games was skilfully adapted to inspire the superstitious mind with deep and solemn reverence. The long interval between them exceeded the term of human life; and as none of the spectators had already seen them, none could flatter themselves with the expectation of beholding them a second time. The mystic sacrifices were performed, during three nights, on the banks of the Tiber; and the Campus Martius resounded with music and dances, and was illuminated with innumerable lamps and torches. Slaves and strangers were excluded from any participation in these national ceremonies. A chorus of twenty-seven youths, and as many virgins, of noble families, and whose parents were both alive, implored the propitious gods in favour of the present, and for the hope of the rising generation; requesting, in religious hymns, that, according to the faith of their ancient oracles, they would still maintain the virtue, the felicity, and the empire of the Roman people.

Gallienus.

CHAPTER V.

THE REIGNS OF DECIUS, GALLUS, ÆMILIANUS, VALERIAN, AND GALLIENUS.—THE THIRTY TYRANTS.

§ 1. Death of Philip and accession of DECIUS. § 2. Origin and migrations of the Goths. § 3. The Gothic War: defeat and death of Decius. § 4. Reign and death of GALLUS: reign and death of ÆMILIANUS: accession of VALERIAN. § 5. Character of Valerian: associates his son GALLIENUS in the empire: general misfortunes of their reigns. § 6. Origin and confederacy of the Franks: they invade Gaul and Spain. § 7. Origin of the Alemanni: they invade Gaul and Italy. § 8. The three naval expeditions of the Goths. § 9. Conquest of Armenia by the Persians: Valerian defeated and taken prisoner by Sapor: Sapor overruns Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia. § 10. Success of Odenathus against Sapor. § 11. Treatment of Valerian by Sapor. § 12. Character and administration of Gallienus. § 13. The Thirty Tyrants. § 14. Famine and pestilence.

§ 1. FROM the great secular games celebrated by Philip, to the death of the emperor Gallienus, there elapsed twenty years of shame and misfortune. During that calamitous period, every instant of time was marked, every province of the Roman world was afflicted, by barbarous invaders and military tyrants, and the ruined empire seemed to approach the last and fatal moment of its dissolution. After Philip had reigned five years, a rebellion against him broke out among the legions of Mœsia, and a subaltern officer, named Marinus, was the object of their seditious choice. Philip sent Decius, a noble senator, to quell the insurrection; but the legions of Mœsia forced their judge to become their accomplice. They left him only the alternative of death or the purple. His subsequent

conduct, after that decisive measure was unavoidable. He conducted or followed his army to the confines of Italy, whither Philip, collecting all his force to repel the formidable competitor whom he had raised up, advanced to meet him. Philip was either killed in the battle, or put to death a few days afterwards at Verona (A.D. 249). His son and associate in the empire was massacred at Rome by the Prætorian guards; and the victorious Decius, with more favourable circumstances than the ambition of that age can usually plead, was universally acknowledged by the senate and provinces.

§ 2. The emperor Decius had employed a few months in the works of peace and the administration of justice, when he was summoned to the banks of the Danube by the invasion of the GOTHS. This is the first considerable occasion in which history mentions that great people, who afterwards broke the Roman power, sacked the Capitol, and reigned in Gaul, Spain, and Italy. So memorable was the part which they acted in the subversion of the Western empire, that the name of GOTHS is frequently but improperly used as a general appellation of rude and warlike barbarism.

In the beginning of the sixth century, and after the conquest of Italy, the Goths, in possession of present greatness, very naturally indulged themselves in the prospect of past and of future glory. They wished to preserve the memory of their ancestors, and to transmit to posterity their own achievements. The principal minister of the court of Ravenna, the learned Cassiodorus, gratified the inclination of the conquerors in a Gothic history, which consisted of twelve books, now reduced to the imperfect abridgement of Jornandes. On the faith of ancient songs, the uncertain but the only memorials of barbarians, these writers deduced the first origin of the Goths from the vast island or peninsula of Scandinavia. They afterwards crossed the Baltic, and emigrated to the coasts of Pomerania and Prussia, where we find them settled at least as early as the Christian æra, and as late as the age of the Antonines. Between the time of the Antonines and the reign of Alexander Severus, the Goths had emigrated a second time towards the south, and had taken possession of the Ukraine, a country of considerable extent and uncommon fertility, intersected with navigable rivers, which, from either side, discharge themselves into the Borysthenes or Dnieper, and interspersed with large and lofty forests of oaks. In this emigration the Goths were joined by several other tribes, of both Teutonic and Slavonic descent, who were proud to fight under the banners of this martial people. The numbers and spirit of the Goths were equal to the most dangerous adventures. The use of round bucklers and short swords rendered them formidable in a close engagement; the manly obedience which they yielded to hereditary kings gave uncommon union and stability to their councils; and

the renowned Amala, the hero of that age, and the tenth ancestor of Theodoric king of Italy, enforced, by the ascendant of personal merit, the prerogative of his birth, which he derived from the *Anses*, or demigods of the Gothic nation. The people were divided into the great tribes of the Ostrogoths or eastern Goths, Visigoths or western Goths, and Gepidæ.

§ 3. The Scythian hordes, which, towards the east, bordered on the new settlements of the Goths, presented nothing to their arms, except the doubtful chance of an unprofitable victory. But the prospect of the Roman territories was far more alluring: and the fields of Dacia were covered with rich harvests, sown by the hands of an industrious, and exposed to be gathered by those of a warlike, people. It is probable that the conquests of Trajan, maintained by his successors less for any real advantage than for ideal dignity, had contributed to weaken the empire on that side. The new and unsettled province of Dacia was neither strong enough to resist, nor rich enough to satiate, the rapaciousness of the barbarians. As long as the remote banks of the Dniester were considered as the boundary of the Roman power, the fortifications of the Lower Danube were more carelessly guarded, and the inhabitants of Mœsia lived in supine security, fondly conceiving themselves at an inaccessible distance from any barbarian invaders. The irruptions of the Goths, under the reign of Philip, fatally convinced them of their mistake. The king of that fierce nation traversed with contempt the province of Dacia, and passed both the Dniester and the Danube without encountering any opposition capable of retarding his progress. He appeared at length under the walls of Marcianopolis, a city built by Trajan in honour of his sister, and at that time the capital of the second Mœsia. The inhabitants consented to ransom their lives and property by the payment of a large sum of money, and the invaders retreated back into their deserts, animated rather than satisfied, with the first success of their arms against an opulent but feeble country. They soon passed the Danube a second time, with more considerable forces, under their king Cniva; and when Decius arrived at the scene of war, he found them engaged before Nicopolis, on the Jatrus, one of the many monuments of Trajan's victories. On his approach they raised the siege, but with a design only of marching away to a conquest of greater importance, the siege of Philippopolis, a city of Thrace, founded by the father of Alexander, near the foot of Mount Hæmus. Decius followed them through a difficult country, and by forced marches; but when he imagined himself at a considerable distance from the rear of the Goths, Cniva turned with rapid fury on his pursuers. The camp of the Romans was surprised and pillaged, and, for the first time, their emperor fled in disorder before a troop of half-armed barbarians.

After a long resistance Philippopolis, destitute of succour, was taken by storm. A hundred thousand persons are reported to have been massacred in the sack of that great city. The time, however, consumed in that tedious siege enabled Decius to revive the courage, restore the discipline, and recruit the number of his troops. He intercepted several parties of Carpi, and other Germans, who were hastening to share the victory of their countrymen, intrusted the passes of the mountains to officers of approved valour and fidelity, repaired and strengthened the fortifications of the Danube, and exerted his utmost vigilance to oppose either the progress or the retreat of the Goths. They were now, on every side, surrounded and pursued by the Roman arms. The flower of their troops had perished in the long seige of Philippopolis, and the exhausted country could no longer afford subsistence for the remaining multitude of licentious barbarians. Reduced to this extremity, the Goths would gladly have purchased, by the surrender of all their booty and prisoners, the permission of an undisturbed retreat. But the emperor, confident of victory, and resolving, by the chastisement of these invaders, to strike a salutary terror into the nations of the North, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation. The high-spirited barbarians preferred death to slavery. An obscure town of Mœsia, called Forum Trebonii, was the scene of the battle. The conflict was terrible; it was the combat of despair against grief and rage. The Romans were at length defeated; they perished in a morass, which they inffectually attempted to cross; nor could the body of the emperor ever be found (A.D. 251). Such was the fate of Decius, in the 50th year of his age; an accomplished prince, active in war, and affable in peace; who, together with his son, has deserved to be compared, both in life and death, with the brightest examples of ancient virtue.

§ 4. This fatal blow humbled, for a very little time, the insolence of the legions. They appear to have patiently expected, and submissively obeyed, the decree of the senate which regulated the succession to the throne. From a just regard for the memory of Decius, the Imperial title was conferred on Hostilianus, his only surviving son; but an equal rank, with more effectual power, was granted to Gallus, whose experience and ability seemed equal to the great trust of guardian to the young prince and the distressed empire. The first care of the new emperor was to deliver the Illyrian provinces from the intolerable weight of the victorious Goths. He consented to leave in their hands the rich fruits of their invasion, and he even promised to pay them annually a large sum of gold. But the minds of the Romans were not yet accustomed to accept such unequal laws from a tribe of barbarians; and the prince, who by a necessary concession had probably saved his country, became the object of the

general contempt and aversion. The death of Hostilianus, though it happened in the midst of the raging pestilence, was interpreted as the personal crime of Gallus. The Romans were irritated to a still higher degree when they discovered that they had not even secured their repose, though at the expense of their honour. The dangerous secret of the wealth and weakness of the empire had been revealed to the world. New swarms of barbarians, encouraged by the success of their brethren, spread devastation through the Illyrian provinces, and terror as far as the gates of Rome. The defence of the monarchy, which seemed abandoned by the pusillanimous emperor, was assumed by Æmilianus, governor of Pannonia and Mœsia, who defeated the barbarians and pursued them beyond the Danube. The victorious leader distributed as a donative the money collected for the tribute, and the acclamations of the soldiers proclaimed him emperor on the field of battle. Gallus was almost in the same instant informed of the success, of the revolt, and of the rapid approach, of his aspiring lieutenant. He advanced to meet him as far as the plains of Spoleto. When the armies came in sight of each other the soldiers of Gallus compared the ignominious conduct of their sovereign with the glory of his rival. The murder of Gallus and of his son Volusianus put an end to the civil war: and the senate gave a legal sanction to the rights of conquest (May, A.D. 253).

Æmilianus reigned only four months. Gallus had sent Valerian to bring the legions of Gaul and Germany to his aid. Valerian executed that commission with zeal and fidelity; and, as he arrived too late to save his sovereign, he resolved to avenge him. The troops of Æmilianus, who still lay encamped in the plains of Spoleto, were awed by the superior strength of his army; and they readily imbrued their hands in the blood of a prince who so lately had been the object of their partial choice (August, A.D. 253). The guilt was theirs, but the advantage of it was Valerian's; who obtained the possession of the throne by the means indeed of a civil war, but with a degree of innocence singular in that age of revolutions; since he owed neither gratitude nor allegiance to his predecessor, whom he dethroned.

§ 5. Valerian was about sixty years of age when he was invested with the purple, not by the caprice of the populace or the clamours of the army, but by the unanimous voice of the Roman world. In his gradual ascent through the honours of the state he had deserved the favour of virtuous princes, and had declared himself the enemy of tyrants. His noble birth, his mild but unblemished manners, his learning, prudence, and experience, were revered by the senate and people; and, if mankind (according to the observation of an ancient writer) had been left at liberty to choose a master, their choice would most assuredly have fallen on Valerian. When the emperor Decius

had resolved to revive the obsolete office of censor in the vain expectation of restoring public virtue, and ancient principles and manners, he submitted the choice of the censor to the unbiassed voice of the senate. By their unanimous votes, or rather acclamations, Valerian had been declared the most worthy of that exalted honour. Upon his accession to the empire, Valerian resolved to share the throne with a younger and more active associate; but instead of making a judicious choice, Valerian, consulting only the dictates of affection or vanity, immediately invested with the supreme honours his son Gallienus, a youth whose effeminate vices had been hitherto concealed by the obscurity of a private station. The joint government of the father and son subsisted about seven, and the sole administration of Gallienus continued about eight years. But the whole period was one uninterrupted series of confusion and calamity. As the Roman empire was at the same time, and on every side, attacked by the blind fury of foreign invaders and the wild ambition of domestic usurpers, we shall consult order and perspicuity by pursuing not so much the doubtful arrangement of dates as the more natural distribution of subjects. The most dangerous enemies of Rome, during the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, were—1. The Franks; 2. The Alemanni; 3. The Goths; and 4. The Persians.

§ 6. I. The name of Franks or Freemen was given to a new confederacy formed about A.D. 240 by the old inhabitants of the Lower Rhine and the Weser. It consisted of the Chauci, the Cherusci, the Catti, and of several other tribes of inferior power and renown. The love of liberty was the ruling passion of these Germans; the enjoyment of it their best treasure; the word that expressed that enjoyment the most pleasing to their ear. They deserved, they assumed, they maintained the honourable epithet of Franks, or Freemen; which concealed, though it did not extinguish, the peculiar names of the several states of the confederacy. Tacit consent and mutual advantage dictated the first laws of the union; it was gradually cemented by habit and experience. The Romans had long experienced the daring valour of the people of Lower Germany. The union of their strength threatened Gaul with a more formidable invasion, and required the presence of Gallienus, the heir and colleague of Imperial power. Whilst that prince and his infant son Saloninus displayed in the court of Trèves the majesty of the empire, its armies were ably conducted by their general Postumus, who, though he afterwards betrayed the family of Valerian, was ever faithful to the great interest of the monarchy. The Franks, however, not only crossed the Rhine, and carried their devastations to the foot of the Pyrenees, but they also crossed these mountains, and laid waste Spain. During twelve years, the greatest part of the reign of Gallienus, that opulent country was the theatre of unequal

and destructive hostilities. Tarragona, the flourishing capital of a peaceful province, was sacked and almost destroyed. When the exhausted country no longer supplied a variety of plunder, the Franks seized on some vessels in the ports of Spain and transported themselves into Mauritania. The distant province was astonished with the fury of these barbarians, who seemed to fall from a new world, as their name, manners, and complexion were equally unknown on the coast of Africa.

§ 7. II. Among the various nations of Germany none were so celebrated as the Suevi. Their wide-extended name filled the interior countries of Germany, from the banks of the Oder to those of the Danube. Jealous as the Germans were of military renown, they all confessed the superior valour of the Suevi; and the tribes of the Usipetes and Tencteri, who, with a vast army, encountered the dictator Cæsar, declared that they esteemed it not a disgrace to have fled before a people to whose arms the immortal gods themselves were unequal.

In the reign of the emperor Caracalla an innumerable swarm of Suevi appeared on the banks of the Main, and in the neighbourhood of the Roman provinces, in quest either of food, of plunder, or of glory. The hasty army of volunteers gradually coalesced into a great and permanent nation, and, as it was composed from so many different tribes, assumed the name of Alemanni, or *Allmen*, to denote at once their various lineage and their common bravery. The latter was soon felt by the Romans in many a hostile inroad. This warlike people had been astonished by the immense preparations of Alexander Severus; they were dismayed by the arms of his successor, a barbarian equal in valour and fierceness to themselves. But, still hovering on the frontiers of the empire, they increased the general disorder that ensued after the death of Decius. They inflicted severe wounds on the rich provinces of Gaul: they were the first who removed the veil that covered the feeble majesty of Italy. A numerous body of the Alemanni penetrated across the Danube, and through the Rhætian Alps into the plains of Lombardy, advanced as far as Ravenna, and displayed the victorious banners of barbarians almost in sight of Rome (A.D. 259). The insult and the danger rekindled in the senate some sparks of their ancient virtue. Both the emperors were engaged in far distant wars, Valerian in the East, and Gallienus on the Rhine. All the hopes and resources of the Romans were in themselves. In this emergency the senators resumed the defence of the republic, drew out the Prætorian guards, who had been left to garrison the capital, and filled up their numbers by enlisting into the public service the stoutest and most willing of the Plebeians. The Alemanni, astonished with the sudden appearance of an army more numerous than

their own, retired into Germany laden with spoil: and their retreat was esteemed as a victory by the unwarlike Romans.

Gallienus subsequently endeavoured to protect Italy from the fury of the Germans by espousing Pipa, the daughter of a king of the Marcomanni, a Suevic tribe, which was often confounded with the Alemanni in their wars and conquests. To the father, as the price of his alliance, he granted an ample settlement in Pannonia.

§ 8. III. We have already traced the emigration of the Goths from Scandinavia, or at least from Prussia, to the mouth of the Borysthenes, and have followed their victorious arms from the Borysthenes to the Danube. Under the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, the frontier of the last-mentioned river was perpetually infested by the inroads of Germans and Sarmatians; but the great stream of the Gothic hostilities was diverted into a very different channel. The Goths, in their new settlement of the Ukraine, soon became masters of the northern coast of the Euxine; they conquered the peninsula of the Crimea, known to the ancients under the name of Chersonesus Taurica, and, having here obtained the command of a naval force, they sailed against the soft and wealthy provinces of Asia Minor, which possessed all that could attract, and nothing that could resist, a barbarian conqueror.

First Naval Expedition of the Goths, A.D. 258, 259.—The fleet of the Goths, leaving the coast of Circassia on the left hand, first appeared before Pityus, the utmost limits of the Roman provinces. They were at first repulsed, but subsequently obliterated their disgrace by the destruction of the city. Circling round the eastern extremity of the Euxine Sea, they arrived at Trebizond, celebrated in the retreat of the Ten Thousand as an ancient colony of Greeks. The city was large and populous; a double enclosure of walls seemed to defy the fury of the Goths, and the usual garrison had been strengthened by a reinforcement of ten thousand men. But the numerous troops, dissolved in riot and luxury, disdained to guard their impregnable fortifications. The Goths soon discovered the supine negligence of the besieged, erected a lofty pile of fascines, ascended the walls in the silence of the night, and entered the defenceless city, sword in hand. A general massacre of the people ensued. The most holy temples, and the most splendid edifices, were involved in a common destruction. The booty that fell into the hands of the Goths was immense; and the number of captives was incredible, as the victorious barbarians ranged without opposition through the extensive province of Pontus. The Goths, satisfied with the success of their first naval expedition, returned in triumph to their new establishments in the kingdom of Bosporus.

The Second Expedition of the Goths.—The second expedition of the Goths was undertaken with greater powers of men and ships;

but they steered a different course, and, disdaining the exhausted provinces of Pontus, followed the western coast of the Euxine, and approached the entrance of the Thracian Bosporus. But instead of sailing through these straits, they landed in the neighbourhood of Chalcedon, and marched against the wealthy city of Nicomedia, once the capital of the kings of Bithynia. It fell into their hands a rich and easy conquest. Nice, Prusa, Apamea, and Cius, were involved in the same calamity, which, in a few weeks, raged without control through the whole province of Bithynia. Three hundred years of peace, enjoyed by the soft inhabitants of Asia, had abolished the exercise of arms, and removed the apprehension of danger. The ancient walls were suffered to moulder away, and all the revenue of the most opulent cities were reserved for the construction of baths, temples, and theatres. The retreat of the Goths to the maritime city of Heraclea, where the fleet had probably been stationed, was attended by a long train of waggons laden with the spoils of Bithynia, and was marked by the flames of Nice and Nicomedia, which they wantonly burnt.

Third Naval Expedition of the Goths, A.D. 262.—In this expedition the Goths carried their ravages into the maritime provinces of Europe. They sailed through the Thracian Bosporus, sacked the noble and ancient city of Cyzicus, situated upon an island in the Propontis, passed the Hellespont, and at length anchored in the port of Piræus, five miles distant from Athens. The barbarians became masters of the native seat of the muses and the arts; but while they abandoned themselves to the licence of plunder and intemperance, their fleet was unexpectedly attacked by the brave Dexippus, who collected a hasty band of volunteers, peasants as well as soldiers, and in some measure avenged the calamities of his country. But this exploit, whatever lustre it might shed on the declining age of Athens, served rather to irritate than to subdue the undaunted spirit of the northern invaders. A general conflagration blazed out at the same time in every district of Greece. The rage of war, both by land and by sea, spread from the eastern point of Sunium to the western coast of Epirus. The Goths had already advanced within sight of Italy, when the approach of such imminent danger awakened the indolent Gallienus from his dream of pleasure. The emperor appeared in arms; and his presence seems to have checked the ardour, and to have divided the strength, of the enemy. Naulobatus, a chief of the Heruli, accepted an honourable capitulation, entered with a large body of his countrymen into the service of Rome, and was invested with the ornaments of the consular dignity, which had never before been profaned by the hands of a barbarian. The remainder returned to their settlements on the Euxine, some by sea, and others by land through the province of Mœsia.

§ 9. IV. The new sovereigns of Persia, Artaxerxes and his son Sapor, had triumphed (as we have already seen) over the house of Arsaces. Of the many princes of that ancient race, Chosroes, king of Armenia, had alone preserved both his life and his independence. He defended himself by the natural strength of his country; by the perpetual resort of fugitives and malecontents; by the alliance of the Romans; and, above all, by his own courage. Invincible in arms during a thirty years' war, he was at length assassinated by the emissaries of Sapor, king of Persia. The patriotic satraps of Armenia, who asserted the freedom and dignity of the crown, implored the protection of Rome in favour of Tiridates the lawful heir. But the son of Chosroes was an infant, the allies were at a distance, and the Persian monarch advanced towards the frontier at the head of an irresistible force. Young Tiridates, the future hope of his country, was saved by the fidelity of a servant, and Armenia continued about twenty-seven years a reluctant province of the great monarchy of Persia. Elated with this easy conquest, and presuming on the distresses or the degeneracy of the Romans, Sapor obliged the strong garrisons of Carrhæ and Nisibis to surrender, and spread devastation and terror on either side of the Euphrates.

The loss of an important frontier, the ruin of a faithful and natural ally, and the rapid success of Sapor's ambition, affected Rome with a deep sense of the insult as well as of the danger. Valerian resolved, notwithstanding his advanced age, to march in person to the defence of the East. He passed the Euphrates, encountered the Persian monarch near the walls of Edessa, was vanquished, and taken prisoner by Sapor (A.D. 260). The particulars of this great event are darkly and imperfectly represented; yet, by the glimmering light which is afforded us, we may discover a long series of imprudence, of error, and of deserved misfortunes on the side of the Roman emperor. He reposed an implicit confidence in Macrianus, his Prætorian præfect. That worthless minister rendered his master formidable only to the oppressed subjects, and contemptible to the enemies of Rome. By his weak or wicked counsels the Imperial army was betrayed into a situation where valour and military skill were equally unavailing. The vigorous attempt of the Romans to cut their way through the Persian host was repulsed with great slaughter. An immense sum of gold was offered to purchase the permission of a disgraceful retreat. But the Persian, conscious of his superiority, refused the money with disdain; and insisted on a personal conference with the emperor. Valerian was reduced to the necessity of intrusting his life and dignity to the faith of an enemy. The interview ended as it was natural to expect. The emperor was made a prisoner, and his astonished troops laid

down their arms. In such a moment of triumph the pride and policy of Sapor prompted him to fill the vacant throne with a successor entirely dependent on his pleasure. Cyriades, an obscure fugitive of Antioch, stained with every vice, was chosen to dishonour the Roman purple; and the will of the Persian victor could not fail of being ratified by the acclamations, however reluctant, of the captive army. Cyriades conducted Sapor over the Euphrates, and, by the way of Chalcis, to the metropolis of the East. So rapid were the motions of the Persian cavalry that the city of Antioch was surprised when the idle multitude was fondly gazing on the amusements of the theatre. The splendid buildings of Antioch, private as well as public, were either pillaged or destroyed; and the numerous inhabitants were put to the sword or led away into captivity. The conqueror overran the whole of Syria and Cilicia, and crossing the passes of Mount Taurus, destroyed Cæsarea, the capital of Cappadocia. His course was marked by devastation. He despaired of making any permanent establishment in the empire, and sought only to leave behind him a wasted desert, whilst he transported into Persia the people and the treasures of the provinces.

§ 10. In this expedition the only check which Sapor received was from Odenathus, a noble and opulent senator of Palmyra. The Persian monarch had rejected with disdain the presents by which the Palmyrenian had sought to obtain the favour of the Great King. Odenathus collected a small army from the villages of Syria and the tents of the desert, hovered round the Persian host, harassed their retreat, and carried off part of the treasure of the Great King, who was at last obliged to repass the Euphrates with some marks of haste and confusion (A.D. 261). By this exploit Odenathus laid the foundations of his future fame and fortunes. The majesty of Rome, oppressed by a Persian, was protected by a Syrian or Arab of Palmyra.

§ 11. The voice of history reproaches Sapor with a proud abuse of the rights of conquest. We are told that Valerian, in chains, but invested with the Imperial purple, was exposed to the multitude, a constant spectacle of fallen greatness; and that, whenever the Persian monarch mounted on horseback, he placed his foot on the neck of a Roman emperor. Notwithstanding all the remonstrances of his allies, who repeatedly advised him to remember the vicissitudes of fortune, to dread the returning power of Rome, and to make his illustrious captive the pledge of peace, not the object of insult, Sapor still remained inflexible. When Valerian sank under the weight of shame and grief, his skin, stuffed with straw, and formed into the likeness of a human figure, was preserved for ages in the most celebrated temple of Persia; a more real monument of triumph than the fancied trophies of brass and marble

so often erected by Roman vanity. The tale is moral and pathetic, but the truth of it may very fairly be called in question. Whatever treatment the unfortunate Valerian might experience in Persia, it is at least certain that the only emperor of Rome who had ever fallen into the hands of the enemy languished away his life in hopeless captivity.

§ 12. The emperor Gallienus, who had long supported with impatience the censorial severity of his father and colleague, received the intelligence of his misfortunes with secret pleasure and avowed indifference. "I knew that my father was a mortal," said he; "and, since he has acted as becomes a brave man, I am satisfied." Whilst Rome lamented the fate of her sovereign, the savage coldness of his son was extolled by the servile courtiers as the perfect firmness of a hero and a stoic. It is difficult to paint the light, the various, the inconstant character of Gallienus, which he displayed without constraint as soon as he became sole possessor of the empire. In every art that he attempted, his lively genius enabled him to succeed; and, as his genius was destitute of judgment, he attempted every art, except the important ones of war and government. He was a master of several curious but useless sciences, a ready orator, an elegant poet, a skilful gardener, an excellent cook, and most contemptible prince. When the great emergencies of the state required his presence and attention, he was engaged in conversation with the philosopher Plotinus, wasting his time in trifling or licentious pleasures, preparing his initiation to the Grecian mysteries, or soliciting a place in the Areopagus of Athens. His profuse magnificence insulted the general poverty; the solemn ridicule of his triumphs impressed a deeper sense of the public disgrace. The repeated intelligence of invasions, defeats, and rebellions he received with a careless smile; and, singling out, with affected contempt, some particular production of the lost province, he carelessly asked whether Rome must be ruined unless it was supplied with linen from Egypt and arras cloth from Gaul? There were, however, a few short moments in the life of Gallienus, when, exasperated by some recent injury, he suddenly appeared the intrepid soldier and the cruel tyrant; till, satiated with blood or fatigued by resistance, he insensibly sunk into the natural mildness and indolence of his character.

§ 13. At a time when the reins of government were held with so loose a hand, it is not surprising that a crowd of usurpers should start up in every province of the empire against the son of Valerian. It was probably some ingenious fancy, of comparing the thirty tyrants of Rome with the thirty tyrants of Athens, that induced the writers of the Augustan History to select that celebrated number, which has been gradually received into a popular appellation. But in every light the parallel is idle and defective. What

resemblance can we discover between a council of thirty persons, the united oppressors of a single city, and an uncertain list of independent rivals, who rose and fell in irregular succession through the extent of a vast empire? Nor can the number of thirty be completed, unless we include in the account the women and children who were honoured with the Imperial title. The reign of Gallienus, distracted as it was, produced only nineteen pretenders to the throne: Cyriades, Macrianus, Balista, Odenathus, and Zenobia in the east; in Gaul and the western provinces, Postumus, Lollianus, Victorinus and his mother Victoria, Marius, and Tetricus. In Illyricum and the confines of the Danube, Ingenuus, Regillianus, and Aureolus; in Pontus, Saturninus; in Isauria, Trebellianus; Piso in Thessaly; Valens in Achaia; Æmilianus in Egypt; and Celsus in Africa.

It is sufficiently known that the odious appellation of *Tyrant* was often employed by the ancients to express the illegal seizure of supreme power, without any reference to the abuse of it. Several of the pretenders who raised the standard of rebellion against the emperor Gallienus were shining models of virtue, and almost all possessed a considerable share of vigour and ability. Their merit had recommended them to the favour of Valerian, and gradually promoted them to the most important commands of the empire. The birth of most of them was obscure. They were born of peasants and enlisted in the army as private soldiers. In times of confusion every active genius finds the place assigned him by nature; in a general state of war military merit is the road to glory and to greatness. Of the nineteen tyrants Tetricus only was a senator; Piso alone was a noble. The lieutenants of Valerian were grateful to the father, whom they esteemed. They disdained to serve the luxurious indolence of his unworthy son. The throne of the Roman world was unsupported by any principle of loyalty; and treason against such a prince might easily be considered as patriotism to the state. Yet if we examine with candour the conduct of these usurpers, it will appear that they were much oftener driven into rebellion by their fears than urged to it by their ambition. They dreaded the cruel suspicions of Gallienus; they eqnally dreaded the capricious violence of their troops.

Of the nineteen tyrants who started up under the reign of Gallienus, there was not one who enjoyed a life of peace, or a natural death. As soon as they were invested with the bloody purple, they inspired their adherents with the same fears and ambition which had occasioned their own revolt. Encompassed with domestic conspiracy, military sedition, and civil war, they trembled on the edge of precipices, in which, after a longer or shorter term of anxiety, they were inevitably lost. These precarious monarchs received, however, such honours as the flattery of their respective

armies and provinces could bestow; but their claim, founded on rebellion, could never obtain the sanction of law or history. Italy, Rome, and the senate, constantly adhered to the cause of Gallienus, and he alone was considered as the sovereign of the empire. That prince condescended indeed to acknowledge the victorious arms of Odenathus, who deserved the honourable distinction by the repectful conduct which he always maintained towards the son of Valerian. With the general applause of the Romans, and the consent of Gallienus, the senate conferred the title of Augustus on the brave Palmyrenian; and seemed to intrust him with the government of the East, which he already possessed, in so independent a manner, that, like a private succession, he bequeathed it to his illustrious widow Zenobia.

Such were the barbarians, and such the tyrants, who, under the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, dismembered the provinces, and reduced the empire to the lowest pitch of disgrace and ruin, from whence it seemed impossible that it should ever emerge.

§ 14. Our habits of thinking so fondly connect the order of the universe with the fate of man, that this gloomy period of history has been decorated with inundations, earthquakes, uncommon meteors, preternatural darkness, and a crowd of prodigies fictitious or exaggerated. But a long and general famine was a calamity of a more serious kind. It was the inevitable consequence of rapine and oppression, which extirpated the produce of the present and the hope of future harvests. Famine is almost always followed by epidemical diseases, the effect of scanty and unwholesome food. Other causes must, however, have contributed to the furious plague which, from the year 250 to the year 265, raged without interruption in every province, every city, and almost every family of the Roman empire. During some time 5000 persons died daily in Rome, and many towns that had escaped the hands of the barbarians were entirely depopulated. Half of the population of Alexandria perished; and could we venture to extend the analogy to the other provinces, we might suspect that war, pestilence, and famine had consumed, in a few years, the moiety of the human species.

Carinus.

CHAPTER VI.

REIGNS OF CLAUDIUS, AURELIAN, TACITUS, PROBUS, CARUS, CARINUS, AND NUMERIAN.

§ 1. Aureolus invades Italy: is defeated, and besieged at Milan: death of Gallienus. § 2. Ascension of CLAUDIUS: death of Aureolus: victories of Claudius over the Goths: his death. § 3. Accession of AURELIAN: his successful reign: concludes a treaty with the Goths, and resigns to them the province of Dacia. § 4. Defeats the Alemanni: surrounds Rome with new walls. § 5. Defeats Tetricus in Gaul. § 6. Character and reign of Zenobia. § 7. Aurelian defeats and takes Zenobia prisoner: rebellion and ruin of Palmyra. § 8. Aurelian suppresses the rebellion of Firmus in Egypt. § 9. His triumph: his treatment of Tetricus and Zenobia. § 10. Suppresses an insurrection at Rome: marches into the East: his assassination. § 11. Reign of TACITUS. § 12. Usurpation of Florianus: accession of PROBUS. § 13. Victories of Probus over the barbarians: he builds a wall from the Rhine to the Danube. § 14. Introduction and settlement of the Barbarians. § 15. Probus returns to Rome: his triumph: his discipline: his death. § 16. Reign of CARUS: his Persian victories and death. § 17. Accession of CARINUS and NUMERIAN: character of Carinus. § 18. Death of Numerian. § 19. Death of Carinus.

§ 1. UNDER the deplorable reigns of Valerian and Gallienus the empire was oppressed and almost destroyed by the soldiers, the tyrants, and the barbarians. It was saved by a series of great princes, who derived their obscure origin from the martial provinces, of Illyricum. Within a period of about thirty years, Claudius,

Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian and his colleagues, triumphed over the foreign and domestic enemies of the state, re-established, with the military discipline, the strength of the frontiers, and deserved the glorious title of Restorers of the Roman world.

The removal of an effeminate tyrant made way for a succession of heroes. A considerable army, stationed on the Upper Danube, invested with the Imperial purple their leader Aureolus, who passed the Alps, occupied Milan, threatened Rome, and challenged Gallienus to dispute in the field the sovereignty of Italy. The emperor, provoked by the insult, and alarmed by the instant danger, suddenly exerted that latent vigour which sometimes broke through the indolence of his temper. Forcing himself from the luxury of the palace, he appeared in arms at the head of his legions, and advanced beyond the Po to encounter his competitor. The Rhætian usurper, after receiving a total defeat and a dangerous wound, retired into Milan. The siege of that great city was immediately formed, and Aureolus, as a last resource, attempted to seduce the loyalty of the besiegers. His arts diffused fears and discontent among the principal officers of his rival. A conspiracy was formed against the life of Gallienus. At a late hour of the night an alarm was suddenly given that Aureolus, at the head of all his forces, had made a desperate sally from the town; Gallienus, who was never deficient in personal bravery, mounted on horseback and rode full speed towards the supposed place of the attack. Encompassed by his declared or concealed enemies, he soon, amidst the nocturnal tumult, received a mortal dart from an uncertain hand (March 20, A.D. 268). Before he expired, a patriotic sentiment rising in the mind of Gallienus induced him to name a deserving successor; and it was his last request that the Imperial ornaments should be delivered to Claudius, who then commanded a detached army in the neighbourhood of Pavia. The report at least was diligently propagated, and the order cheerfully obeyed by the conspirators, who had already agreed to place Claudius on the throne.

§ 2. Claudius was about 54 years of age when he ascended the throne. He was of humble origin, and had risen by his military abilities to high offices of trust under the emperors Decius, Valerian, and Gallienus. The siege of Milan was still continued, and Aureolus soon discovered that the success of his artifices had only raised up a more determined adversary. He attempted to negotiate with Claudius a treaty of alliance and partition. "Tell him," replied the intrepid emperor, "that such proposals should have been made to Gallienus; *he*, perhaps, might have listened to them with patience, and accepted a colleague as despicable as himself." This stern refusal, and a last unsuccessful effort, obliged Aureolus to yield the city and himself to the discretion of the conqueror. The

judgment of the army pronounced him worthy of death, and Claudius, after a feeble resistance, consented to the execution of the sentence.

In the arduous task which Claudius had undertaken of restoring the empire to its ancient splendour, it was first necessary to revive among his troops a sense of order and obedience. With the authority of a veteran commander, he represented to them that the relaxation of discipline had introduced a long train of disorders. He painted in the most lively colours the exhausted state of the treasury, the desolation of the provinces, the disgrace of the Roman name, and the insolent triumph of rapacious barbarians. The various nations of Germany and Sarmatia who fought under the Gothic standard had already collected an armament more formidable than any which had yet issued from the Euxine (A.D. 269). They sailed with an immense fleet into the Ægean Sea, anchored at length near the foot of Mount Athos, and assaulted the city of Thessalonica, the wealthy capital of all the Macedonian provinces. Their attacks were soon interrupted by the rapid approach of Claudius. Impatient for battle, the Goths immediately broke up their camp, relinquished the siege of Thessalonica, left their navy at the foot of Mount Athos, traversed the hills of Macedonia, and pressed forwards to engage the last defence of Italy. In the neighbourhood of Naissus, a city of Dardania, the emperor gained a decisive victory over this host of barbarians, who are said to have lost 50,000 men. But this victory, though it greatly weakened, did not crush the Goths. The war was diffused over the provinces of Mœsia, Thrace, and Macedonia, and its operations drawn out into a variety of marches, surprises, and tumultuary engagements, as well by sea as by land. At length the barbarians, after repeated defeats, and unable to retreat by sea in consequence of the loss of their fleet, were forced into the most inaccessible parts of Mount Hæmus, where they found a safe refuge but a very scanty subsistence. During the course of a rigorous winter, in which they were besieged by the emperor's troops, famine and pestilence, desertion and the sword, continually diminished the imprisoned multitude. On the return of spring nothing appeared in arms except a hardy and desperate band, the remnant of that mighty host which had embarked on the Euxine.

The pestilence which swept away such numbers of the barbarians at length proved fatal to their conqueror. After a short but glorious reign of two years, Claudius expired at Sirmium, amidst the tears and acclamations of his subjects (A.D. 270). By the most signal victories he had delivered the empire, and was distinguished by posterity under the glorious appellation of the Gothic Claudius. In his last illness he convened the principal officers of the state and army, and in their presence recommended Aurelian, one of his

generals, as the most deserving of the throne, and the best qualified to execute the great design which he himself had been permitted only to undertake. The virtues of Claudius, his valour, affability, justice, and temperance, his love of fame and of his country, place him in that short list of emperors who added lustre to the Roman purple. Those virtues, however, were celebrated with peculiar zeal and complacency by the courtly writers of the age of Constantine, who was the great-grandson of Crispus, the elder brother of Claudius.

§ 3. Aurelian, like his predecessor, was a soldier of fortune, and had risen from the ranks to the empire. His reign lasted only four years and about nine months; but every instant of that short period was filled by some memorable achievement. He put an end to the Gothic war, chastised the Germans who invaded Italy, recovered Gaul, Spain, and Britain out of the hands of Tetricus, and destroyed the proud monarchy which Zenobia had erected in the East on the ruins of the afflicted empire. It was the rigid attention of Aurelian even to the minutest articles of discipline which bestowed such uninterrupted success on his arms. His punishments were terrible; but he had seldom occasion to punish more than once the same offence.

The death of Claudius had revived the fainting spirit of the Goths. The troops which guarded the passes of Mount Hæmus and the banks of the Danube had been drawn away by the apprehension of a civil war; and it seems probable that the remaining body of the Gothic and Vandalic tribes embraced the favourable opportunity, abandoned their settlements of the Ukraine, traversed the rivers, and swelled with new multitudes the destroying host of their countrymen. Their united numbers were at length encountered by Aurelian, and the bloody and doubtful conflict ended only with the approach of night. Exhausted by so many calamities, which they had mutually endured and inflicted during a twenty years' war, the Goths and the Romans consented to a lasting and beneficial treaty. The Gothic nation engaged to supply the armies of Rome with a body of two thousand auxiliaries, consisting entirely of cavalry, and stipulated in return an undisturbed retreat, with a regular market as far as the Danube, provided by the emperor's care, but at their own expense. But the most important condition of peace was understood rather than expressed in the treaty. Aurelian withdrew the Roman forces from Dacia, and tacitly relinquished that great province to the Goths and Vandals. His manly judgment convinced him of the solid advantages, and taught him to despise the seeming disgrace, of thus contracting the frontiers of the monarchy. The Dacian subjects, removed from those distant possessions which they were unable to cultivate or defend, added strength and populousness

to the southern side of the Danube, where a new province of Dacia was formed, which still preserved the memory of Trajan's conquests. The old country of that name detained, however, a considerable number of its inhabitants, who dreaded exile more than a Gothic master. These degenerate Romans continued to serve the empire, whose allegiance they had renounced, by introducing among their conquerors the first notions of agriculture, the useful arts, and the conveniences of civilised life. An intercourse of commerce and language was gradually established between the opposite banks of the Danube; and, after Dacia became an independent state, it often proved the firmest barrier of the empire against the invasions of the savages of the North. The Wallachians, the inhabitants of ancient Dacia, have boasted in every age of their Roman descent, and their language is derived from the Latin, like the Italian, Spanish, and French.

§ 4. Aurelian was next called to repel the ravages of the Alemanni (A.D. 270). These warlike barbarians, after laying waste the north of Italy, and advancing as far south as Fano in Umbria, were defeated and almost exterminated in three great battles. But the danger which had threatened the capital, and the dread of similar invasions, induced the Romans to construct a new line of fortifications around their city. The seven hills of Rome had been surrounded by Servius Tullius, the fifth king of Rome, with an ancient wall of seven miles. With the progress of Roman greatness, the city and its inhabitants gradually increased, filled up the vacant space, pierced through the useless walls, covered the field of Mars, and, on every side, followed the public highways in long and beautiful suburbs. The extent of the new walls, erected by Aurelian, and finished in the reign of Probus, was between eleven and twelve miles. It was a great but a melancholy labour, since the defence of the capital betrayed the decline of the monarchy. The Romans of a more prosperous age, who trusted to the arms of the legions the safety of the frontier camps, were very far from entertaining a suspicion that it would ever become necessary to fortify the seat of empire against the inroads of the barbarians.

§ 5. The victory of Claudius over the Goths, and the success of Aurelian against the Alemanni, had already restored to the arms of Rome their ancient superiority over the barbarous nations of the North. To chastise domestic tyrants, and to reunite the dismembered parts of the empire, was a task reserved for the second of those warlike emperors. Though he was acknowledged by the senate and people, the frontiers of Italy, Africa, Illyricum, and Thrace, confined the limits of his reign. Gaul, Spain, and Britain, Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, were still possessed by two rebels, who alone, out of so numerous a list, had hitherto escaped the dan-

gers of their situation; and to complete the ignominy of Rome, these rival thrones had been usurped by women.

A rapid succession of monarchs had arisen and fallen in the provinces of Gaul. After the assassination of Victorinus, who had succeeded Postumus, Victoria, the mother of the former, controlled for a long time the fierce legions of Gaul, placed successively Marius and Tetricus on the throne, and reigned with a manly vigour under the name of those dependent emperors. Money of copper, of silver, and of gold, was coined in her name; she assumed the titles of Augusta and Mother of the Camps; and her power ended only with her life. After her death Tetricus continued to reign over Gaul, Spain, and Britain, the slave and sovereign of a licentious army, whom he dreaded, and by whom he was despised. The valour and fortune of Aurelian at length opened the prospect of a deliverance. Tetricus ventured to disclose his melancholy situation, and conjured the emperor to hasten to the relief of his unhappy rival. He affected the appearances of a civil war, led his forces into the field against Aurelian, posted them in the most disadvantageous manner, betrayed his own counsels to the enemy, and with a few chosen friends deserted in the beginning of the action (A.D. 271).

§ 6. Aurelian had no sooner secured the person and provinces of Tetricus, than he turned his arms against Zenobia, the celebrated queen of Palmyra and the East. Zenobia was esteemed the most lovely as well as the most heroic of her sex. She was of a dark complexion; her teeth were of a pearly whiteness, and her large black eyes sparkled with uncommon fire, tempered by the most attractive sweetness. Her manly understanding was strengthened and adorned by study. She was not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but possessed in equal perfection the Greek, the Syriac, and the Egyptian languages. She had drawn up for her own use an epitome of oriental history, and familiarly compared the beauties of Homer and Plato under the tuition of the sublime Longinus. This accomplished woman gave her hand to Odenathus, who, from a private station, raised himself to the dominion of the East. She soon became the friend and companion of a hero. In the intervals of war Odenathus passionately delighted in the exercise of hunting; he pursued with ardour the wild beasts of the desert, lions, panthers, and bears; and the ardour of Zenobia in that dangerous amusement was not inferior to his own. She had inured her constitution to fatigue, disdained the use of a covered carriage, generally appeared on horseback in a military habit, and sometimes marched several miles on foot at the head of the troops. The success of Odenathus was in a great measure ascribed to her incomparable prudence and fortitude. Their splendid victories over the Great

King, whom they twice pursued as far as the gates of Ctesiphon, laid the foundations of their united fame and power. The armies which they commanded, and the provinces which they had saved, acknowledged not any other sovereigns than their invincible chiefs. The senate and people of Rome revered a stranger who had avenged their captive emperor, and even the insensible son of Valerian accepted Odenathus for his legitimate colleague. After the assassination of Odenathus by his nephew Mæonius, Zenobia filled the vacant throne, and governed with manly counsels Palmyra, Syria, and the East, above five years. The emperor Claudius acknowledged her merit, and was content that, while *he* pursued the Gothic war, *she* should assert the dignity of the empire in the East. The conduct, however, of Zenobia was attended with some ambiguity: nor is it unlikely that she had conceived the design of erecting an independent and hostile monarchy. She bestowed on her three sons a Latin education, and often showed them to the troops adorned with the Imperial purple. For herself she reserved the diadem, with the splendid but doubtful title of Queen of the East.

§ 7. Zenobia would have ill deserved her reputation, had she indolently permitted the emperor of the West to approach within an hundred miles of her capital. The fate of the East was decided in two great battles; the first was fought near Antioch, and the second near Emesa; and in both the forces of Zenobia were completely defeated. Zenobia found it impossible to collect a third army. As far as the frontier of Egypt, the nations subject to her empire had joined the standard of the conqueror, who detached Probus, the bravest of his generals, to possess himself of the Egyptian provinces. Palmyra was the last resource of the widow of Odenathus. She retired within the walls of her capital, made every preparation for a vigorous resistance, and declared, with the intrepidity of a heroine, that the last moment of her reign and of her life should be the same.

Amid the barren deserts of Arabia a few cultivated spots rise like islands out of the sandy ocean. Even the name of Tadmor, or Palmyra, by its signification in the Syriac as well as in the Latin language, denoted the multitude of palm-trees which afforded shade and verdure to that temperate region. The air was pure, and the soil, watered by some invaluable springs, was capable of producing fruits as well as corn. A place possessed of such singular advantages, and situated at a convenient distance between the Gulf of Persia and the Mediterranean, was soon frequented by the caravans which conveyed to the nations of Europe a considerable part of the rich commodities of India. Palmyra insensibly increased into an opulent and independent city, and, connecting the Roman and the

Parthian monarchies by the mutual benefits of commerce, was suffered to observe an humble neutrality, till at length, after the victories of Trajan, the little republic sunk into the bosom of Rome, and flourished more than 150 years in the subordinate though honourable rank of a colony. It was during that peaceful period, if we may judge from a few remaining inscriptions, that the wealthy Palmyrenians constructed those temples, palaces, and porticos of Grecian architecture, whose ruins, scattered over an extent of several miles, have deserved the curiosity of our travellers.

The siege of Palmyra was pressed with vigour by Aurelian, but the defence was equally obstinate. At length the city began to suffer from famine; the death of Sapor, which happened about this time, deprived Zenobia of the help which she had expected from the Persian monarch; and, seeing herself cut off from all hope of succour, she resolved to fly. She mounted the fleetest of her dromedaries and had already reached the banks of the Euphrates, about 60 miles from Palmyra, when she was overtaken by the pursuit of Aurelian's light horse, seized and brought back a captive to the feet of the emperor. Her capital soon afterwards surrendered, and was treated with unexpected lenity (A.D. 273).

When the Syrian queen was brought into the presence of Aurelian, he sternly asked her, How she had presumed to rise in arms against the emperors of Rome? The answer of Zenobia was a prudent mixture of respect and firmness. "Because I disdained to consider as Roman emperors an Aureolus or a Gallienus. You alone I acknowledge as my conqueror and my sovereign." But the courage of Zenobia deserted her in the hour of trial; she trembled at the angry clamours of the soldiers, who called aloud for her immediate execution, and ignominiously purchased life by the sacrifice of her fame and her friends. It was to their counsels, which governed the weakness of her sex, that she imputed the guilt of her obstinate resistance; it was on their heads that she directed the vengeance of the cruel Aurelian. The fame of Longinus, who was included among the numerous and perhaps innocent victims of her fear, will survive that of the queen who betrayed, or the tyrant who condemned him. Genius and learning were incapable of moving a fierce unlettered soldier, but they had served to elevate and harmonise the soul of Longinus. Without uttering a complaint, he calmly followed the executioner, pitying his unhappy mistress, and bestowing comfort on his afflicted friends.

Returning from the conquest of the East, Aurelian had already crossed the straits which divide Europe from Asia, when he was provoked by the intelligence that the Palmyrenians had massacred the governor and garrison which he had left among them, and

again erected the standard of revolt. Without a moment's deliberation, he once more turned his face towards Syria. The helpless city of Palmyra felt the irresistible weight of his resentment. Its inhabitants were butchered without distinction of age or sex; and the seat of commerce, of arts, and of Zenobia, gradually sunk into an obscure town, a trifling fortress, and at length a miserable village. The present citizens of Palmyra, consisting of thirty or forty families, have erected their mud-cottages within the spacious court of a magnificent temple.

§ 8. Another and a last labour still awaited the indefatigable Aurelian; to suppress a dangerous though obscure rebel, who, during the revolt of Palmyra, had arisen on the banks of the Nile. Firmus, the friend and ally, as he proudly styled himself, of Odenathus and Zenobia, was no more than a wealthy merchant of Egypt. The Egyptians he inflamed with the hope of freedom, and, at the head of their furious multitude, broke into the city of Alexandria, where he assumed the Imperial purple, coined money, published edicts, and raised an army, which as he vainly boasted, he was capable of maintaining from the sole profits of his paper trade. Such troops were a feeble defence against the veteran forces of Aurelian; and it seems almost unnecessary to relate that Firmus was routed, taken, tortured, and put to death. Aurelian might now congratulate the senate, the people, and himself, that in little more than three years he had restored universal peace and order to the Roman world.

§ 9. Since the foundation of Rome no general had more nobly deserved a triumph than Aurelian; nor was a triumph ever celebrated with superior pride and magnificence (A.D. 274). The victories of Aurelian were attested by the long train of captives who reluctantly attended his triumph—Goths, Vandals, Sarmatians, Alemanni, Franks, Gauls, Syrians, and Egyptians. The emperor Tetricus and the queen of the East preceded the triumphal car of Aurelian, which was drawn on this memorable occasion either by four stags or by four elephants. So long and so various was the pomp of the triumph, that, although it opened with the dawn of day, the slow majesty of the procession ascended not the Capitol before the ninth hour; and it was already dark when the emperor returned to the palace. The festival was protracted by theatrical representations, the games of the circus, the hunting of wild beasts, combats of gladiators, and naval engagements. Liberal donatives were distributed to the army and people. A considerable portion of his oriental spoils was consecrated to the gods of Rome; and the temple of the Sun alone received above 15,000 pounds of gold. This last was a magnificent structure, erected by the emperor on the side of the Quirinal hill, and dedicated, soon after the triumph,

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§ 10. The arms of Aurelian had vanquished the foreign and domestic foes of the republic. But soon after his triumph a formidable insurrection broke out at Rome. It is said to have been excited by the workmen of the mint, but its real cause and object are uncertain. So formidable was its character that in its suppression Aurelian lost 7000 of his veteran soldiers. He used his victory with unrelenting rigour. He was naturally of a severe disposition. Trained from his earliest youth in the exercise of arms, he set too small a value on the life of a citizen, chastised by military execution the slightest offences, and transferred the stern discipline of the camp into the civil administration of the laws. The unprovoked rebellion with which the Romans rewarded his services exasperated his haughty spirit. The noblest families of the capital were involved in the guilt or suspicion of this dark conspiracy. A hasty spirit of revenge urged the bloody prosecution, and the unhappy senate lamented the death or absence of its most illustrious members. Nor was the pride of Aurelian less offensive to that assembly than his cruelty. Ignorant or impatient of the restraints of civil institutions, he disdained to hold his power by any other title than that of the sword, and governed by right of conquest an empire which he had saved and subdued.

In the following year (A.D. 274) Aurelian marched into the East against the Persian monarch. A secretary, whom he had threatened with punishment, forged a document in his master's hand, in which the principal officers of Aurelian were doomed to death. He showed them the long and bloody list; and they, without suspecting or examining the fraud, resolved to secure their lives by the murder of the emperor. On his march, between Byzantium and Heraclea, Aurelian was suddenly attacked by the conspirators, whose stations gave them a right to surround his person, and, after a short resistance, fell by the hand of Mucapor, a general whom he

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But the glory and life of Tacitus were of short duration. Transported in the depth of winter from the soft retirement of Campania to the foot of Mount Caucasus, he sunk under the unaccustomed hardships of a military life. The fatigues of the body were aggravated by the cares of the mind. For a while the angry and selfish passions of the soldiers had been suspended by the enthusiasm of public virtue. They soon broke out with redoubled violence, and raged in the camp, and even in the tent of the aged emperor. It may be doubtful whether the soldiers imbrued their hands in the blood of this innocent prince. It is certain that their insolence was the cause of his death. He expired at Tyana in Cappadocia,

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to that deity whom Aurelian adored as the parent of his life and fortunes.

Aurelian behaved towards Tetricus and Zenobia with a generous clemency which was seldom exercised by the ancient conquerors. Princes who, without success, had defended their throne or freedom, were frequently strangled in prison as soon as the triumphal pomp ascended the Capitol. These usurpers, whom their defeat had convicted of the crime of treason, were permitted to spend their lives in affluence and honourable repose. The emperor presented Zenobia with an elegant villa at Tibur or Tivoli, about 20 miles from the capital; the Syrian queen insensibly sunk into a Roman matron, her daughters married into noble families, and her race was not yet extinct in the fifth century. Tetricus and his son were reinstated in their rank and fortunes.

§ 10. The arms of Aurelian had vanquished the foreign and domestic foes of the republic. But soon after his triumph a formidable insurrection broke out at Rome. It is said to have been excited by the workmen of the mint, but its real cause and object are uncertain. So formidable was its character that in its suppression Aurelian lost 7000 of his veteran soldiers. He used his victory with unrelenting rigour. He was naturally of a severe disposition. Trained from his earliest youth in the exercise of arms, he set too small a value on the life of a citizen, chastised by military execution the slightest offences, and transferred the stern discipline of the camp into the civil administration of the laws. The unprovoked rebellion with which the Romans rewarded his services exasperated his haughty spirit. The noblest families of the capital were involved in the guilt or suspicion of this dark conspiracy. A hasty spirit of revenge urged the bloody prosecution, and the unhappy senate lamented the death or absence of its most illustrious members. Nor was the pride of Aurelian less offensive to that assembly than his cruelty. Ignorant or impatient of the restraints of civil institutions, he disdained to hold his power by any other title than that of the sword, and governed by right of conquest an empire which he had saved and subdued.

In the following year (A.D. 274) Aurelian marched into the East against the Persian monarch. A secretary, whom he had threatened with punishment, forged a document in his master's hand, in which the principal officers of Aurelian were doomed to death. He showed them the long and bloody list; and they, without suspecting or examining the fraud, resolved to secure their lives by the murder of the emperor. On his march, between Byzantium and Heraclea, Aurelian was suddenly attacked by the conspirators, whose stations gave them a right to surround his person, and, after a short resistance, fell by the hand of Mucapor, a general whom he

had always loved and trusted (March, A.D. 275). He died regretted by the army, detested by the senate, but universally acknowledged as a warlike and fortunate prince, the useful though severe reformer of a degenerate state.

§ 11. Such was the unhappy condition of the Roman emperors, that, whatever might be their conduct, their fate was commonly the same. A life of pleasure or virtue, of severity or mildness, of indolence or glory, alike led to an untimely grave; and almost every reign is closed by the same disgusting repetition of treason and murder. The death of Aurelian, however, is remarkable by its extraordinary consequences. The legions admired, lamented, and revenged their victorious chief. The artifice of his perfidious secretary was discovered and punished. They resolved that none of those whose guilt or misfortune had contributed to their loss should ever reign over them, and requested the senate to appoint a successor to the Imperial throne. The senate, however, declined the flattering appeal, and dictated a decree by which the election of a new emperor was referred to the suffrage of the military order. The troops, as if satiated with the exercise of power, again conjured the senate to invest one of its own body with the Imperial purple. The senate still persisted in its refusal; the army in its request. The reciprocal offer was pressed and rejected at least three times; and it was not till six months had elapsed that the senate raised to the purple one of the most virtuous of their body, the aged Tacitus, who was then 75 years of age, and who claimed descent from the philosophic historian whose writings will instruct the last generations of mankind (Sept. 25, A.D. 275). The election of Tacitus was confirmed by the army. He proceeded to the Thracian camp, and marched in person against the Alani, a Scythian people, who pitched their tents in the neighbourhood of the lake Mæotis, and who were ravaging the provinces of Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Galatia. Seconded by an army of brave and experienced veterans, he soon defeated the barbarians, and delivered the provinces of Asia from the terror of the Scythian invasion.

But the glory and life of Tacitus were of short duration. Transported in the depth of winter from the soft retirement of Campania to the foot of Mount Caucasus, he sunk under the unaccustomed hardships of a military life. The fatigues of the body were aggravated by the cares of the mind. For a while the angry and selfish passions of the soldiers had been suspended by the enthusiasm of public virtue. They soon broke out with redoubled violence, and raged in the camp, and even in the tent of the aged emperor. It may be doubtful whether the soldiers imbrued their hands in the blood of this innocent prince. It is certain that their insolence was the cause of his death. He expired at Tyana in Cappadocia,

The Courtyard of Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro. (See p. 97.)

CHAPTER VII.

REIGN OF DIOCLETIAN, AND HIS THREE ASSOCIATES, MAXIMIAN, GALERIUS, AND CONSTANTIUS.

§ 1. Elevation and character of DIOCLETIAN. § 2. Diocletian confers the title of Augustus upon MAXIMIAN: his character: Diocletian confers the title of Cæsar upon GALERIUS and CONSTANTIUS: their character. § 3. Suppression of the rebellion of the Bagaudæ in Gaul: revolt of Carausius in Britain: his death: recovery of Britain by Constantius. § 4. Defence of the frontiers of the empire: wars in Africa and Egypt. § 5. The Persian war: restoration of Tiridates to Armenia: his expulsion by the Persians. § 6. The two Campaigns of Galerius against the Persians: treaty of peace between the Persians and Romans. § 7. Triumph of Diocletian and Maximian. § 8. Residence of the emperors at Milan and Nicomedia: debasement of Rome and the Senate. § 9. Diocletian assumes new imperial titles, and introduces the Persian ceremonial. § 10. New form of administration, two Augusti and two Cæsars. § 11. Increase of taxes. § 12. Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian. § 13. Retirement of Diocletian at Salona.

§ 1. As the reign of Diocletian was more illustrious than that of any of his predecessors, so was his birth more abject and obscure. The

parents of Diocletian had been slaves in the house of a Roman senator; nor was he himself distinguished by any other name than that which he derived from a small town in Dalmatia, from whence his mother deduced her origin.* It is, however, probable that his father obtained the freedom of the family. Favourable oracles, or rather the consciousness of superior merit, prompted his aspiring son to pursue the profession of arms and the hopes of fortune. Diocletian was successively promoted to the government of Mœsia, the honours of the consulship, and the important command of the guards of the palace. He distinguished his abilities in the Persian war; and after the death of Numerian, the slave, by the confession and judgment of his rivals, was declared the most worthy of the Imperial throne. The abilities of Diocletian were useful rather than splendid—a vigorous mind improved by the experience and study of mankind; dexterity and application in business; a judicious mixture of liberality and economy, of mildness and rigour; profound dissimulation under the disguise of military frankness; steadiness to pursue his ends; flexibility to vary his means; and, above all, the great art of submitting his own passions, as well as those of others, to the interest of his ambition, and of colouring his ambition with the most specious pretences of justice and public utility. Like Augustus, Diocletian may be considered as the founder of a new empire. Like the adopted son of Cæsar, he was distinguished as a statesman rather than as a warrior; nor did either of those princes employ force, whenever their purpose could be effected by policy.

§ 2. In the year after his accession Diocletian conferred the title of Augustus upon Maximian (A.D. 286), a fortunate soldier, who had been born a peasant, and, like Aurelian, in the territory of Sirmium. Ignorant of letters, careless of laws, the rusticity of his appearance and manners still betrayed in the most elevated fortune the meanness of his extraction. War was the only art which he professed. In a long course of service he had distinguished himself on every frontier of the empire; and though his military talents were formed to obey rather than to command, he was capable, by his valour, constancy, and experience, of executing the most arduous undertakings. Nor were the vices of Maximian less useful to his benefactor. Insensible to pity, and fearless of consequences, he was the ready instrument of every act of cruelty which the policy of that artful prince might at once suggest and disclaim. As soon as a bloody sacrifice had been offered to prudence or to revenge, Diocletian, by his seasonable intercession, saved

* The town was properly called Doclea, and the original name of the fortunate slave was properly Docles; he first lengthened it to the Grecian harmony of Diocles, and at length to the Roman majesty of Diocletianus. He likewise assumed the Patrician name of Valerius.

the remaining few whom he had never designed to punish, gently censured the severity of his stern colleague, and enjoyed the comparison of a golden and an iron age, which was universally applied to their opposite maxims of government. Notwithstanding the difference of their characters, the two emperors maintained, on the throne, that friendship which they had contracted in a private station. The haughty turbulent spirit of Maximian was accustomed to respect the genius of Diocletian, and confessed the ascendant of reason over brute violence. From a motive either of pride or superstition the two emperors assumed the titles, the one of Jovius, the other of Herculius. Whilst the motion of the world (such was the language of their venal orators) was maintained by the all-seeing wisdom of Jupiter, the invincible arm of Hercules purged the earth from monsters and tyrants.

But even the omnipotence of Jovius and Herculius was insufficient to sustain the weight of the public administration. The prudence of Diocletian discovered that the empire, assailed on every side by the barbarians, required on every side the presence of a great army and of an emperor. With this view he resolved once more to divide his unwieldy power, and, with the inferior title of *Cæsars*, to confer on two generals of approved merit an equal share of the sovereign authority. Galerius, surnamed Armentarius, from his original profession of a herdsman, and Constantius, who, from his pale complexion, had acquired the denomination of Chlorus, were the two persons invested with the second honours of the Imperial purple (A.D. 292). In describing the country, extraction, and manners of Herculius, we have already delineated those of Galerius, who was often, and not improperly, styled the younger Maximian, though, in many instances both of virtue and ability, he appears to have possessed a manifest superiority over the elder. The birth of Constantius was less obscure than that of his colleagues. Eutropius, his father, was one of the most considerable nobles of Dardania, and his mother was the niece of the emperor Claudius. Although the youth of Constantius had been spent in arms, he was endowed with a mild and amiable disposition, and the popular voice had long since acknowledged him worthy of the rank which he at last attained. To strengthen the bonds of political by those of domestic union, each of the emperors assumed the character of a father to one of the Cæsars, Diocletian to Galerius, and Maximian to Constantius; and each, obliging them to repudiate their former wives, bestowed his daughter in marriage on his adopted son. These four princes distributed among themselves the wide extent of the Roman empire. The defence of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was intrusted to Constantius: Galerius was stationed on the banks of the Danube, as the safeguard of the Illyrian provinces. Italy and Africa were con-

sidered as the department of Maximian; and for his peculiar portion Diocletian reserved Thrace, Egypt, and the rich countries of Asia. Every one was sovereign within his own jurisdiction; but their united authority extended over the whole monarchy, and each of them was prepared to assist his colleagues with his counsels or presence. The Cæsars, in their exalted rank, revered the majesty of the emperors, and the three younger princes invariably acknowledged, by their gratitude and obedience, the common parent of their fortunes. This important measure was not carried into execution till about six years after the association of Maximian, and that interval of time had not been destitute of memorable incidents.

§ 3. The first exploit of Maximian was the suppression of the rebellion of the peasants of Gaul, who, under the appellation of Bagaudæ, had ravaged Gaul with the most savage cruelty. But Maximian had no sooner recovered Gaul from the hands of the peasants, than he lost Britain by the usurpation of Carausius (A.D. 287). To repel the incursions of the German pirates, it was found necessary to create a naval power. Gessoriacum, or Boulogne, in the straits of the British Channel, was chosen for the station of the Roman fleet; and the command of it was intrusted to Carausius, a Menapian of the meanest origin, but who had long signalised his skill as a pilot, and his valour as a soldier. The integrity of the new admiral corresponded not with his abilities. When the German pirates sailed from their own harbours, he connived at their passage, but he diligently intercepted their return, and appropriated to his own use an ample share of the spoil which they had acquired. Maximian had already given orders for his death; but the crafty Menapian had attached to his fortunes the fleet which he commanded; and sailing over to Britain, he persuaded the legion and the auxiliaries which guarded that island to embrace his party, and to confer the title of Augustus upon him. Carausius held Britain for six years, and fortune continued propitious to a rebellion supported with courage and ability. He still preserved the possession of Boulogne and the adjacent country. His fleets rode triumphant in the channel, commanded the mouths of the Seine and of the Rhine, ravaged the coasts of the ocean, and diffused beyond the Columns of Hercules the terror of his name. At the end of two years (A.D. 289) Diocletian and his colleague, who justly dreaded the enterprising spirit of Carausius, resigned to him the sovereignty of Britain, and reluctantly admitted their perfidious servant to a participation of the Imperial honours. But the adoption of the two Cæsars restored new vigour to the Roman arms; and while the Rhine was guarded by the presence of Maximian, his brave associate Constantius assumed the conduct of the British war. His first enterprise was against the important place of Boulogne. A stupendous mole, raised across the

entrance of the harbour, intercepted all hopes of relief. The town surrendered after an obstinate defence; and a considerable part of the naval strength of Carausius fell into the hands of the besiegers. While Constantius was employed in preparing a fleet adequate to the conquest of Britain, he received the intelligence of the tyrant's death. The servants of Carausius imitated the example of treason which he had given. He was murdered by his first minister Allectus, and the assassin succeeded to his power and to his danger (A.D. 293). But he possessed not equal abilities either to exercise the one, or to repel the other. After holding the supreme power three years, Asclepidotus, a distinguished officer of Constantius, succeeded in landing in Britain, and defeated and slew Allectus. A single battle, as it has often happened, decided the fate of this great island; and when Constantius landed on the shores of Kent, he found them covered with obedient subjects (A.D. 296).

§ 4. For the purpose of defending the Roman territory against the invasions of the barbarians, Diocletian fixed in the East a line of camps from Egypt to the Persian dominions; and in the West diligently repaired, from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Danube, the ancient camps, towns, and citadels, and skilfully constructed new ones in the most exposed places. The defence of the Danube and of the Rhine was intrusted to the Cæsars; and the Germans seldom ventured to break through the chain of fortifications.

While the Cæsars exercised their valour on the banks of the Rhine and Danube, the presence of the emperors was required on the southern confines of the Roman world. From the Nile to Mount Atlas, Africa was in arms. A confederacy of five Moorish nations issued from their deserts to invade the peaceful provinces. Julian had assumed the purple at Carthage, and Achilleus at Alexandria; and even the Blemmyes renewed, or rather continued, their incursions into the Upper Egypt. The progress of the arms of Maximian was rapid and decisive. He vanquished the fiercest barbarians of Mauritania, and he removed them from the mountains, whose inaccessible strength had inspired their inhabitants with a lawless confidence, and habituated them to a life of rapine and violence. Diocletian, on his side, took Alexandria, after a siege of eight months (A.D. 297), and treated the city with the utmost severity. Many thousands of the citizens perished in a promiscuous slaughter, and there were few obnoxious persons in Egypt who escaped a sentence either of death or at least of exile. The character of the Egyptian nation, insensible to kindness, but extremely susceptible of fear, could alone justify this excessive rigour. The seditions of Alexandria had often affected the tranquillity and subsistence of Rome itself. Since the usurpation of Firmus, the province of Upper Egypt, incessantly relapsing into rebellion, had embraced the alliance of the savages of Æthiopia. The

number of the Blemmyes, scattered between the island of Meroe and the Red Sea, was very inconsiderable, their disposition was unwarlike, their weapons rude and inoffensive. Yet in the public disorders these barbarians presumed to rank themselves among the enemies of Rome. With a view of opposing to the Blemmyes a suitable adversary, Diocletian persuaded the Nobatæ, or people of Nubia, to remove from their ancient habitations in the deserts of Libya, and resigned to them an extensive but unprofitable territory above Syene and the cataracts of the Nile, with the stipulation that they should ever respect and guard the frontier of the empire.

§ 5. The reduction of Egypt was immediately followed by the Persian war. It was reserved for the reign of Diocletian to vanquish that powerful nation, and to extort a confession from the successors of Artaxerxes of the superior majesty of the Roman empire.

We have observed, under the reign of Valerian, that Armenia was subdued by the perfidy and the arms of the Persians, and that, after the assassination of Chosroes, his son Tiridates, the infant heir of the monarchy, was saved by the fidelity of his friends, and educated under the protection of the emperors. In the third year of Diocletian's reign Tiridates was invested with the kingdom of Armenia (A.D. 286). The justice of the measure was not less evident than its expediency. It was time to rescue from the usurpation of the Persian monarch an important territory, which, since the reign of Nero, had been always granted under the protection of the empire to a younger branch of the house of Arsaces. Tiridates was received in Armenia with an unfeigned transport of joy and loyalty. During twenty-six years the country had experienced the real and imaginary hardships of a foreign yoke. The people flew to arms, and the Persian garrisons retreated before their fury. Tiridates not only expelled the enemies of his family and country from the whole extent of Armenia, but in the prosecution of his revenge he carried his arms, or at least his incursions, into the heart of Assyria. His success was favoured by the distracted state of the Persian monarchy. The throne was disputed by the ambition of contending brothers; but when the civil war was terminated, and Narses was universally acknowledged as king of Persia, he directed his whole force against the foreign enemy. The contest then became too unequal; and Tiridates, a second time expelled from the throne of Armenia, once more took refuge in the court of the emperors. Narses soon re-established his authority over the revolted province; and, loudly complaining of the protection afforded by the Romans to rebels and fugitives, aspired to the conquest of the East.

§ 6. Neither prudence nor honour could permit the emperors to forsake the cause of the Armenian king, and it was resolved to exert the force of the empire in the Persian war. Diocletian, with the calm

dignity which he constantly assumed, fixed his own station in the city of Antioch, from whence he prepared and directed the military operations. The conduct of the legions was intrusted to the intrepid valour of Galerius, who, for that important purpose, was removed from the banks of the Danube to those of the Euphrates (A.D. 297).

The armies soon encountered each other in the plains of Mesopotamia, and two battles were fought with various and doubtful success: but the third engagement was of a more decisive nature; and the Roman army received a total overthrow on the same ground which had been rendered memorable by the death of Crassus and the slaughter of ten legions. When Galerius returned to Antioch, Diocletian received him, not with the tenderness of a friend and colleague, but with the indignation of an offended sovereign. The haughtiest of men, clothed in his purple, but humbled by the sense of his fault and misfortune, was obliged to follow the emperor's chariot above a mile on foot, and to exhibit, before the whole court, the spectacle of his disgrace.

The result of the second campaign was very different (A.D. 298). Galerius, instead of exposing his legions in the open plains of Mesopotamia advanced through the mountains of Armenia, where he found the inhabitants devoted to his cause, and the country as favourable to the operations of infantry as it was inconvenient for the motions of cavalry. He surprised the camp of the enemy in the night, and put them to the rout with dreadful carnage. Narses himself was wounded and escaped with difficulty; but several of his wives, his sisters, and children, who had attended the army, were taken prisoners.

The power, or at least the spirit, of Narses had been broken by his last defeat; and he considered an immediate peace as the only means that could stop the progress of the Roman arms. He despatched an ambassador to Diocletian with a commission to negotiate a treaty, or rather to receive whatever conditions the conqueror should impose. A treaty was at length concluded between the two nations on the following conditions:—I. The Aborrhas, more usually called Chaboras, was fixed as the boundary between the two monarchies. That river fell into the Euphrates at Circesium, a frontier town, which, by the care of Diocletian, was very strongly fortified. Mesopotamia, the object of so many wars, was ceded to the empire; and the Persians, by this treaty, renounced all pretensions to that great province. II. They relinquished to the Romans five provinces beyond the Tigris. Their situation formed a very useful barrier, and their natural strength was soon improved by art and military skill. Four of these, to the north of the river, were districts of obscure fame and inconsiderable extent—Intiline, Zabdicene, Arzanene, and Moxoene; but on the east of the Tigris the empire

acquired the large and mountainous territory of Carduene, the ancient seat of the Carduchians, who preserved for many ages their manly freedom in the heart of the despotic monarchies of Asia. III. Tiridates, the faithful ally of Rome, was restored to the throne of his fathers, and the rights of the Imperial supremacy were fully asserted and secured. IV. The inhabitants of Iberia had in their hands the narrow defiles of Mount Caucasus; and it was in their choice either to admit or to exclude the wandering tribes of Sarmatia, whenever a rapacious spirit urged them to penetrate into the richer climates of the South. The nomination of the kings of Iberia, which was resigned by the Persian monarch to the emperors, contributed to the strength and security of the Roman power in Asia. The East enjoyed a profound tranquillity during forty years; and the treaty between the rival monarchies was strictly observed till the death of Tiridates; when a new generation, animated with different views and different passions, succeeded to the government of the world; and the grandson of Narses undertook a long and memorable war against the princes of the house of Constantine.

§ 7. The arduous work of rescuing the distressed empire from tyrants and barbarians had now been completely achieved by a succession of Illyrian peasants. As soon as Diocletian entered into the twentieth year of his reign, he celebrated that memorable æra, as well as the success of his arms, by the pomp of a Roman triumph (A.D. 303). Maximian, the equal partner of his power, was his only companion in the glory of that day. The two Cæsars had fought and conquered, but the merit of their exploits was ascribed, according to the rigour of ancient maxims, to the auspicious influence of their fathers and emperors. The triumph of Diocletian and Maximian was less magnificent, perhaps, than those of Aurelian and Probus, but it was dignified by several circumstances of superior fame and good fortune. Africa and Britain, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Nile, furnished their respective trophies; but the most distinguished ornament was of a more singular nature, a Persian victory followed by an important conquest. In the eyes of posterity this triumph is remarkable by a distinction of a less honourable kind. It was the last that Rome ever beheld. Soon after this period the Emperors ceased to vanquish, and Rome ceased to be the capital of the empire.

§ 8. The previous emperors, though perhaps of African or Illyrian extraction, had respected Rome, as the seat of their power and the centre of their extensive dominions. The emergencies of war very frequently required their presence on the frontiers; but Diocletian and Maximian were the first Roman princes who fixed, in time of peace, their ordinary residence in the provinces; and their conduct, however it might be suggested by private motives,

was justified by very specious considerations of policy. The court of the emperor of the West was, for the most part, established at Milan, whose situation, at the foot of the Alps, appeared far more convenient than that of Rome, for the important purpose of watching the motions of the barbarians of Germany. Milan soon assumed the splendour of an Imperial city. A circus, a theatre, a mint, a palace, baths, which bore the name of their founder Maximian; porticoes adorned with statues, and a double circumference of walls, contributed to the beauty of the new capital; nor did it seem oppressed even by the proximity of Rome. To rival the majesty of Rome was the ambition likewise of Diocletian, who employed his leisure, and the wealth of the East, in the embellishment of Nicomedia, a city placed on the verge of Europe and Asia, almost at an equal distance between the Danube and the Euphrates. By the taste of the monarch, and at the expense of the people, Nicomedia acquired, in the space of a few years, a degree of magnificence which might appear to have required the labour of ages, and became inferior only to Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, in extent or populousness. The life of Diocletian and Maximian was a life of action, and a considerable portion of it was spent in camps, or in their long and frequent marches; but whenever the public business allowed them any relaxation, they seem to have retired with pleasure to their favourite residences of Nicomedia and Milan. Till Diocletian, in the twentieth year of his reign, celebrated his Roman Triumph, it is extremely doubtful whether he ever visited the ancient capital of the empire. Even on that memorable occasion his stay did not exceed two months.

The dislike expressed by Diocletian towards Rome and Roman freedom was not the effect of momentary caprice, but the result of the most artful policy. That crafty prince had framed a new system of Imperial government, which was afterwards completed by the family of Constantine; and as the image of the old constitution was religiously preserved in the senate, he resolved to deprive that order of its small remains of power and consideration. The camp of the Prætorians, which had so long oppressed, began to protect, the Majesty of Rome; and as those haughty troops were conscious of the decline of their power, they were naturally disposed to unite their strength with the authority of the senate. By the prudent measures of Diocletian, the numbers of the Prætorians were insensibly reduced, their privileges abolished, and their place supplied by two faithful legions of Illyricum, who, under the new titles of Jovians and Herculians, were appointed to perform the service of the Imperial guards. The most fatal though secret wound which the senate received from the hands of Diocletian and Maximian was inflicted by the inevitable operation of their absence.

As long as the emperors resided at Rome, that assembly might be oppressed, but it could scarcely be neglected. The successors of Augustus exercised the power of dictating whatever laws their wisdom or caprice might suggest; but those laws were ratified by the sanction of the senate. The model of ancient freedom was preserved in its deliberations and decrees; and wise princes, who respected the prejudices of the Roman people, were in some measure obliged to assume the language and behaviour suitable to the general and first magistrate of the republic. In the armies and in the provinces they displayed the dignity of monarchs: and when they fixed their residence at a distance from the capital, they for ever laid aside the dissimulation which Augustus had recommended to his successors. In the exercise of the legislative as well as the executive power, the sovereign advised with his ministers, instead of consulting the great council of the nation. The name of the senate was mentioned with honour till the last period of the empire; the vanity of its members was still flattered with honorary distinctions; but the assembly which had so long been the source, and so long the instrument of power, was respectfully suffered to sink into oblivion. The senate of Rome, losing all connection with the Imperial court and the actual constitution, was left a venerable but useless monument of antiquity on the Capitoline hill.

§ 9. When the Roman princes had lost sight of the senate and of their ancient capital, they easily forgot the origin and nature of their legal power. The civil offices of consul, of proconsul, of censor, and of tribune, by the union of which it had been formed, betrayed to the people its republican extraction. Those modest titles were laid aside; and if they still distinguished their high station by the appellation of Emperor, or IMPERATOR, that word was understood in a new and more dignified sense, and no longer denoted the general of the Roman armies, but the sovereign of the Roman world. The name of Emperor, which was at first of a military nature, was associated with another of a more servile kind. The epithet of DOMINUS, or Lord, in its primitive signification, was expressive not of the authority of a prince over his subjects, or of a commander over his soldiers, but of the despotic power of a master over his domestic slaves. Viewing it in that odious light, it had been rejected with abhorrence by the first Cæsars. Their resistance insensibly became more feeble, and the name less odious: till at length the style of *our Lord and Emperor* was not only bestowed by flattery, but was regularly admitted into the laws and public monuments. From the time of Augustus to that of Diocletian, the Roman princes, conversing in a familiar manner among their fellow-citizens, were saluted only with the same respect that was usually paid to senators and magistrates. Their principal distinction was

the Imperial or military robe of purple; whilst the senatorial garment was marked by a broad, and the equestrian by a narrow, band or stripe of the same honourable colour. The policy of Diocletian engaged that artful prince to introduce the stately magnificence of the court of Persia. He ventured to assume the diadem, an ornament detested by the Romans as the odious ensign of royalty, and the use of which had been considered as the most desperate act of the madness of Caligula. It was no more than a broad white fillet set with pearls, which encircled the emperor's head. The sumptuous robes of Diocletian and his successors were of silk and gold; and it is remarked with indignation that even their shoes were studded with the most precious gems. The access to their sacred person was every day rendered more difficult by the institution of new forms and ceremonies. When a subject was admitted to the Imperial presence, he was obliged, whatever might be his rank, to fall prostrate on the ground, and to adore, according to the eastern fashion, the divinity of his lord and master. Diocletian was a man of sense, who, in the course of private as well as public life, had formed a just estimate both of himself and of mankind; nor is it easy to conceive that in substituting the manners of Persia for those of Rome he was seriously actuated by so mean a principle as that of vanity. He flattered himself that an ostentation of splendour and luxury would subdue the imagination of the multitude; that the monarch would be less exposed to the rude licence of the people and the soldiers, as his person was secluded from the public view; and that habits of submission would insensibly be productive of sentiments of veneration. Like the modesty affected by Augustus, the state maintained by Diocletian was a theatrical representation; but it must be confessed that, of the two comedies, the former was of a much more liberal and manly character than the latter. It was the aim of the one to disguise, and the object of the other to display, the unbounded power which the emperors possessed over the Roman world.

§ 10. Ostentation was the first principle of the new system instituted by Diocletian. The second was division. He divided the empire, the provinces, and every branch of the civil as well as military administration. He multiplied the wheels of the machine of government, and rendered its operations less rapid but more secure. He had associated three colleagues in the exercise of the supreme power; and as he was convinced that the abilities of a single man were inadequate to the public defence, he considered the joint administration of four princes not as a temporary expedient, but as a fundamental law of the constitution. It was his intention that the two elder princes should be distinguished by the use of the diadem, and the title of *Augusti*; that, as affection or esteem might direct

their choice, they should regularly call to their assistance two subordinate colleagues; and that the *Cæsars*, rising in their turn to the first rank, should supply an uninterrupted succession of emperors. The empire was divided into four parts. The East and Italy were the most honourable, the Danube and the Rhine the most laborious stations. The former claimed the presence of the *Augusti*, the latter were intrusted to the administration of the *Cæsars*. The strength of the legions was in the hands of the four partners of sovereignty, and the despair of successively vanquishing four formidable rivals might intimidate the ambition of an aspiring general. In their civil government the emperors were supposed to exercise the undivided power of the monarch, and their edicts, inscribed with their joint names, were received in all the provinces, as promulgated by their mutual councils and authority. Notwithstanding these precautions, the political union of the Roman world was gradually dissolved, and a principle of division was introduced, which, in the course of a few years, occasioned the perpetual separation of the eastern and western empires.

§ 11. The system of Diocletian was accompanied with another very material disadvantage; a more expensive establishment, and consequently an increase of taxes, and the oppression of the people. Instead of a modest family of slaves and freedmen, such as had contented the simple greatness of Augustus and Trajan, three or four magnificent courts were established in the various parts of the empire, and as many Roman *kings* contended with each other and with the Persian monarch for the vain superiority of pomp and luxury. From this period to the extinction of the empire, it would be easy to deduce an uninterrupted series of clamours and complaints respecting the weight of the taxes. According to his religion and situation, each writer chooses either Diocletian, or Constantine, or Valens, or Theodosius, for the object of his invectives; but they unanimously agree in representing the burden of the public impositions, and particularly the land-tax, as the intolerable and increasing grievance of their own times.

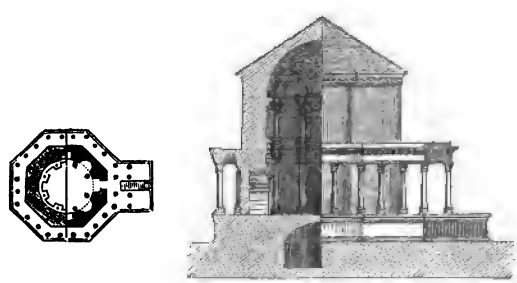
§ 12. It was in the twenty-first year of his reign that Diocletian executed his memorable resolution of abdicating the empire; an action more naturally to have been expected from the elder or the younger Antoninus than from a prince who had never practised the lessons of philosophy either in the attainment or in the use of supreme power. Diocletian acquired the glory of giving to the world the first example of a resignation which has not been very frequently imitated by succeeding monarchs. The parallel of Charles the Fifth, however, will naturally offer itself to our mind, from the very striking resemblance between the characters of the two emperors, whose political abilities were superior to their military genius,

and whose specious virtues were much less the effect of nature than of art. Neither Charles nor Diocletian had arrived at a very advanced period of life; since the one was only fifty-five, and the other was no more than fifty-nine years of age; but the active life of those princes, their wars and journeys, the cares of royalty, and their application to business, had already impaired their constitution, and brought on the infirmities of a premature old age.

During a whole year Diocletian had suffered from a very severe illness; and he resolved to put an end to the painful struggle which he had so long sustained between the care of his health and that of his dignity. The former required indulgence and relaxation, the latter compelled him to direct, from the bed of sickness, the administration of a great empire. He resolved to pass the remainder of his days in honourable repose, to place his glory beyond the reach of fortune, and to relinquish the theatre of the world to his younger and more active associates. The ceremony of his abdication was performed in a spacious plain, about three miles from Nicomedia (A.D. 305). The emperor ascended a lofty throne, and, in a speech full of reason and dignity, declared his intention, both to the people and to the soldiers who were assembled on this extraordinary occasion. As soon as he had divested himself of the purple, he withdrew from the gazing multitude, and, traversing the city in a covered chariot, proceeded without delay to the favourite retirement which he had chosen in his native country of Dalmatia. On the same day, which was the first of May, Maximian, as it had been previously concerted, made his resignation of the Imperial dignity at Milan. Even in the splendour of the Roman triumph, Diocletian had meditated his design of abdicating the government. As he wished to secure the obedience of Maximian, he exacted from him either a general assurance that he would submit his actions to the authority of his benefactor, or a particular promise that he would descend from the throne whenever he should receive the advice and the example. Maximian yielded reluctantly to the ascendant which his wiser colleague had acquired over him, and retired immediately after his abdication to a villa in Lucania, where it was almost impossible that such an impatient spirit could find any lasting tranquillity.

§ 13. Diocletian, who, from a servile origin, had raised himself to the throne, passed the nine last years of his life in a private condition. Reason had dictated, and content seems to have accompanied his retreat, in which he enjoyed for a long time the respect of those princes to whom he had resigned the possession of the world. Diocletian had preserved, or at least he soon recovered, a taste for the most innocent as well as natural pleasures, and his leisure hours were sufficiently employed in building, planting, and gardening. His answer to Maximian is deservedly celebrated. He

was solicited by that restless old man to reassume the reins of government and the Imperial purple. He rejected the temptation with a smile of pity, calmly observing that, if he could show Maximian the cabbages which he had planted with his own hands at Salona, he should be no longer urged to relinquish the enjoyment of happiness for the pursuit of power. Diocletian resided in a magnificent palace, which he had erected about six or seven miles from Salona; and we may infer, from the greatness of the work, how long he had meditated his design of abdicating the empire. It covered an extent of ground consisting of between nine and ten English acres. The form was quadrangular, flanked with sixteen towers. Two of the sides were near 600, and the other two near 700 feet in length. The whole was constructed of a beautiful freestone, extracted from the neighbouring quarries of Trau or Tragutium, and very little inferior to marble itself. Four streets, intersecting each other at right angles, divided the several parts of this great edifice, and the approach to the principal apartment was from a very stately entrance, which is still denominated the Golden Gate. The approach was terminated by a *peristylium* of granite columns, on one side of which we discover the square temple of Æsculapius, on the other the octagon temple of Jupiter. Had this magnificent edifice remained in a solitary country, it would have been exposed to the ravages of time; but it might, perhaps, have escaped the rapacious industry of man. The village of Aspalathus, and, long aftewards, the provincial town of Spalatro, have grown out of its ruins. The Golden Gate now opens into the marketplace. St. John the Baptist has usurped the honours of Æsculapius; and the temple of Jupiter, under the protection of the Virgin, is converted into the cathedral church.



Plan and Elevation of Octagon Temple in Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro.

entrance of the harbour, intercepted all hopes of relief. The town surrendered after an obstinate defence; and a considerable part of the naval strength of Carausius fell into the hands of the besiegers. While Constantius was employed in preparing a fleet adequate to the conquest of Britain, he received the intelligence of the tyrant's death. The servants of Carausius imitated the example of treason which he had given. He was murdered by his first minister Allectus, and the assassin succeeded to his power and to his danger (A.D. 293). But he possessed not equal abilities either to exercise the one, or to repel the other. After holding the supreme power three years, Asclepidotus, a distinguished officer of Constantius, succeeded in landing in Britain, and defeated and slew Allectus. A single battle, as it has often happened, decided the fate of this great island; and when Constantius landed on the shores of Kent, he found them covered with obedient subjects (A.D. 296).

§ 4. For the purpose of defending the Roman territory against the invasions of the barbarians, Diocletian fixed in the East a line of camps from Egypt to the Persian dominions; and in the West diligently repaired, from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Danube, the ancient camps, towns, and citadels, and skilfully constructed new ones in the most exposed places. The defence of the Danube and of the Rhine was intrusted to the Cæsars; and the Germans seldom ventured to break through the chain of fortifications.

While the Cæsars exercised their valour on the banks of the Rhine and Danube, the presence of the emperors was required on the southern confines of the Roman world. From the Nile to Mount Atlas, Africa was in arms. A confederacy of five Moorish nations issued from their deserts to invade the peaceful provinces. Julian had assumed the purple at Carthage, and Achilleus at Alexandria; and even the Blemmyes renewed, or rather continued, their incursions into the Upper Egypt. The progress of the arms of Maximian was rapid and decisive. He vanquished the fiercest barbarians of Mauritania, and he removed them from the mountains, whose inaccessible strength had inspired their inhabitants with a lawless confidence, and habituated them to a life of rapine and violence. Diocletian, on his side, took Alexandria, after a siege of eight months (A.D. 297), and treated the city with the utmost severity. Many thousands of the citizens perished in a promiscuous slaughter, and there were few obnoxious persons in Egypt who escaped a sentence either of death or at least of exile. The character of the Egyptian nation, insensible to kindness, but extremely susceptible of fear, could alone justify this excessive rigour. The seditions of Alexandria had often affected the tranquillity and subsistence of Rome itself. Since the usurpation of Firmus, the province of Upper Egypt, incessantly relapsing into rebellion, had embraced the alliance of the savages of Æthiopia. The

number of the Blemmyes, scattered between the island of Meroe and the Red Sea, was very inconsiderable, their disposition was unwarlike, their weapons rude and inoffensive. Yet in the public disorders these barbarians presumed to rank themselves among the enemies of Rome. With a view of opposing to the Blemmyes a suitable adversary, Diocletian persuaded the Nobatæ, or people of Nubia, to remove from their ancient habitations in the deserts of Libya, and resigned to them an extensive but unprofitable territory above Syene and the cataracts of the Nile, with the stipulation that they should ever respect and guard the frontier of the empire.

§ 5. The reduction of Egypt was immediately followed by the Persian war. It was reserved for the reign of Diocletian to vanquish that powerful nation, and to extort a confession from the successors of Artaxerxes of the superior majesty of the Roman empire.

We have observed, under the reign of Valerian, that Armenia was subdued by the perfidy and the arms of the Persians, and that, after the assassination of Chosroes, his son Tiridates, the infant heir of the monarchy, was saved by the fidelity of his friends, and educated under the protection of the emperors. In the third year of Diocletian's reign Tiridates was invested with the kingdom of Armenia (A.D. 286). The justice of the measure was not less evident than its expediency. It was time to rescue from the usurpation of the Persian monarch an important territory, which, since the reign of Nero, had been always granted under the protection of the empire to a younger branch of the house of Arsaces. Tiridates was received in Armenia with an unfeigned transport of joy and loyalty. During twenty-six years the country had experienced the real and imaginary hardships of a foreign yoke. The people flew to arms, and the Persian garrisons retreated before their fury. Tiridates not only expelled the enemies of his family and country from the whole extent of Armenia, but in the prosecution of his revenge he carried his arms, or at least his incursions, into the heart of Assyria. His success was favoured by the distracted state of the Persian monarchy. The throne was disputed by the ambition of contending brothers; but when the civil war was terminated, and Narses was universally acknowledged as king of Persia, he directed his whole force against the foreign enemy. The contest then became too unequal; and Tiridates, a second time expelled from the throne of Armenia, once more took refuge in the court of the emperors. Narses soon re-established his authority over the revolted province; and, loudly complaining of the protection afforded by the Romans to rebels and fugitives, aspired to the conquest of the East.

§ 6. Neither prudence nor honour could permit the emperors to forsake the cause of the Armenian king, and it was resolved to exert the force of the empire in the Persian war. Diocletian, with the calm

the elevation of Constantine; whilst Italy and Africa were lost by the successful revolt of Maxentius.

Constantine, the son of Constantius and Helena, was most probably born at Naissus, in Dacia, A.D. 274. He was about eighteen years of age when his father was promoted to the rank of Cæsar; but that fortunate event was attended with his mother's divorce; and the splendour of an Imperial alliance reduced the son of Helena to a state of disgrace and humiliation. Instead of following Constantius in the West, he remained in the service of Diocletian, signalised his valour in the wars of Egypt and Persia, and gradually rose to the honourable station of a tribune of the first order. The figure of Constantine was tall and majestic; he was dexterous in all his exercises, intrepid in war, affable in peace; in his whole conduct the active spirit of youth was tempered by habitual prudence; and while his mind was engrossed by ambition, he appeared cold and insensible to the allurements of pleasure. The favour of the people and soldiers, who had named him as a worthy candidate for the rank of Cæsar, served only to exasperate the jealousy of Galerius; and though prudence might restrain him from exercising any open violence, an absolute monarch is seldom at a loss how to execute a sure and secret revenge. Every hour increased the danger of Constantine, and the anxiety of his father, who, by repeated letters, expressed the warmest desire of embracing his son. For some time the policy of Galerius supplied him with delays and excuses, but it was impossible long to refuse so natural a request of his associate without maintaining his refusal by arms. The permission of the journey was reluctantly granted, and whatever precautions the emperor might have taken to intercept a return, the consequences of which he with so much reason apprehended, they were effectually disappointed by the incredible diligence of Constantine. Leaving the palace of Nicomedia in the night, he travelled post through Bithynia, Thrace, Dacia, Pannonia, Italy, and Gaul, and, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, reached the port of Boulogne in the very moment when his father was preparing to embark for Britain.

The British expedition, and an easy victory over the barbarians of Caledonia, were the last exploits of the reign of Constantius. He ended his life in the Imperial palace of York (July 25, A.D. 306), fifteen months after he had received the title of Augustus, and almost fourteen years and a half after he had been promoted to the rank of Cæsar. His death was immediately succeeded by the elevation of Constantine, who was saluted by the troops with the names of Augustus and Emperor. The throne was the object of his desires; and had he been less actuated by ambition, it was his only means of safety. He was well acquainted with the character and

sentiments of Galerius, and sufficiently apprised that, if he wished to live, he must determine to reign. Galerius thought it more prudent to dissemble his rage and disappointment. Without either condemning or ratifying the choice of the British army, Galerius accepted the son of his deceased colleague as the sovereign of the provinces beyond the Alps; but he gave him only the title of Cæsar, and the fourth rank among the Roman princes, whilst he conferred the vacant place of Augustus on his favourite Severus. The apparent harmony of the empire was still preserved, and Constantine, who already possessed the substance, expected, without impatience, an opportunity of obtaining the honours of supreme power.

§ 3. Galerius had introduced into Italy the same system of taxation which prevailed in the provinces. This was a necessary consequence of the division of the empire. So long as Italy and all the provinces were under one and the same government, the provinces alone might bear the expenses without any particular hardship; but when Italy and Africa were formed into a separate division of the empire, it was impossible that the whole expenses of the government should be defrayed by Africa alone. The Roman people, however, unaccustomed to taxation, resented with indignation this invasion of their privileges. The long absence of the emperors had already filled Rome with discontent. The senate fanned the rising fury of the people; and the feeble remains of the Prætorian guards, who had reason to apprehend their own dissolution, embraced so honourable a pretence, and declared their readiness to draw their swords in the service of their oppressed country. It was the wish, and it soon became the hope, of every citizen that, after expelling from Italy their foreign tyrants, they should elect a prince who, by the place of his residence, and by his maxims of government, might once more deserve the title of Roman emperor. The name, as well as the situation of Maxentius, determined in his favour the popular enthusiasm.

Maxentius was the son of the emperor Maximian, and he had married the daughter of Galerius. His birth and alliance seemed to offer him the fairest promise of succeeding to the empire; but his vices and incapacity procured him the same exclusion from the dignity of Cæsar which Constantine had deserved by a dangerous superiority of merit. The policy of Galerius preferred such associates as would never disgrace the choice, nor dispute the commands, of their benefactor. An obscure stranger was therefore raised to the throne of Italy, and the son of the late emperor of the West was left to enjoy the luxury of a private fortune in a villa a few miles distant from the capital. The gloomy passions of his soul, shame, vexation, and rage, were inflamed by envy on the news of Constantine's success; but the hopes of Maxentius revived with the public discontent,

and he was easily persuaded to unite his personal injury and pretensions with the cause of the Roman people. He was invested with the Imperial ornaments, and was acknowledged, by the applauding senate and people, as the protector of the Roman freedom and dignity. Maximian joyfully broke from the retirement where the authority of Diocletian had condemned him to pass a life of melancholy solitude, and at the request of his son and of the senate condescended to reassume the purple. His ancient dignity, his experience, and his fame in arms added strength as well as reputation to the party of Maxentius.

The emperor Severus immediately hastened to Rome, in the full confidence that, by his unexpected celerity, he should easily suppress the tumult of an unwarlike populace, commanded by a licentious youth. But he found on his arrival the gates of the city shut against him, the walls filled with men and arms, an experienced general at the head of the rebels, and his own troops without spirit or affection. The greater number of his soldiers deserted to the enemy; and the unfortunate Severus fled, with precipitation, to Ravenna. Here he might for some time have been safe; but Maximian, who conducted the siege in person, prevailed upon his fears not to expose himself to the discretion of an irritated conqueror, but to accept the faith of an honourable capitulation. He was at first received with humanity and treated with respect, but was shortly afterwards compelled to put an end to his own life (February, A.D. 307).

§ 4. Though the characters of Constantine and Maxentius had very little affinity with each other, their situation and interest were the same, and prudence seemed to require that they should unite their forces against the common enemy. Maximian passed the Alps, and, courting a personal interview with the sovereign of Gaul, carried with him his daughter Fausta as the pledge of the new alliance. The marriage was celebrated at Arles with every circumstance of magnificence; and the ancient colleague of Diocletian, who again asserted his claim to the Western empire, conferred on his son-in-law and ally the title of Augustus. By consenting to receive that honour from Maximian, Constantine seemed to embrace the cause of Rome and of the senate; but his professions were ambiguous, and his assistance slow and ineffectual. He considered with attention the approaching contest between the masters of Italy and the emperor of the East, and was prepared to consult his own safety or ambition in the event of the war.

§ 5. The importance of the occasion called for the presence and abilities of Galerius. At the head of a powerful army collected from Illyricum and the East, he entered Italy, resolved to revenge the death of Severus and to chastise the rebellious Romans. But the skill of Maximian had concerted a prudent system of defence. The

invader found every place hostile, fortified, and inaccessible; and though he forced his way as far as Narni, within sixty miles of Rome, his dominion in Italy was confined to the narrow limits of his camp. He was at length obliged to retreat with disgrace, and to leave Maximian and Maxentius in the undisturbed possession of Italy.

Galerius, upon his return from Italy, raised his friend Licinius to the rank of Augustus in the place of Severus, and resigned to his immediate command the provinces of Illyricum (A.D. 307, Nov. 11). The news of his promotion was no sooner carried into the East, than Maximin, who governed, or rather oppressed, the countries of Egypt and Syria, disdained the inferior name of Cæsar, and, notwithstanding the prayers as well as arguments of Galerius, exacted, almost with violence, the equal title of Augustus. For the first, and indeed for the last time, the Roman world was administered by six emperors (A.D. 308). In the West, Constantine and Maxentius affected to reverence their father Maximian. In the East, Licinius and Maximin honoured with more real consideration their benefactor Galerius. The opposition of interest, and the memory of a recent war, divided the empire into two great hostile powers; but their mutual fears produced an apparent tranquillity, and even a feigned reconciliation, till the death of the elder princes, of Maximian, and more particularly of Galerius, gave a new direction to the views and passions of their surviving associates.

§ 6. It was impossible that minds like those of Maximian and his son could long possess in harmony an undivided power. Maxentius considered himself as the legal sovereign of Italy, elected by the Roman senate and people; nor would he endure the control of his father, who arrogantly declared that by *his* name and abilities the rash youth had been established on the throne. The cause was solemnly pleaded before the Prætorian guards and those troops, who dreaded the severity of the old emperor, espoused the party of Maxentius. The life and freedom of Maximian were, however, respected, and he retired from Italy into Illyricum. But Galerius, who was well acquainted with his character, soon obliged him to leave his dominions, and the last refuge of the disappointed Maximian was the court of his son-in-law Constantine. He was received with respect by that artful prince. But while Constantine was engaged upon the Rhine in repelling an incursion of the Franks, Maximian seized the vacant throne. The rapid return of Constantine defeated all the hopes of Maximian, who fled for refuge to Marseilles. The inhabitants of this city surrendered him to Constantine, who compelled the old man to put an end to his life (A.D. 310, February). He deserved his fate; but we should find more reason to applaud the humanity of Constantine, if he had spared the benefactor of his father, and the father of his wife.

§ 7. Galerius survived his retreat from Italy about four years. His death was occasioned by a very painful and lingering disorder (A.D. 311). His body, swelled by an intemperate course of life to an unwieldy corpulence, was covered with ulcers, and devoured by innumerable swarms of those insects which have given their name to a most loathsome disease, which the Christians, whom he had cruelly persecuted, regarded as the visible effect of divine justice. His dominions were shared between Maximin and Licinius. The provinces of Asia fell to the share of Maximin, and those of Europe augmented the portion of Licinius. The deaths of Maximian and of Galerius reduced the number of emperors to four. The sense of their true interest soon connected Licinius and Constantine; a secret alliance was concluded between Maximin and Maxentius, and their unhappy subjects expected with terror the bloody consequences of their inevitable dissensions, which were no longer restrained by the fear or the respect which they had entertained for Galerius.

§ 8. While Constantine governed Gaul with justice, and repulsed with vigour the inroads of the Franks and Alemanni, Italy and Africa groaned under the dominion of Maxentius, a tyrant as contemptible as he was odious. His incapacity, profligacy, and cruelty knew no bounds. Maxentius had imbibed the same implacable aversion to the senate which had characterised most of the former tyrants of Rome; nor was it possible for his ungrateful temper to forgive the generous fidelity which had raised him to the throne. The lives of the senators were exposed to his jealous suspicions, the dishonour of their wives and daughters gratified his sensual passions. He filled Rome and Italy with armed troops, connived at their tumults, and suffered them with impunity to plunder, and even to massacre, the defenceless people. Rome, which had so long regretted the absence, lamented, during the six years of his reign (A.D. 306–312), the presence of her sovereign.

Maxentius, who pretended to resent the death of his father Maximian, ordered all the statues that had been erected in Italy and Africa to the honour of Constantine to be thrown down with ignominy, and prepared a considerable force to invade the Gallic provinces on the side of Rhætia. Constantine at first endeavoured to avoid a war, of the difficulty and importance of which he was well aware; but when he saw that Maxentius openly avowed his pretensions to the whole monarchy of the West, he resolved to anticipate the enemy, and to carry the war into the heart of Italy. At the head of about 40,000 soldiers he crossed the Cottian Alps (Mount Genèvre), defeated the army of Maxentius at Turin, entered Milan, and laid siege to Verona, under the walls of which he gained a decisive victory over another army of his adversary. But the resources of Maxentius, both of men and money, were still considerable. A

third army was soon collected, which the pusillanimous emperor was compelled by the contempt of the Roman people to lead in person. The final battle was fought at a place called Saxa Rubra, about nine miles from Rome. After an obstinate struggle the army of Maxentius was put to the rout, and his troops, pursued by an implacable enemy, rushed by thousands into the deep and rapid stream of the Tiber. The emperor himself attempted to escape back into the city over the Milvian bridge, but the crowds which pressed together through that narrow passage forced him into the river, where he was immediately drowned by the weight of his armour (October 28, A.D. 312).

§ 9. In the use of victory Constantine neither deserved the praise of clemency nor incurred the censure of immoderate rigour. He put to death the two sons of the tyrant, and carefully extirpated his whole race; but he pardoned even the most distinguished adherents of Maxentius. Games and festivals were instituted to preserve the fame of the victory of Constantine, and several edifices, raised at the expense of Maxentius, were dedicated to the honour of his successful rival. The triumphal arch of Constantine still remains a melancholy proof of the decline of the arts, and a singular testimony of the meanest vanity. As it was not possible to find in the capital of the empire a sculptor who was capable of adorning that public monument, the arch of Trajan, without any respect either for his memory or for the rules of propriety, was stripped of its most elegant figures. The difference of times and persons, of actions and characters, was totally disregarded. The Parthian captives appear prostrate at the feet of a prince who never carried his arms beyond the Euphrates; and curious antiquarians can still discover the head of Trajan on the trophies of Constantine. The new ornaments which it was necessary to introduce between the vacancies of ancient sculpture are executed in the rudest and most unskilful manner.

The final abolition of the Prætorian guards was a measure of prudence as well as of revenge. Those haughty troops, whose numbers and privileges had been restored, and even augmented, by Maxentius, were for ever suppressed by Constantine. By suppressing the troops which were usually stationed in Rome, Constantine gave the fatal blow to the dignity of the senate and people, and the disarmed capital was exposed, without protection, to the insults or neglect of its distant master. Constantine passed no more than two or three months in Rome, which he visited twice during the remainder of his life to celebrate the solemn festivals of the tenth and of the twentieth years of his reign. He was almost perpetually in motion, to exercise the legions or to inspect the state of the provinces. Trèves, Milan, Aquileia, Sirmium, Naissus, and Thessa-

lonica were the occasional places of his residence till he founded a NEW ROME on the confines of Europe and Asia.

§ 10. The war between Constantine and Maxentius was followed by a similar struggle between Licinius and Maximin (A.D. 313). Licinius had repaired to Milan to celebrate his marriage with Constantia, the sister of Constantine; but he was summoned from this city by the hostile approach of Maximin, who moved out of Syria in the depth of winter, crossed over into Europe, and took Byzantium after a siege of eleven days. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Heraclea, and Licinius gained a decisive victory over the emperor of the East. The incredible speed which Maximin exerted in his flight is much more celebrated than his prowess in the battle. Twenty-four hours afterwards he was seen pale, trembling, and without his Imperial ornaments, at Nicomedia, 160 miles from the place of his defeat. He survived his misfortunes only three or four months. His death, which happened at Tarsus, was variously ascribed to despair, to poison, and to the divine justice. As Maximin was alike destitute of abilities and of virtue, he was lamented neither by the people nor by his soldiers. The provinces of the East, delivered from the terrors of civil war, cheerfully acknowledged the authority of Licinius.

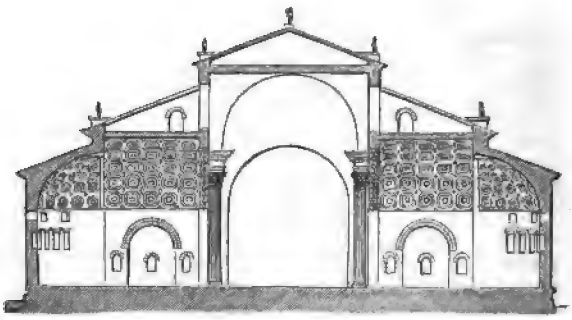
§ 11. The Roman world was now divided between Constantine and Licinius, the former of whom was master of the West, and the latter of the East. A year had scarcely elapsed after the death of Maximin, before the victorious emperors turned their arms against each other (A.D. 314). Constantine gained two victories over his opponent. The first battle was fought near Cibalis, a city of Pannonia, situated on the river Save; the second was fought in the plain of Mardia in Thrace, and both were obstinate and bloody. The successive defeats of Licinius had ruined his forces, but they had displayed his courage and abilities; and, accordingly, when he sued for peace, the good sense of Constantine preferred a great and certain advantage to a third trial of the chance of arms. He consented to leave Licinius in the possession of Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; but the provinces of Pannonia, Dalmatia, Dacia, Macedonia, and Greece, were yielded to the Western empire, and the dominions of Constantine now extended from the confines of Caledonia to the extremity of Peloponnesus. It was stipulated by the same treaty that three royal youths, the sons of the emperors, should be called to the hopes of the succession. Crispus and the young Constantine were soon afterwards declared Cæsars in the West, while the younger Licinius was invested with the same dignity in the East. In this double proportion of honours, the conqueror asserted the superiority of his arms and power.

§ 12. The reconciliation of Constantine and Licinius, though it

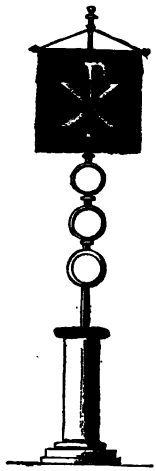
was embittered by resentment and jealousy, by the remembrance of recent injuries, and by the apprehension of future dangers, maintained, however, above eight years, the tranquillity of the Roman world. This time was employed by Constantine in reforming the administration of the empire by various enactments, and in defending the frontiers against the inroads of the barbarians. Crispus, a youth of the most amiable character, who had received with the title of Cæsar the command of the Rhine, distinguished his conduct as well as valour in several victories ever the Franks and Alemanni. The emperor himself had assumed the more difficult and important province of the Danube (A.D. 322). The Goths, who in the time of Claudius and Aurelian had felt the weight of the Roman arms, respected the power of the empire, even in the midst of its intestine divisions. But the strength of that warlike nation was now restored by a peace of near fifty years; a new generation had arisen, who no longer remembered the misfortunes of ancient days: the Sarmatians of the lake Mæotis followed the Gothic standard either as subjects or as allies, and their united force was poured upon the countries of Illyricum. Constantine encountered a very obstinate resistance, but he prevailed at length in the contest, and the Goths were compelled to purchase an ignominious retreat by restoring the booty and prisoners which they had taken. Nor was this advantage sufficient to satisfy the indignation of the emperor. He resolved to chastise as well as to repulse the insolent barbarians who had dared to invade the territories of Rome. At the head of his legions he passed the Danube, after repairing the bridge which had been constructed by Trajan, penetrated into the strongest recesses of Dacia, and, when he had inflicted a severe revenge, condescended to give peace to the suppliant Goths, on condition that, as often as they were required, they should supply his armies with a body of 40,000 soldiers.

§ 13. In this exalted state of glory it was impossible that Constantine should any longer endure a partner in the empire. Confiding in the superiority of his genius and military power, he determined, without any previous injury, to exert them for the destruction of Licinius, whose advanced age and unpopular vices seemed to offer a very easy conquest. But the old emperor, awakend by the approaching danger, deceived the expectations of his friends, as well as of his enemies. Calling forth that spirit and those abilities by which he had deserved the friendship of Galerius, and the Imperial purple, he prepared himself for the contest, collected the forces of the East, and soon filled the plains of Hadrianople with his troops, and the Straits of the Hellespont with his fleet. The first battle was fought near Hadrianople (July 3, A.D. 323), and each emperor brought more than 100,000 men into the field. Licinius was defeated with great slaughter, his fortified camp was taken by storm,

and he took refuge within the walls of Byzantium. The siege of this important city was immediately undertaken by Constantine. His son Crispus forced the passage of the Hellespont and destroyed the fleet of Licinius; whereupon Licinius, thinking himself no longer secure in the city, crossed over to Chalcedon. In Bithynia Licinius collected another army, but was totally defeated in a second battle fought at Chrysopolis, now called Scutari. This defeat irretrievably determined the fate of Licinius. Constantia, the wife of Licinius, and the sister of Constantine, interceded with her brother in favour of her husband, and obtained from him the promise, confirmed by an oath, that, after the resignation of the purple, Licinius himself should be permitted to pass the remainder of his life in peace and affluence. Licinius solicited and accepted the pardon of his offences, laid himself and his purple at the feet of his *lord* and *master*, was raised from the ground with insulting pity, and soon afterwards was sent away to Thessalonica, which had been chosen for the place of his confinement. His confinement was soon terminated by death, and it is doubtful whether a tumult of the soldiers, or a decree of the senate, was suggested as the motive for his execution. According to the rules of tyranny, he was accused of forming a conspiracy, and of holding a treasonable correspondence with the barbarians; but as he was never convicted, either by his own conduct or by any legal evidence, we may perhaps be allowed, from his weakness, to presume his innocence. By this victory of Constantine the Roman world was again united under the authority of one emperor, thirty-seven years after Diocletian had divided his power and provinces with his associate Maximian (A.D. 324). The establishment of the Christian religion, and the foundation of Constantinople, were the immediate and memorable consequences of this revolution.



Transverse Section of Basilica of Maxentius.



The Labarum. See p. 122. (From a coin in the British Museum.)

CHAPTER IX.

THE CONDUCT OF THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT TOWARDS THE CHRISTIANS, AND THE LEGAL ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

§ 1. Progress of the Christian religion. § 2. Causes of its persecution by the Roman government. § 3. Persecution of the Christians in the reign of Nero. § 4. In the reign of Domitian. § 5. In the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and M. Aurelius. § 6. Treatment of the Christians in the reigns of Commodus and Septimius Severus. § 7. Treatment of the Christians from the death of Severus to the death of Philip. § 8. From the death of Philip to the accession of Diocletian. § 9. Edicts of Diocletian against the Christians. § 10. General idea of the persecution in the different provinces of the Roman empire. § 11. Edict of toleration published by Galerius. § 12. Edict of Milan. § 13. Conversion of Constantine: appearance of a cross in the sky. § 14. The labarum or standard of the cross. § 15. Establishment of Christianity as the religion of the state. § 16. Basilica of St. Peter.

§ 1. While the Roman empire was invaded by open violence, or undermined by slow decay, a pure and humble religion gently insinuated itself into the minds of men, grew up in silence and obscurity, derived new vigour from opposition, and finally erected the triumphant banner of the Cross on the ruins of the Capitol. Nor was the influence of Christianity confined to the period or to the limits of the Roman empire. After a revolution of thirteen or four-

teen centuries, that religion is still professed by the nations of Europe, the most distinguished portion of human kind in arts and learning as well as in arms. By the industry and zeal of the Europeans it has been widely diffused to the most distant shores of Asia and Africa; and by the means of their colonies has been firmly established from Canada to Chili, in a world unknown to the ancients.

§ 2. Notwithstanding the purity of the Christian religion, the sanctity of its moral precepts, and the innocent as well as austere lives of the greater number of those who during the first ages embraced the faith of the Gospel, its dissemination was violently opposed, and its disciples put to death, by many of the Roman emperors, who beheld without concern a thousand forms of religion subsisting in peace under their gentle sway. The first and chief cause of the persecution of the Christians was undoubtedly owing to their proselyting ardour. Believing that their religion was the only means of securing the eternal happiness of man, they could not rest without using every effort to convince the world of the truth of Christianity, and of the falsehood of the prevailing superstitions. Such conduct was diametrically opposed to the acknowledged Polytheism. The religious concord of the Pagan world was principally supported by the implicit assent and reverence which the nations of antiquity expressed for their respective traditions and ceremonies. Although the Jews also claimed the exclusive possession of divine knowledge, yet their case differed from that of the Christians in two important points, which saved them from the persecution to which the Christians were exposed. In the first place, the Jews made few converts, and therefore did not provoke the anger of their neighbours by withdrawing friends and relations from the religon in which they had been brought up; and, in the second place, the Jews were a *nation*, while the Christians were a *sect*. The latter difference is simple and obvious, but, according to the sentiments of antiquity, it was of the highest importance. The Jews only persevered in the sacred institutions of their ancestors; and it was universally acknowledged that they had a right to practise what it would have been criminal in them to neglect. But this principle, which protected the Jewish synagogue, afforded not any favour or security to the primitive church. By embracing the faith of the Gospel the Christians incurred the supposed guilt of an unnatural and unpardonable offence. They dissolved the sacred ties of custom and education, violated the religious institutions of their country, and presumptuously despised whatever their fathers had believed as true or had reverenced as sacred. Hence they became exposed to the unjust but dangerous imputation of impiety. They had separated themselves from every mode of superstition which was received

in any part of the globe by the various temper of Polytheism: but it was not altogether so evident what deity, or what form of worship, they had substituted for the gods and temples of antiquity. Malice and prejudice had, therefore, some colourable pretext for representing the Christians as a society of atheists, who, by the most violent attacks on the religious constitution of the empire, had merited the severest animadversions of the civil magistrate.

Moreover, the union and assemblies of the Christians were regarded with apprehension by the Roman government. It is well known that Roman policy viewed with the utmost jealousy and distrust any association among its subjects; and that the privileges of private corporations, though formed for the most harmless of beneficial purposes, were bestowed with a very sparing hand. The religious assemblies of the Christians, who had separated themselves from the public worship, appeared of a much less innocent nature: they were illegal in their principle, and in their consequences might become dangerous; nor were the emperors conscious that they violated the laws of justice when, for the peace of society, they prohibited those secret and sometimes nocturnal meetings.

The manners of the Christians were calumniated. The precautions with which the disciples of Christ performed the offices of religion were at first dictated by fear and necessity; but they were continued from choice. It was concluded that they only concealed what they would have blushed to disclose. Their mistaken prudence afforded an opportunity for malice to invent, and for suspicious credulity to believe, the horrid tales which described the Christians as the most wicked of human kind. It was asserted that at their nocturnal meetings a new-born infant was slain; and that this inhuman sacrifice was succeeded by scenes of revolting intemperance and brutal lust.

§ 3. The first persecution of the Christians was occasioned by the great fire of Rome, in the tenth year of the reign of Nero, A.D. 64. The voice of rumour accused the emperor as the incendiary of his own capital; every crime might be imputed to the assassin of his wife and mother; and, as the most incredible stories are the best adapted to the genius of an enraged people, it was gravely reported, and firmly believed, that Nero, enjoying the calamity which he had occasioned, amused himself with singing to his lyre the destruction of ancient Troy. To divert a suspicion which the power of despotism was unable to suppress, the emperor resolved to substitute in his own place some fictitious criminals. "With this view (says Tacitus) he inflicted the most exquisite tortures on those men who, under the vulgar appellation of Christians, were already branded with deserved infamy. They derived their name and origin from Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, had suffered death by

the sentence of the procurator Pontius Pilate. For a while this dire superstition was checked, but it again burst forth; and not only spread itself over Judæa, the first seat of this mischievous sect, but was even introduced into Rome, the common asylum which receives and protects whatever is impure, whatever is atrocious. The confessions of those who were seized discovered a great multitude of their accomplices, and they were all convicted, not so much for the crime of setting fire to the city as for their hatred of human kind. They died in torments, and their torments were embittered by insult and derision. Some were nailed on crosses: others sewn up in the skins of wild beasts, and exposed to the fury of dogs; others, again, smeared over with combustible materials, were used as torches to illuminate the darkness of the night. The gardens of Nero were destined for the melancholy spectacle, which was accompanied with a horserace, and honoured with the presence of the emperor, who mingled with the populace in the dress and attitude of a charioteer. The guilt of the Christians deserved indeed the most exemplary punishment, but the public abhorrence was changed into commiseration, from the opinion that those unhappy wretches were sacrificed, not so much to the public welfare as to the cruelty of a jealous tyrant."* We might conclude from the preceding passage of Tacitus that this persecution was confined to the walls of Rome; but, according to the ecclesiastical historians, it extended to the whole empire.

§ 4. The second persecution of the Christians was owing to the suspicions of Domitian. The exalted position of his own family alarmed the pusillanimous temper of the tyrant, which could only be appeased by the blood of those Romans whom he either feared, or hated, or esteemed. Of the two sons of his uncle Flavius Sabinus, the elder was soon convicted of treasonable intentions, and the younger, who bore the name of Flavius Clemens, was indebted for his safety to his want of courage and ability. The emperor for a long time distinguished so harmless a kinsman by his favour and protection, bestowed on him his own niece Domitilla, and invested him with the honours of the consulship. But he had scarcely finished the term of his annual magistracy, when on a slight pretence he was condemned and executed; Domitilla was banished to a desolate island on the coast of Campania; and sentences either of death or of confiscation were pronounced against a great number of persons who were involved in the same accusation. The guilt imputed to their charge was that of *Atheism* and *Jewish manners;* a singular association of ideas, which cannot with any propriety be applied except to the Christians, as they were obscurely and imperfectly viewed by the magistrates and by the writers of that

* Tacit. Annal., xv. 44.

period. But this persecution was of no long duration. A few months after the death of Clemens, Domitian was assassinated; and under the gentle administration of Nerva, while the innocent were restored to their rank and fortunes, even the most guilty either obtained pardon or escaped punishment.

§ 5. It was not, however, only tyrants, like Nero and Domitian, who persecuted the Christians. Great and virtuous princes, such as Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, punished this unoffending class of their subjects with death, exile, and imprisonment. The Christians do not appear, however, to have suffered much in the reign of Trajan, if we may form a judgment from the celebrated correspondence between the younger Pliny and this emperor. Pliny had been intrusted by his friend and master with the government of Bithynia and Pontus. He soon found himself at a loss to determine by what rule of justice or of law he should direct his conduct in the execution of an office the most repugnant to his humanity. He had never assisted at any judicial proceedings against the Christians, with whose name alone he seems to be acquainted: and he was totally uninformed with regard to the nature of their guilt, the method of their conviction, and the degree of their punishment. In this perplexity he had recourse to his usual expedient of submitting to the wisdom of Trajan an impartial, and, in some respects, a favourable account of the new superstition, requesting the emperor that he would condescend to resolve his doubts and to instruct his ignorance.* The emperor replied by the following letter:—"The method you have pursued, my dear Pliny, in the proceedings against those Christians which were brought before you, is extremely proper; as it is not possible to lay down any fixed plan by which to act in all cases of this nature. But I would not have you officiously enter into any inquiries concerning them. If, indeed, they should be brought before you, and the crime is proved, they must be punished; with the restriction, however, that where the party denies himself to be a Christian, and shall make it evident that he is not, by invoking our gods, let him (notwithstanding any former suspicion) be pardoned upon his repentance. Informations without the accuser's name subscribed ought not to be received in prosecutions of any sort, as it is introducing a very dangerous precedent, and by no means agreeable to the equity of my government."

The persecution was renewed under Hadrian for a short time, ceased altogether under the peaceful reign of Antoninus Pius, but was again revived with great severity by Marcus Aurelius. It is a remarkable fact, that the reign of the wisest and most humane of the heathen emperors was more fatal to the Christians than the

* Plin. Epistol. x. 97.

reigns of the greatest tyrants. The causes of this persecution are uncertain. Most writers have ascribed it to the latent bigotry of the character of Marcus Aurelius; others to the influence of the philosophic party; but the fact is admitted by all.

§ 6. By a singular fatality the hardships which the Christians had endured under the government of a virtuous prince immediately ceased on the accession of a tyrant; and as none except themselves had experienced the injustice of Marcus, so they alone were protected by the lenity of Commodus. The celebrated Marcia, the most favoured of his concubines, was an unworthy member of the Christian church. Under her gracious protection the Christians passed in safety the thirteen years of a cruel tyranny; and when the empire was established in the house of Septimius Severus, they formed a domestic but more honourable connexion with the new court. The emperor was persuaded that, in a dangerous sickness, he had derived some benefit, either spiritual or physical, from the holy oil with which one of his slaves had anointed him. He always treated with peculiar distinction several persons of both sexes who had embraced the new religion. The nurse as well as the preceptor of Caracalla were Christians. Nor was the peace of the church interrupted till the increasing numbers of proselytes seem at length to have attracted the attention, and to have alienated the mind, of Severus (A.D. 198). With the design of restraining the progress of Christianity, he published an edict, which, though it was designed to affect only the new converts, could not be carried into strict execution without exposing to danger and punishment the most zealous of their teachers and missionaries.

§ 7. But the laws which Severus had enacted soon expired with the authority of that emperor; and the Christians, after this accidental tempest, enjoyed a calm of thirty-eight years (A.D. 211–249), only interrupted by the brief reign of the savage Maximin. Till this period they had usually held their assemblies in private houses and sequestered places. They were now permitted to erect and consecrate convenient edifices for the purpose of religious worship; to purchase lands, even at Rome itself, for the use of the community; and to conduct the elections of their ecclesiastical ministers in a public manner. This long repose of the church was accompanied with dignity. The reigns of those princes who derived their extraction from the Asiatic provinces proved the most favourable to the Christians; the eminent persons of the sect were admitted into the palace in the honourable characters of priests and philosophers; and their mysterious doctrines, which were already diffused among the people, insensibly attracted the curiosity of their sovereign. When the empress Mamæa passed through Antioch, she listened with pleasure to the eloquent exhortations of the celebrated Origen.

The sentiments of Mamæa were adopted by her son Alexander, who placed in his domestic chapel the statue of Christ along with those of Abraham, Orpheus, and Apollonius. A purer faith, as well as worship, was openly professed and practised among his household. Bishops, perhaps for the first time, were seen at court; and, after the death of Alexander (A.D. 235), when the inhuman Maximin discharged his fury on the favourites and servants of his unfortunate benefactor, a great number of Christians, of every rank, and of both sexes, were involved in the promiscuous massacre. During the whole reign of Maximin the Christians were exposed to persecution, but as soon as Philip, who was born in the neighbourhood of Palestine, had usurped the Imperial sceptre (A.D. 244), they acquired a friend and a protector. The public and even partial favour of Philip towards the sectaries of the new religion, and his constant reverence for the ministers of the church, gave some colour to the suspicion, which prevailed in his own times, that the emperor himself was become a convert to the faith.

§ 8. The fall of Philip (A.D. 249) introduced, with the change of masters, a new system of government, so oppressive to the Christians, that their former condition was represented as a state of perfect freedom and security, if compared with the rigorous treatment which they experienced under the short reign of Decius. The virtues of that prince will scarcely allow us to suspect that he was actuated by a mean resentment against the favourites of his predecessor; and it is more reasonable to believe that, in the prosecution of his general design to restore the purity of Roman manners, he was desirous of delivering the empire from what he condemned as a recent and criminal superstition. The bishops of the most considerable cities were removed by exile or death: the vigilance of the magistrates prevented the clergy of Rome during sixteen months from proceeding to a new election; and it was the opinion of the Christians that the emperor would more patiently endure a competitor for the purple than a bishop in the capital.

The administration of Valerian was distinguished by a levity and inconstancy ill suited to the gravity of the *Roman Censor*. In the first part of his reign he surpassed in clemency those princes who had been suspected of an attachment to the Christian faith. In the last three years and a half, listening to the insinuations of a minister addicted to the superstitions of Egypt, he adopted the maxims, and imitated the severity, of his predecessor Decius. The accession of Gallienus, which increased the calamities of the empire, restored peace to the church; and the Christians obtained the free exercise of their religion by an edict addressed to the bishops, and conceived in such terms as seemed to acknowledge their office and public character. The ancient laws, without being formally re-

pealed, were suffered to sink into oblivion; and (excepting only some hostile intentions which are attributed to the emperor Aurelian) the disciples of Christ passed above 40 years in a state of prosperity, far more dangerous to their virtue than the severest trials of persecution.

§ 9. During the first nineteen years of the reign of Diocletian, the Christians continued to enjoy the free exercise of their religion without any molestation. But notwithstanding this seeming security, an attentive observer might discern some symptoms that threatened the church with a more violent persecution than any which she had yet endured. The zeal and rapid progress of the Christians awakened the Polytheists from their supine indifference in the cause of those deities whom custom and education had taught them to revere. The mutual provocation of a religious war, which had already continued above 200 years, exasperated the animosity of the contending parties. The Pagans were incensed at the rashness of a recent and obscure sect, which presumed to accuse their countrymen of error, and to devote their ancestors to eternal misery. The habit of justifying the popular mythology against the invectives of an implacable enemy, produced in their minds some sentiments of faith and reverence for a system which they had been accustomed to consider with the most careless levity. They invented new modes of sacrifice, of expiation, and of initiation; attempted to revive the credit of their expiring oracles; and listened with eager credulity to every impostor who flattered their prejudices by a tale of wonders. Philosophy, the most dangerous enemy of Polytheism, was now converted into her most useful ally. The prevailing sect of the new Platonicians judged it prudent to connect themselves with the priests, whom perhaps they despised, against the Christians, whom they had reason to fear. These fashionable philosophers prosecuted the design of extracting allegorical wisdom from the fictions of the Greek poets; instituted mysterious rites of devotion for the use of their chosen disciples; recommended the worship of the ancient gods as the emblems or ministers of the Supreme Deity, and composed against the faith of the Gospel many elaborate treatises.

Although the policy of Diocletian and the humanity of Constantius inclined them to preserve inviolate the maxims of toleration, it was soon discovered that their two associates, Maximian and Galerius, entertained the most implacable aversion for the name and religion of the Christians. After the success of the Persian war had raised the hopes and the reputation of Galerius, he passed a winter with Diocletian in the palace of Nicomedia, and after much importunity he at length persuaded Diocletian to issue an edict for a general persecution of the Christians. The edict of persecution was published on Feb. 24, A.D. 303; and though Diocletian, still averse

to the effusion of blood, had moderated the fury of Galerius, the penalties inflicted on the obstinacy of the Christians might be deemed sufficiently rigorous and effectual. It was enacted that their churches, in all the provinces of the empire, should be demolished to their foundations; and the punishment of death was denounced against all who should presume to hold any secret assemblies for the purpose of religious worship. The bishops and presbyters were ordered to deliver all their sacred books into the hands of the magistrates, who were commanded, under the severest penalties, to burn them in a public and solemn manner. By the same edict the property of the church was at once confiscated. After taking such effectual measures to abolish the worship and to dissolve the government of the Christians, it was thought necessary to subject to the most intolerable hardships the condition of those perverse individuals who should still reject the religion of nature, of Rome, and of their ancestors. Persons of a liberal birth were declared incapable of holding any honours or employments; slaves were for ever deprived of the hopes of freedom; and the whole body of the people were put out of the protection of the law.

Some slight disturbances, though they were suppressed almost as soon as excited, in Syria and the frontiers of Armenia, afforded the enemies of the church a very plausible occasion to insinuate that those troubles had been secretly fomented by the intrigues of the bishops, who had already forgotten their ostentatious professions of passive and unlimited obedience. The resentment, or the fears, of Diocletian at length transported him beyond the bounds of moderation which he had hitherto preserved, and he declared, in a series of cruel edicts, his intention of abolishing the Christian name. By the first of these edicts the governors of the provinces were directed to apprehend all persons of the ecclesiastical order; and the prisons destined for the vilest criminals were soon filled with a multitude of bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers, and exorcists. By a second edict the magistrates were commanded to employ every method of severity which might reclaim them from their odious superstition, and oblige them to return to the established worship of the gods. This rigorous order was extended by a subsequent edict to the whole body of Christians, who were exposed to a violent and general persecution. Instead of those salutary restraints which had required the direct and solemn testimony of an accuser, it became the duty as well as the interest of the Imperial officers to discover, to pursue, and to torment the most obnoxious among the faithful. Heavy penalties were denounced against all who should presume to save a proscribed sectary from the just indignation of the gods and of the emperors.

§ 10. Diocletian had no sooner published his edicts against the

Christians than, as if he had been desirous of committing to other hands the work of persecution, he divested himself of the Imperial purple. The character and situation of his colleagues and successors sometimes urged them to enforce, and sometimes inclined them to suspend, the execution of these rigorous laws; nor can we acquire a just and distinct idea of this important period of ecclesiastical history unless we separately consider the state of Christianity, in the different parts of the empire, during the space of ten years which elapsed between the first edicts of Diocletian and the final peace of the church.

The mild and humane temper of Constantius was averse to the oppression of any part of his subjects. The principal offices of his palace were exercised by Christians. He loved their persons, esteemed their fidelity, and entertained not any dislike to their religious principles. But as long as Constantius remained in the subordinate station of Cæsar, it was not in his power openly to reject the edicts of Diocletian, or to disobey the commands of Maximian. His authority contributed, however, to alleviate the sufferings which he pitied and abhorred. He consented with reluctance to the ruin of the churches, but he ventured to protect the Christians themselves from the fury of the populace and from the rigour of the laws. The elevation of Constantius to the supreme and independent dignity of Augustus gave a free scope to the exercise of his virtues, and the shortness of his reign did not prevent him from establishing a system of toleration of which he left the precept and the example to his son Constantine. His fortunate son, from the first moment of his accession declaring himself the protector of the church, at length deserved the appellation of the first emperor who publicly professed and established the Christian religion. The motives of his conversion, and the establishment of Christianity as the reigning religion of the Roman empire, are related below. At present it may be sufficient to observe that every victory of Constantine was productive of some relief or benefit to the church.

The provinces of Italy and Africa experienced a short but violent persecution. The rigorous edicts of Diocletian were strictly and cheerfully executed by his associate Maximian, who had long hated the Christians, and who delighted in acts of blood and violence. After Diocletian had divested himself of the purple, Italy and Africa were administered under the name of Severus, and were exposed, without defence, to the implacable resentment of his master Galerius. The revolt of Maxentius immediately restored peace to the churches of Italy and Africa, and the same tyrant who oppressed every other class of his subjects showed himself just, humane, and even partial, towards the afflicted Christians. He depended on their gratitude and affection, and very naturally presumed that the injuries which

they had suffered, and the dangers which they still apprehended, from his most inveterate enemy, would secure the fidelity of a party already considerable by their numbers and opulence.

The sanguinary temper of Galerius, the first and principal author of the persecution, was formidable to those Christians whom their misfortunes had placed within the limits of his dominions. As long as he commanded only the armies and provinces of Illyricum, he could with difficulty either find or make a considerable number of martyrs in a warlike country which had entertained the missionaries of the Gospel with more coldness and reluctance than any other part of the empire. But when Galerius had obtained the supreme power and the government of the East, he indulged in their fullest extent his zeal and cruelty, not only in the provinces of Thrace and Asia, which acknowledged his immediate jurisdiction, but in those of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, where Maximin gratified his own inclination by yielding a rigorous obedience to the stern commands of his benefactor.

§ 11. The frequent disappointments of his ambitious views, the experience of six years of persecution, and the salutary reflections which a lingering and painful distemper suggested to the mind of Galerius, at length convinced him that the most violent efforts of despotism are insufficient to extirpate a whole people, or to subdue their religious prejudices. Desirous of repairing the mischief that he had occasioned, he published in his own name, and in those of Licinius and Constantine, a general edict of toleration, in which he permitted the Christians freely to profess their private opinions, and to assemble in their conventicles without fear or molestation, provided always that they preserved a due respect to the established laws and government. After the death of Galerius Maximin prepared to renew the persecution; but the civil war which he so rashly undertook against Licinius employed all his attention; and the defeat and death of Maximin soon delivered the church from the last and most implacable of her enemies.

§ 12. A few months after the death of Maxentius in A.D. 313, by which event Constantine became the master of Italy, he published the celebrated edict of Milan, which restored peace to the Christian church, and was of a far more comprehensive nature than the simple edict of toleration which had been previously issued by Galerius. In the personal interview of the two western princes, Constantine, by the ascendant of genius and power, obtained the ready concurrence of his colleague, Licinius; and after the death of Maximin the edict of Milan was received as a general and fundamental law of the Roman world.

The wisdom of the emperors provided for the restitution of all

the civil and religious rights of which the Christians had been so unjustly deprived. It was enacted that the places of worship, and public lands, which had been confiscated, should be restored to the church, without dispute, without delay, and without expense. The salutary regulations which guard the future tranquillity of the faithful are framed on the principles of enlarged and equal toleration; and such an equality must have been interpreted by a recent sect as an advantageous and honourable distinction. The two emperors proclaim to the world that they have granted a free and absolute power to the Christians, and to all others, of following the religion which each individual thinks proper to prefer, to which he has addicted his mind, and which he may deem the best adapted to his own use. They carefully explain every ambiguous word, remove every exception, and exact from the governors of the provinces a strict obedience to the true and simple meaning of an edict which was designed to establish and secure, without any limitation, the claims of religious liberty. They condescend to assign two weighty reasons which have induced them to allow this universal toleration: the humane intention of consulting the peace and happiness of their people; and the pious hope that by such a conduct they shall appease and propitiate *the Deity*, whose seat is in heaven. They gratefully acknowledge the many signal proofs which they have received of the divine favour; and they trust that the same Providence will for ever continue to protect the prosperity of the prince and people.

§ 13. The preceding vague and indefinite expressions of piety are certainly insufficient to prove that Constantine had at that time embraced Christianity. The exact date of his conversion is uncertain. Ecclesiastical history ascribes it almost unanimously to a conspicuous miracle which occurred shortly before the final struggle with Maxentius. In one of the marches of Constantine he is reported to have seen with his own eyes the luminous trophy of the cross, placed above the meridian sun, and inscribed with the following words: BY THIS CONQUER. This amazing object in the sky astonished the whole army, as well as the emperor himself, who was yet undetermined in the choice of a religion; but his astonishment was converted into faith by the vision of the ensuing night. Christ appeared before his eyes; and displaying the same celestial sign of the cross, he directed Constantine to frame a similar standard, and to march, with an assurance of victory, against Maxentius and all his enemies.

This miracle rests upon the authority of Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, who says* that Constantine, in the freedom of conversation, had related to him this extraordinary incident of his own life, and had attested the

* Eusebius, Vita Const., i. cc. 28, 29, 30.

truth of it by a solemn oath. The testimony is suspicious; and the character of Constantine is not so pure as to induce us to give credence to so stupendous a miracle upon his sole and unsupported evidence. It is not, however, necessary to suppose that he was insincere in the profession of Christianity, or that his mind was influenced only by a sense of interest. In the beginning of the fourth century the Christians still bore a very inadequate proportion to the inhabitants of the empire; but among a degenerate people, who viewed the change of masters with the indifference of slaves, the spirit and union of a religious party might assist the popular leader, to whose service, from a principle of conscience, they had devoted their lives and fortunes. The example of his father had instructed Constantine to esteem and to reward the merit of the Christians; and in the distribution of public offices he had the advantage of strengthening his government by the choice of ministers or generals in whose fidelity he could repose a just and unreserved confidence. While Constantine in his own dominions increased the number and zeal of his faithful adherents, he could depend on the support of a powerful faction in those provinces which were still possessed or usurped by his rivals. A secret disaffection was diffused among the Christian subjects of Maxentius and Licinius; and the resentment which the latter did not attempt to conceal served only to engage them still more deeply in the interest of his competitor. In an age of religious fervour the most artful statesmen are observed to feel some part of the enthusiasm which they inspire. Personal interest is often the standard of our belief, as well as of our practice; and the same motives of temporal advantage which might influence the public conduct and professions of Constantine would insensibly dispose his mind to embrace a religion so propitious to his fame and fortunes. His vanity was gratified by the flattering assurance that he had been chosen by Heaven to reign over the earth: success had justified his divine title to the throne, and that title was founded on the truth of the Christian revelation. As real virtue is sometimes excited by undeserved applause, the specious piety of Constantine, if at first it was only specious, might gradually, by the influence of praise, of habit, and of example, be matured into serious faith. Constantine, however, delayed his baptism till the time of his death. This delay can hardly be accounted for upon the supposition that he wished to leave a door open by which he might return to the Pagan religion of his ancestors; for many years before his baptism and death he had proclaimed to the world that neither his person nor his image should ever more be seen within the walls of an idolatrous temple; while he distributed through the provinces a variety of medals and pictures which represented the emperor in a humble and suppliant posture of Christian devotion. He seems

rather to have postponed this sacrament in order to obtain at the last moment of his life a full and absolute expiation of his sins; since, according to the doctrine of the catholic church, the soul was instantly restored by this sacrament to its original purity, and entitled to the promise of eternal salvation. The example and reputation of Constantine seemed to countenance the delay of baptism. Future tyrants were encouraged to believe that the innocent blood which they might shed in a long reign would instantly be washed away in the waters of regeneration; and the abuse of religion dangerously undermined the foundations of moral virtue.

§ 14. The origin of the *Labarum*, or celebrated standard of the cross, is ascribed, as we have already seen, to the miraculous dream of Constantine. It is described as a long pike intersected by a transversal beam. The silken veil which hung down from the beam was curiously inwrought with the images of the reigning monarch and his children. The summit of the pike supported a crown of gold, which enclosed the mysterious monogram, at once expressive of the figure of the cross and the initial letters of the name of Christ. The safety of the labarum was entrusted to 50 guards of approved valour and fidelity; their station was marked by honours and emoluments; and some fortunate accidents soon introduced an opinion that as long as the guards of the labarum were engaged in the execution of their office they were secure and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy. In the second civil war Licinius felt and dreaded the power of this consecrated banner, the sight of which in the distress of battle animated the soldiers of Constantine with an invincible enthusiasm, and scattered terror and dismay through the ranks of the adverse legions. The Christian emperors, who respected the example of Constantine, displayed in all their military expeditions the standard of the cross; but when the degenerate successors of Theodosius had ceased to appear in person at the head of their armies, the labarum was deposited as a venerable but useless relic in the palace of Constantinople. Its honours are still preserved on the medals of the Flavian family. Their grateful devotion has placed the monogram of Christ in the midst of the ensigns of Rome. The solemn epithets of safety of the republic, glory of the army, restoration of public happiness, are equally applied to the religious and military trophies; and there is still extant a medal of the emperor Constantius, where the standard of the labarum is accompanied with these memorable words, BY THIS SIGN THOU SHALT CONQUER.

§ 15. The establishment of Christianity as the religion of the state followed the defeat of Licinius (A.D. 324). As soon as that event had invested Constantine with the sole dominion of the Roman world, he immediately, by circular letters, exhorted all his

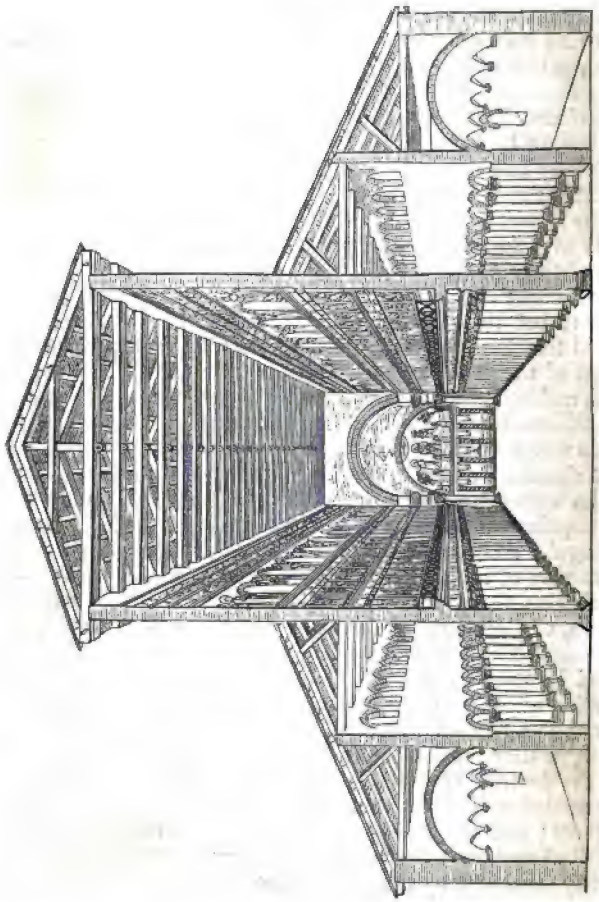
subjects to imitate without delay the example of their sovereign, and to embrace the divine truth of Christianity.

The irresistible power of the Roman emperors was displayed in the important and dangerous change of the national religion. The terrors of a military force silenced the faint and unsupported murmurs of the Pagans, and there was reason to expect that the cheerful submission of the Christian clergy, as well as people, would be the result of conscience and gratitude. It was long since established as a fundamental maxim of the Roman constitution, that every rank of citizens was alike subject to the laws, and that the care of religion was the right as well as duty of the civil magistrate. Constantine and his successors could not easily persuade themselves that they had forfeited, by their conversion, any branch of the Imperial prerogatives, or that they were incapable of giving laws to a religion which they had protected and embraced. The emperors still continued to exercise a supreme jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical order; and the sixteenth book of the Theodosian code represents, under a variety of titles, the authority which they assumed in the government of the catholic church.

Constantine allowed his Pagan subjects the free exercise of their religion; but the piercing eye of ambition and avarice soon discovered that the profession of Christianity might contribute to the interest of the present, as well as of a future life. The hopes of wealth and honours, the example of an emperor, his exhortations, his irresistible smiles, diffused conviction among the venal and obsequious crowds which usually fill the apartments of a palace. The cities which signalized a forward zeal by the voluntary destruction of their temples were distinguished by municipal privileges and rewarded with popular donatives; and the new capital of the East gloried in the singular advantage that Constantinople was never profaned by the worship of idols. As the lower ranks of society are governed by imitation, the conversion of those who possessed any eminence of birth, of power, or of riches, was soon followed by dependent multitudes. The powerful influence of Constantine was not circumscribed by the narrow limits of his life or of his dominions. The education which he bestowed on his sons and nephews secured to the empire a race of princes whose faith was still more lively and sincere, as they imbibed, in their earliest infancy, the spirit, or at least the doctrine of Christianity. War and commerce had spread the knowledge of the Gospel beyond the confines of the Roman provinces; and the barbarians, who had disdained an humble and proscribed sect, soon learned to esteem a religion which had been so lately embraced by the greatest monarch and the most civilised nation of the globe.

§ 16. The Christian churches erected by Constantine and his successors were built in imitation of the basilicas of ancient Rome.

Of these one of the most celebrated was the basilica of St. Peter, which was erected in the reign of Constantine, close to the Circus of Nero, where tradition affirmed that St. Peter had suffered martyrdom. It was pulled down to make room for the great cathedral of St. Peter, which now occupies its site; but drawings of it were preserved, and the general appearance of the interior is represented in the accompanying cut.



Basilica of St. Peter, erected in the time of Constantine.

Propontis, Hellespont, and Bosporus.

CHAPTER X.

FOUNDATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE—POLITICAL SYSTEM OF CONSTANTINE AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

§ 1. Design of a new capital. § 2. Description of Constantinople. § 3. The Bosporus. § 4. The harbour of Constantinople. § 5. The Propontis. § 6. The Hellespont. § 7. Advantages of Constantinople. § 8. Foundation of the city: its extent. § 9. Edifices. § 10. Population and privileges: dedication of the city. § 11. Form of government: three ranks of honour. § 12. The Consuls and Patricians. § 13. The four Prætorian Præfects: the Præfects of Rome and Constantinople. § 14. Dioceses of the empire: governors of the provinces. § 15. The profession of the law. § 16. The military officers. § 17. Reduction of the size of the legions. § 18. Seven ministers of the palace. § 19. Agents or official spies. § 20. Taxation.

§ 1. After the defeat and abdication of Licinius his victorious rival proceeded to lay the foundations of a city destined to reign in future times the mistress of the East, and to survive the empire and religion of Constantine. The motives, whether of pride or of policy, which first induced Diocletian to withdraw himself from the ancient seat of government, had acquired additional weight by the example of his successors and the habits of forty years. Rome was insensibly confounded with the dependent kingdoms which had once acknowledged her supremacy; and the country of the Cæsars was viewed with cold indifference by a martial prince, born in the neighbourhood of the Danube, educated in the courts and armies of Asia, and

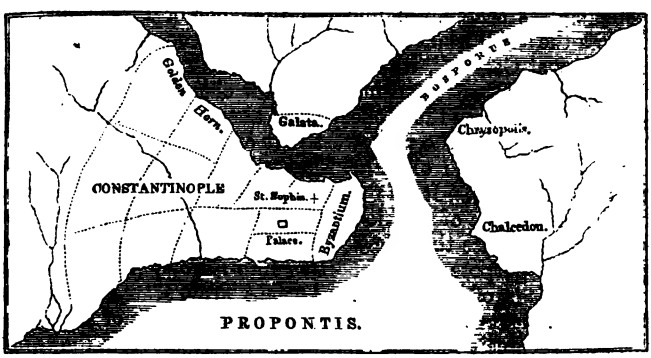
invested with the purple by the legions of Britain. The Italians, who had received Constantine as their deliverer, submissively obeyed the edicts which he sometimes condescended to address to the senate and people of Rome; but they were seldom honoured with the presence of their new sovereign. During the vigour of his age, Constantine, according to the various exigences of peace and war, moved with slow dignity or with active diligence along the frontiers of his extensive dominions; and was always prepared to take the field either against a foreign or a domestic enemy. But as he gradually reached the summit of prosperity and the decline of life, he began to meditate the design of fixing in a more permanent station the strength as well as majesty of the throne. In the choice of an advantageous situation he preferred the confines of Europe and Asia; to curb with a powerful arm the barbarians who dwelt between the Danube and the Tanais; to watch with an eye of jealousy the conduct of the Persian monarch, who indignantly supported the yoke of an ignominious treaty. With these views Diocletian had selected and embellished the residence of Nicomedia: but the memory of Diocletian was justly abhorred by the protector of the church; and Constantine was not insensible to the ambition of founding a city which might perpetuate the glory of his own name. During the late operations of the war against Licinius he had sufficient opportunity to contemplate, both as a soldier and as a statesman, the incomparable position of Byzantium; and to observe how strongly it was guarded by nature against an hostile attack, whilst it was accessible on every side to the benefits of commercial intercourse. Many ages before Constantine, one of the most judicious historians of antiquity* had described the advantages of a situation from whence a feeble colony of Greeks derived the command of the sea, and the honours of a flourishing and independent republic.

§ 2. If we survey Byzantium in the extent which it acquired with the august name of Constantinople, the figure of the Imperial city may be represented under that of an unequal triangle. The obtuse point, which advances towards the east and the shores of Asia, meets and repels the waves of the Thracian Bosporus. The northern side of the city is bounded by the harbour, and the southern is washed by the Propontis or Sea of Marmora. The basis of the triangle is opposed to the west, and terminates the continent of Europe. But the admirable form and division of the circumjacent land and water cannot, without a more ample explanation, be clearly or sufficiently understood.

§ 3. The winding channel through which the waters of the Euxine flow with a rapid and incessant course towards the Mediterranean received the appellation of Bosporus, a name not less celebrated in

* Polybius, iv. 45.

history than in the fables of antiquity. From the Cyanean rocks, which terminate the straits, to the point and harbour of Byzantium, the winding length of the Bosporus extends about 16 miles, and its most ordinary breadth may be computed at about one mile and a half. The *new* castles of Europe and Asia are constructed, on either continent, upon the foundations of two celebrated temples, of Serapis and of Jupiter Urius. The *old* castles, a work of the Greek emperors, command the narrowest part of the channel, in a place where the opposite banks advance within 600 yards of each other. These fortresses were restored and strengthened by Mahomet the Second when he meditated the siege of Constantinople: but the Turkish conqueror was most probably ignorant that, near two thousand years before his reign, Darius had chosen the same situation to connect the two continents by a bridge of boats. At a small distance from the old castles we discover the little town of Chrysopolis, or Scutari, which may almost be considered as the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople. The Bosporus, as it begins to open into the Propontis, passes between Byzantium and Chalcedon.



Map of Constantinople.

§ 4. The harbour of Constantinople, which may be considered as an arm of the Bosporus, obtained in a very remote period, the denomination of the *Golden Horn*. The curve which it describes might be compared to the horn of a stag, or as it should seem, with more propriety, to that of an ox. The epithet of *golden* was expressive of the riches which every wind wafted from the most distant countries into the secure and capacious port of Constantinople. The river Lycus, formed by the conflux of two little streams, pours into the harbour a perpetual supply of fresh water, which serves to cleanse the bottom and to invite the periodical shoals of fish to seek

their retreat in that convenient recess. As the vicissitudes of tides are scarcely felt in those seas, the constant depth of the harbour allows goods to be landed on the quays without the assistance of boats; and it has been observed that, in many places, the largest vessels may rest their prows against the houses while their sterns are floating in the water. From the mouth of the Lycus to that of the harbour this arm of the Bosporus is more than seven miles in length. The entrance is about 500 yards broad, and a strong chain could be occasionally drawn across it to guard the port and city from the attack of an hostile navy.

§ 5. Between the Bosporus and the Hellespont, the shores of Europe and Asia receding on either side enclose the Sea of Marmora, which was known to the ancients by the denomination of Propontis. The navigation from the issue of the Bosporus to the entrance of the Hellespont is about 120 miles. Those who steer their westward course through the middle of the Propontis may at once descry the high lands of Thrace and Bithynia, and never lose sight of the lofty summit of Mount Olympus, covered with eternal snows. They leave on the left a deep gulf, at the bottom of which Nicomedia was seated, the imperial residence of Diocletian; and they pass the small islands of Cyzicus and Proconnesus before they cast anchor at Gallipoli, where the sea, which separates Asia from Europe, is again contracted into a narrow channel.

§ 6. The length of the Hellespont is about 60 miles, its breadth about 3 miles. But the narrowest part of the channel is found to the northward of the old Turkish castles, between the cities of Sestus and Abydus. It was here that the adventurous Leander braved the passage of the flood for the possession of his mistress. It was here likewise that Xerxes imposed a stupendous bridge of boats, for the purpose of transporting into Europe a hundred and seventy myriads of barbarians. Ancient Troy, seated on an eminence at the foot of Mount Ida, overlooked the mouth of the Hellespont, which scarcely received an accession of waters from the tribute of those immortal rivulets the Simois and Scamander.

§ 7. We are at present qualified to view the advantageous position of Constantinople, which appears to have been formed by nature for the centre and capital of a great monarchy. Situated in the 41st degree of latitude, the Imperial city commanded, from her seven hills, the opposite shores of Europe and Asia; the climate was healthy and temperate, the soil fertile, the harbour secure and capacious, and the approach on the side of the continent was of small extent and easy defence. The Bosporus and the Hellespont may be considered as the two gates of Constantinople, and the prince who possessed those important passages could always shut them against a naval enemy and open them to the fleets of com-

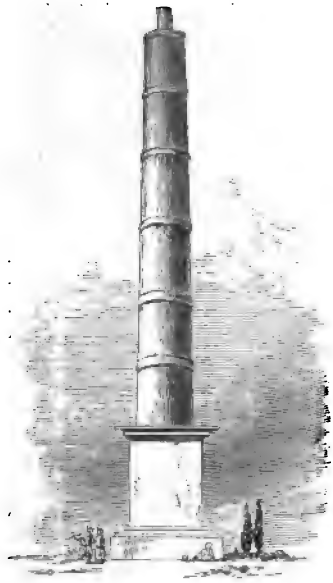
merce. The preservation of the eastern provinces may, in some degree, be ascribed to the policy of Constantine, as the barbarians of the Euxine, who in the preceding age had poured their armaments into the heart of the Mediterranean, soon desisted from the exercise of piracy, and despaired of forcing this insurmountable barrier. When the gates of the Hellespont and Bosporus were shut, the capital still enjoyed within their spacious enclosure every production which could supply the wants or gratify the luxury of its numerous inhabitants. The sea-coasts of Thrace and Bithynia, which languish under the weight of Turkish oppression, still exhibit a rich prospect of vineyards, of gardens, and of plentiful harvests; and the Propontis has ever been renowned for an inexhaustible store of the most exquisite fish, that are taken in their stated seasons, without skill, and almost without labour. But when the passages of the straits were thrown open for trade, they alternately admitted the natural and artificial riches of the north and south, of the Euxine, and of the Mediterranean. Whatever rude commodities were collected in the forests of Germany and Scythia, as far as the sources of the Tanais and the Borysthenes; whatsoever was manufactured by the skill of Europe or Asia; the corn of Egypt, and the gems and spices of the farthest India, were brought by the varying winds into the port of Constantinople, which, for many ages, attracted the commerce of the ancient world.

§ 8. The prospect of beauty, of safety, and of wealth, united in a single spot was sufficient to justify the choice of Constantine. But as some decent mixture of prodigy and fable has, in every age, been supposed to reflect a becoming majesty on the origin of great cities, the emperor was careful to instruct posterity that, in obedience to the commands of God, he laid the everlasting foundations of Constantinople. On the day consecrated to the foundation of the city Constantine himself, on foot, with a lance in his hand, led the solemn procession, and directed the line which was traced as the boundary of the destined capital, till the growing circumference was observed with astonishment by the assistants, who, at length, ventured to observe that he had already exceeded the most ample measure of a great city. "I shall still advance," replied Constantine, "till HE, the invisible guide who marches before me, thinks proper to stop."

In the actual state of the city, the palace and gardens of the Seraglio occupy the eastern promontory, the first of the seven hills, and cover about 150 acres of our own measure. The seat of Turkish jealousy and despotism is erected on the foundations of a Grecian republic; but it may be supposed that the Byzantines were tempted by the conveniency of the harbour to extend their habitations on that side beyond the modern limits of the Seraglio. The new walls

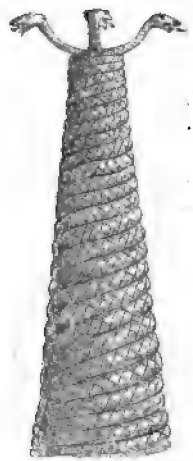
of Constantine stretched from the port to the Propontis across the enlarged breadth of the triangle, at the distance of 15 stadia from the ancient fortification, and with the city of Byzantium they enclosed five of the seven hills which, to the eyes of those who approach Constantinople, appear to rise above each other in beautiful order. About a century after the death of the founder, the new buildings, extending on one side up the harbour, and on the other along the Propontis, already covered the narrow ridge of the sixth and the broad summit of the seventh hill. The necessity of protecting those suburbs from the incessant inroads of the barbarians engaged the younger Theodosius to surround his capital with an adequate and permanent enclosure of walls. From the eastern promontory to the golden gate, the extreme length of Constantinople was about three Roman miles, the circumference measured between ten and eleven, and the surface might be computed as equal to about 2000 English acres.

§ 9. During the siege of Byzantium the conqueror had pitched his tent on the commanding eminence of the second hill. To perpetuate the memory of his success, he chose the same advantageous position for the principal Forum, which appears to have been of a circular, or rather elliptical form. The two opposite entrances formed triumphal arches; the porticoes, which enclosed it on every side, were filled with statues, and the centre of the Forum was occupied by a lofty column, of which a mutilated fragment is now degraded by the appellation of the *burnt pillar*. This column was erected on a pedestal of white marble 20 feet high, and was composed of 10 pieces of porphyry, each of which measured about 10 feet in height, and about 33 in circumference. On the summit of the pillar, above 120 feet from the ground, stood the colossal statue of Apollo. It was of bronze, had been transported either from Athens or from a town of Phrygia, and was supposed to be the work of Phidias. The artist had represented the god of



Burnt Pillar.

day, or, as it was afterwards interpreted, the emperor Constantine himself, with a sceptre in his right hand, the globe of the world in his left, and a crown of rays glittering on his head. The Circus, or Hippodrome, was a stately building about 400 paces in length, and 100 in breadth. The space between the two *metæ* or goals was filled with statues and obelisks; and we may still remark a very singular fragment of antiquity, the bodies of three serpents twisted into one pillar of brass. Their triple heads had once supported the golden tripod, which, after the defeat of Xerxes, was consecrated in the temple of Delphi by the victorious Greeks. From the throne, whence the emperor viewed the Circensian games, a winding staircase descended to the palace; a magnificent edifice, which scarcely yielded to the residence of Rome itself, and which, together with the dependent courts, gardens, and porticoes, covered a considerable extent of ground upon the banks of the Propontis, between the Hippodrome and the church of St. Sophia. But we should deviate from the design of this history if we attempted minutely to describe the different buildings or quarters of the city. It may be sufficient to observe that whatever could adorn the dignity of a great capital, or contribute to the benefit or pleasure of its numerous inhabitants, was contained within the walls of Constantinople. A particular description, composed about a century after its foundation, enumerates a capitol or school of learning, a circus, 2 theatres, 8 public and 153 private baths, 52 porticoes, 5 granaries, 8 aqueducts or reservoirs of water, 4 spacious halls for the meetings of the senate or courts of justice, 14 churches, 14 palaces, and 4383 houses which, for their size or beauty, deserved to be distinguished from the multitude of plebeian habitations.



Serpentine Pillar.

§ 10. The populousness of his favoured city was the next and most serious object of the attention of its founder. Many opulent senators of Rome and of the eastern provinces were induced by Constantine to adopt for their country the fortunate spot which he had chosen for his own residence. The most wealthy of the provincials were attracted by the powerful motives of interest and duty, of amusement and curiosity. A third and more numerous class of inhabitants were formed, of servants, of artificers, and of merchants, who derived their subsistence from their own labour, and from the

wants or luxury of the superior ranks. In less than a century Constantinople disputed with Rome itself the pre-eminence of riches and numbers.

The frequent and regular distributions of wine and oil, of corn or bread, of money or provisions, had almost exempted the poorer citizens of Rome from the necessity of labour. The magnificence of the first Cæsars was in some measure imitated by the founder of Constantinople, and the annual tribute of corn imposed upon Egypt for the benefit of his new capital was applied to feed a lazy and insolent populace, at the expense of the husbandmen of an industrious province. The emperor divided Constantinople into fourteen regions or quarters, dignified the public council with the appellation of senate, communicated to the citizens the *Jus Italicum*, which exempted them from taxation, and bestowed on the rising city the title of Colony, the first and most favoured daughter of ancient Rome.

The city was dedicated on the 11th of May, A.D. 330. At the festival of the dedication, an edict, engraved on a column of marble, bestowed the title of SECOND or NEW ROME on the city of Constantine. But the name of Constantinople has prevailed over that honourable epithet, and after the revolution of fourteen centuries still perpetuates the fame of its author.

§ 11. The foundation of a new capital is naturally connected with the establishment of a new form of civil and military administration. The distinct view of the complicated system of policy introduced by Diocletian, improved by Constantine, and completed by his immediate successors, may not only amuse the fancy by the singular picture of a great empire, but will tend to illustrate the secret, and internal causes of its rapid decay. The proper limits of this inquiry will be included within a period of about 130 years, from the accession of Constantine to the publication of the Theodosian code; from which, as well as from the *Notitia* of the East and West,* we derive the most copious and authentic information of the state of the empire.

All the magistrates of sufficient importance to find a place in the general state of the empire were divided into three classes—1. The *Illustres*, or *Illustrious;* 2. The *Spectabiles*, or *Respectable;* and, 3. The *Clarissimi*, whom we may translate by the word *Honourable.* The last-mentioned epithet was the title of all who were members of the senate, and consequently of all who, from that venerable body, were selected to govern the provinces. The vanity of those who, from their rank and office, might claim a superior dis-

* The date of the Notitia is probably between the final division of the empire (A.D. 395) and the successful invasion of Gaul by the barbarians (A.D. 407).

tinction above the rest of the senatorial order, was indulged with the appellation of *Respectable:* but the title of *Illustrious* was always reserved to some eminent personages who were obeyed or reverenced by the two subordinate classes. It was communicated only, I. To the consuls and patricians; II. To the Prætorian præfects, with the præfects of Rome and Constantinople; III. To the masters general of the cavalry and the infantry; and, IV. To the seven ministers of the palace, who exercised their *sacred* functions about the person of the emperor.

§ 12. As long as the emperors condescended to disguise the servitude which they imposed, the consuls were still elected by the real or apparent suffrage of the senate. From the reign of Diocletian even these vestiges of liberty were abolished, and the consuls were created by the sole authority of the emperor. Their solemn inauguration was performed at the place of the Imperial residence; and during a period of 120 years Rome was constantly deprived of the presence of her ancient magistrates. Their names and portraits, engraved on gilt tablets of ivory, were dispersed over the empire as presents to the provinces, the cities, the magistrates, the senate, and the people.* Their only duty was to celebrate the annual games of the theatre, the circus, and the amphitheatre, upon which the sum of about 72,000*l.* was expended. As soon as the consuls had discharged these customary duties, they were at liberty to retire into the shade of private life. They no longer presided in the national councils; they no longer executed the resolutions of peace or war. Their abilities were of little moment; and their names served only as the legal date of the year in which they had filled the chair of Marius and of Cicero. Yet it was still felt and acknowledged, in the last period of Roman servitude, that this empty name might be compared, and even preferred, to the possession of substantial power. The title of consul was still the most splendid object of ambition, the noblest reward of virtue and loyalty.

Constantine revived the title of PATRICIANS, but he revived it as a personal, not as an hereditary distinction. They yielded only to the transient superiority of the annual consuls; but they enjoyed the pre-eminence over all the great officers of state, with the most familiar access to the person of the prince. This honourable rank

* A specimen of these tablets or diptychs is given on the following page. It is an ivory diptych of Clementinus, who was consul of the East A.D. 513. He is represented seated on a curule chair between the figures of Rome and Constantinople, holding the map of the Circus, and giving with it the sign for the beginning of the games. Above him are his signet, his name, and title surmounted by a cross, and portraits of the emperor Anastasius and the empress Ariadne. Under him are two boys emptying bags of presents, viz. coins, diptychs, and palm-branches.—See Labarte, Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages, p. xvii.

was bestowed on them for life; and, as they were usually favourites and ministers who had grown old in the Imperial court, the true etymology of the word was perverted by ignorance and flattery; and the Patricians of Constantine were reverenced as the adopted *Fathers* of the emperor and the republic.

§ 13. From the reign of Severus to that of Diocletian, the guards and the palace, the laws and the finances, the armies and the provinces, were intrusted to the superintending care of the Prætorian præfects; and, like the vizirs of the East, they held with one hand the seal, and with the other the standard, of the empire. The ambition of the præfects, always formidable and sometimes fatal to the masters whom they served, was supported by the strength of the Prætorian bands; but, after those haughty troops had been weakened by Diocletian and finally suppressed by Constantine, the præfects, who survived their fall, were reduced without difficulty to the station of useful and obedient ministers. When they were no longer responsible for the safety of the emperor's person, they resigned the jurisdiction which they had hitherto claimed and exer-

cised over all the departments of the palace. They were deprived by Constantine of all military command as soon as they had ceased to lead into the field, under their immediate orders, the flower of the Roman troops; and, at length, by a singular revolution, the captains of the guards were transformed into the civil magistrates of the provinces. According to the plan of government instituted by Diocletian, the four princes had each their Prætorian præfect; and after the monarchy was once more united in the person of Constantine, he still continued to create the same number of FOUR PRÆFECTS, and intrusted to their care the same provinces which they already administered. 1. The præfect of the East stretched his ample jurisdiction into the three parts of the globe which were subject to the Romans from the cataracts of the Nile to the banks of the Phasis, and from the mountains of Thrace to the frontiers of Persia. 2. The important provinces of Pannonia, Dacia, Macedonia, and Greece, once acknowledged the authority of the præfect of Illyricum. 3. The power of the præfect of Italy was not confined to the country from whence he derived his title; it extended over the

additional territory of Rhætia as far as the banks of the Danube, over the dependent islands of the Mediterranean, and over that part of the continent of Africa which lies betweeen the confines of Cyrene and those of Tingitania. 4. The præfect of the Gauls comprehended under that plural denomination the kindred provinces of Britain and Spain, and his authority was obeyed from the wall of Antoninus to the foot of Mount Atlas.

To the Prætorian præfects was committed the supreme administration of justice and of the finances. They watched over the conduct of the provincial governors, removed the negligent, and inflicted punishments on the guilty. From all the inferior jurisdictions an appeal in every matter of importance, either civil or criminal, might be brought before the tribunal of the præfect: but *his* sentence was final and absolute; and the emperors themselves refused to admit any complaints against the judgment or the integrity of a magistrate whom they honoured with such unbounded confidence.

From their superior importance and dignity, Rome and Constantinople were alone excepted from the jurisdiction of the Prætorian præfects. The office of Præfects of the city (Præfectus urbi) had been instituted by Augustus, and he gradually extended his civil and criminal jurisdiction over the equestrian and noble families of Rome. The prætors, annually created as the judges of law and equity, could not long dispute the possession of the Forum with a vigorous and permanent magistrate who was usually admitted into the confidence of the prince. Their courts were deserted; and their important functions were confined to the expensive obligation of exhibiting games for the amusement of the people. After the office of Roman consuls had been changed into a vain pageant, which was rarely displayed in the capital, the præfects assumed their vacant place in the senate, and were soon acknowledged as the ordinary presidents of that venerable assembly. They received appeals from the distance of one hundred miles; and it was allowed as a principle of jurisprudence that all municipal authority was derived from them alone. About thirty years after the foundation of Constantinople a similar magistrate was created in that rising metropolis, for the same uses and with the same powers. A perfect equality was established between the dignity of the *two* municipal and that of the *four* Prætorian præfects.

§ 14. The civil government of the empire was distributed into thirteen great DIOCESES, each of which equalled the just measure of a powerful kingdom. The first of these dioceses was subject to the jurisdiction of the *count* of the East. The place of *Augustal præfect* of Egypt was no longer filled by a Roman knight; but the name was retained. The eleven remaining dioceses—of Asiana, Pontica, and Thrace; of Macedonia, Dacia, and Pannonia, or Western Illy-

ricum; of Italy and Africa: of Gaul, Spain, and Britain—were governed by twelve *vicars* or *vice-præfects*,* whose name sufficiently explains the nature and dependence of their office. The proconsuls of Asia, Achaia, and Africa, were exempt from the jurisdiction of the governors of the dioceses, and were subject only to the emperor himself. They had the title of *Respectable*, and formed an intermediate class between the *Illustrious* Præfects and *Honourable* magistrates of the provinces.

As the spirit of jealousy and ostentation prevailed in the councils of the emperors, they proceeded with anxious diligence to divide the substance and to multiply the titles of power. The vast countries which the Roman conquerors had united under the same simple form of administration were imperceptibly crumbled into minute fragments, till at length the whole empire was distributed into 116 provinces, each of which supported an expensive and splendid establishment. Of these, 8 were governed by *proconsuls*, 37 by *consulars*, 5 by *correctors*, and 71 by *presidents*. They were all (excepting only the proconsuls) alike included in the class of *honourable* persons; and they were alike intrusted, during the pleasure of the prince, and under the authority of the præfects or their deputies, with the administration of justice and the finances in their respective districts.

§ 15. All the civil magistrates were drawn from the profession of the law. The celebrated Institutes of Justinian are addressed to the youth of his dominions who had devoted themselves to the study of Roman jurisprudence; and the sovereign condescends to animate their diligence by the assurance that their skill and ability would in time be rewarded by an adequate share in the government of the republic. The rudiments of this lucrative science were taught in all the considerable cities of the East and West; but the most famous school was that of Berytus, on the coast of Phœnicia, which flourished about three centuries from the time of Alexander Severus, the author perhaps of an institution so advantageous to his native country. After a regular course of education, which lasted five years, the students dispersed themselves through the provinces in search of fortune and honours; nor could they want an inexhaustible supply of business in a great empire already corrupted by the multiplicity of laws, of arts, and of vices. The court of the Prætorian præfect of the East could alone furnish employment for 150 advocates, 64 of whom were distinguished by peculiar privileges, and two were annually chosen with a salary of sixty pounds of gold to defend the causes of the treasury. The first experiment was made

* The number of twelve varies, because in Italy there was likewise the *Vicarius Romæ*, who had jurisdiction over the ten southern provinces of Italy.

of their judicial talents by appointing them to act occasionally as assessors to the magistrates; from thence they were often raised to preside in the tribunals before which they had pleaded. They obtained the government of a province; and, by the aid of merit, of reputation, or of favour, they ascended, by successive steps, to the *illustrious* dignities of the state.

§ 16. In the system of policy introduced by Augustus, the governors, those at least of the Imperial provinces, were invested with the full powers of the sovereign himself. They successively appeared on their tribunal in the robes of civil magistracy, and in complete armour at the head of the Roman legions. The influence of the revenue, the authority of law, and the command of a military force, concurred to render their power supreme and absolute; and whenever they were tempted to violate their allegiance, the loyal province which they involved in their rebellion was scarcely sensible of any change in its political state. From the time of Commodus to the reign of Constantine near one hundred governors might be enumerated, who, with various success, erected the standard of revolt. To secure his throne and the public tranquillity from these formidable servants, Constantine resolved to divide the military from the civil administration, and to establish, as a permanent and professional distinction, a practice which had been adopted only as an occasional expedient. The supreme jurisdiction exercised by the Prætorian præfects over the armies of the empire was transferred to the two *masters general* whom he instituted, the one for the *cavalry*, the other for the *infantry;* and though each of these *illustrious* officers was more peculiarly responsible for the discipline of those troops which were under his immediate inspection, they both indifferently commanded in the field the several bodies, whether of horse or foot, which were united in the same army. Their number was soon doubled by the division of the East and West; and as separate generals of the same rank and title were appointed on the four important frontiers of the Rhine, of the Upper and Lower Danube, and of the Euphrates, the defence of the Roman empire was at length committed to eight masters general of the cavalry and infantry. Under their orders, thirty-five military commanders were stationed in the provinces: three in Britain, six in Gaul, one in Spain, one in Italy, five on the Upper and four on the Lower Danube, in Asia eight, three in Egypt, and four in Africa. The titles of *counts* and *dukes*, by which they were properly distinguished, have obtained in modern languages so very different a sense, that the use of them may occasion some surprise. But it should be recollected that the second of those appellations is only a corruption of the Latin word which was indiscriminately applied to any military chief. All these provincial generals were therefore *dukes;* but no more than ten

among them were dignified with the rank of *counts* or companions, a title of honour, or rather of favour, which had been recently invented in the court of Constantine. The *dukes* as well as *counts* were allowed the title of *Respectable*. They were strictly prohibited from interfering in any matter which related to the administration of justice or the revenue; but the command which they exercised over the troops of their department was independent of the authority of the magistrates. The nice balance which Constantine instituted between the civil and the military powers, was productive of beneficial and of pernicious consequences. It was seldom to be expected that the general and the civil governor of a province should either conspire for the disturbance, or should unite for the service, of their country. While the one delayed to offer the assistance which the other disdained to solicit, the troops very frequently remained without orders or without supplies, and the defenceless subjects were left exposed to the fury of the barbarians. The divided administration, which had been formed by Constantine, relaxed the vigour of the state, while it secured the tranquillity of the monarch.

§ 17. The same timid policy, of dividing whatever is united, of reducing whatever is eminent, of dreading every active power, and of expecting that the most feeble will prove the most obedient, seems to pervade the institutions of several princes, and particularly those of Constantine. The martial pride of the legions, whose victorious camps had so often been the scene of rebellion, was nourished by the memory of their past exploits, and the consciousness of their actual strength. As long as they maintained their ancient establishment of 6000 men, they subsisted, under the reign of Diocletian, each of them singly, a visible and important object in the military history of the Roman empire. A few years afterwards these gigantic bodies were shrunk to a very diminutive size, and consisted only of 1000 or 1500 men. The conspiracy of so many separate detachments, each of which was awed by the sense of its own weakness, could easily be checked; and the successors of Constantine might indulge their love of ostentation, by issuing their orders to 132 legions, inscribed on the muster-roll of their numerous armies. The number of permanent stations or garrisons established on the frontiers of the empire amounted to 583; and under the successors of Constantine, the complete force of the military establishment was computed at 645,000 soldiers.

§ 18. Besides the magistrates and generals, who at a distance from the court diffused their delegated authority over the provinces and armies, the emperor conferred the rank of *Illustrious* on seven of his more immediate servants, to whose fidelity he intrusted his safety, or his counsels, or his treasures. 1. The private apartments of the palace were governed by a favourite eunuch, who, in the

language of that age, was styled the *præpositus*, or præfect of the sacred bedchamber. His duty was to attend the emperor in his hours of state or in those of amusement, and to perform about his person all those menial services which can only derive their splendour from the influence of royalty. 2. The principal administration of public affairs was committed to the diligence and abilities of the *master of the offices*. He was the supreme magistrate of the palace, inspected the discipline of the civil and military *schools*, and received appeals from all parts of the empire, in the causes which related to that numerous army of privileged persons who, as the servants of the court, had obtained for themselves and families a right to decline the authority of the ordinary judges. The correspondence between the prince and his subjects was managed by the four *scrinia*, or officers of this minister of state. 3. The Imperial *quæstor* was considered as the representative of the legislative power, and the original source of the civil jurisprudence. He composed the orations of the emperor, which acquired the force, and at length the form, of absolute edicts. He was sometimes invited to take his seat in the supreme judicature of the Imperial consistory, with the Prætorian præfects and the master of the offices; and he was frequently requested to resolve the doubts of inferior judges: but his leisure and talents were employed to cultivate that dignified style of eloquence, which, in the corruption of taste and language, still preserves the majesty of the Roman laws. In some respects the office of the Imperial quæstor may be compared with that of a modern chancellor; but the use of a great seal, which seems to have been adopted by the illiterate barbarians, was never introduced to attest the public acts of the emperors. 4. The extraordinary title of *count of the sacred largesses* was bestowed on the treasurer-general of the revenue, with the intention perhaps of inculcating that every payment flowed from the voluntary bounty of the monarch. 5. Besides the public revenue, which an absolute monarch might levy and expend according to his pleasure, the emperors, in the capacity of opulent citizens, possessed a very extensive property, which was administered by the *count* or treasurer of *the private estate*. Some part had perhaps been the ancient demesnes of kings and republics: some accessions might be derived from the families which were successively invested with the purple; but the most considerable portion flowed from the impure source of confiscations and forfeitures. 6, 7. The chosen bands of cavalry and infantry, which guarded the person of the emperor, were under the immediate command of the *two counts of the domestics*. The whole number consisted of 3500 men, divided into seven *schools*, or troops, of 500 each; and in the East this honourable service was almost entirely appropriated to the Armenians. The counts of the domestics had

succeeded to the office of the Prætorian præfects; like the præfects, they aspired from the service of the palace to the command of armies.

§ 19. The perpetual intercourse between the court and the provinces was facilitated by the construction of roads and the institution of posts. But these beneficial establishments were accidentally connected with a pernicious and intolerable abuse. Two or three hundred *agents* or messengers were employed, under the jurisdiction of the master of the offices, to announce the names of the annual consuls, and the edicts or victories of the emperors. They insensibly assumed the license of reporting whatever they could observe of the conduct either of magistrates or of private citizens; and were soon considered as the eyes of the monarch and the scourge of the people. Under the warm influence of a feeble reign they multiplied to the incredible number of 10,000, and exercised in the profitable management of the posts a rapacious and insolent oppression. These official spies, who regularly corresponded with the palace, were encouraged, by favour and reward, anxiously to watch the progress of every treasonable design, from the faint and latent symptoms of disaffection, to the actual preparation of an open revolt. Their careless or criminal violation of truth and justice was covered by the consecrated mask of zeal; and they might securely aim their poisoned arrows at the breast either of the guilty or the innocent, who had provoked their resentment, or refused to purchase their silence. A faithful subject, of Syria perhaps, or of Britain, was exposed to the danger, or at least to the dread, of being dragged in chains to the court of Milan or Constantinople, to defend his life and fortune against the malicious charge of these privileged informers. The ordinary administration was conducted by those methods which extreme necessity can alone palliate; and the defects of evidence were diligently supplied by the use of torture.

§ 20. These evils, however terrible they may appear, were confined to the smaller number of Roman subjects, whose dangerous situation was in some degree compensated by the enjoyment of those advantages, either of nature or of fortune, which exposed them to the jealousy of the monarch. The obscure millions of a great empire have much less to dread from the cruelty than from the avarice of their masters; and *their* humble happiness is principally affected by the grievance of excessive taxes, which, gently pressing on the wealthy, descend with accelerated weight on the meaner and more indigent classes of society. Without abolishing all the various customs and duties on merchandises, which are imperceptibly discharged by the apparent choice of the purchaser, the policy of Constantine and his successors preferred a simple and direct mode of taxation, more congenial to the spirit of an arbitrary

government. The chief source of revenue was the land-tax. An accurate *census* or register of the whole landed property of the empire was taken every fifteen years. The land was measured and divided into a certain number of pieces, each of which had to pay the same sum of money as a tax. Such a piece of land was called *caput*, whence the tax was named *capitatio*. Since each *caput* was of the same value, and paid the same tax, its size must of course have varied according to the value of the land composing it. In the middle ages the registers of the land were called *capitastra*, because they contained lists of the *capita*; and hence the word *catastrum*, which continues in use on the Continent down to the present day. For each financial year, which commenced on the 1st of September, the whole amount of the land-tax was fixed, and was then divided among the capita. The payment had to be made in three instalments—on the 1st of January, the 1st of May, and on the 1st of September. The tribute appointed for each year was called *Indiction*, a term which was also applied to the financial year.* The second most important tribute was the poll-tax, which was also called *capitatio*, to which all persons were liable who were not assessed to the land-tax. Consequently the poll-tax was a kind of supplement to the land-tax, and was intended as a direct tax upon those persons who would otherwise have escaped direct taxation, because they possessed no landed property.

The burthen of taxation fell with the greatest severity upon the *Decuriones*, or the members of the senate in the municipal towns. In the times of the republic admission into the Ordo Decurionum was considered an honour; but under the despotism of the empire the position of the Decurions was most lamentable. The plebeians carefully avoided this dangerous distinction, and the Decurions themselves sought to escape from it in every possible way. Many became soldiers and even slaves in order to conceal themselves. Their miserable condition arose from the impression of the govern-

* The manner in which the *Indiction* was used as a chronological era in the time of Constantine, and long afterwards, deserves notice. The indictions, as a chronological era, begin September 1, A.D. 312. From this date successive periods of fifteen years are reckoned. Originally each separate year, and not the period of fifteen years, was called an indiction; and there were no means of discriminating which of those periods of fifteen years was meant. Thus, when the seventh indiction occurs in a document, this document belongs to the seventh year of one of those periods of fifteen years, but to which of them is uncertain. This continued to be the usage of the world till the twelfth century, when it became the practice to call the period of fifteen years the indiction, and to reckon from the birth of Christ the number of indictions, that is, periods of fifteen years. An event was then said to take place in a particular year of a particular indiction; for example, Indictionis LXXIX. anno V.

ment. For the Decurions had not only to collect the taxes, but they were responsible for their colleagues; they had to take up the lands abandoned by the proprietors on account of the intolerable weight of taxes attached to them; and they had finally to make up all deficiencies in the taxes out of their own private resources.

Interior of the Golden Gateway, a fragment of the Great Basilica, erected at Jerusalem by Constantine.

Constantine and Fausta.

CHAPTER XI.

SOLE REIGN OF CONSTANTINE AND REIGNS OF HIS SONS.

§ 1. Family of Constantine. § 2. Death of Crispus. § 3. Death of Fausta. § 4. Elevation of the sons and nephews of Constantine. § 5. The Gothic war: the Sarmatians receive settlements in the empire. § 6. Death of Constantine and massacre of his family. § 7. Division of the empire between the three sons of Constantine. § 8. The Persian war. § 9. Civil war and death of Constantine. § 10. Murder of Constans. § 11. Magnentius and Vetranio assume the purple. § 12. Constantius deposes Vetranio. § 13. Makes war against Magnentius: death of Magnentius. § 14. Power of the eunuchs. § 15. Gallus declared Cæsar: his cruelty and death. § 16. Escape of Julian: he is declared Cæsar. § 17. Constantius visits Rome. § 18. Wars with the Quadi and Sarmatians. § 19. Renewal of the Persian war. § 20. Campaigns of Julian in Gaul. § 21. Julian proclaimed Augustus. § 22. Preparations for civil war: death of Constantius, and undisputed accession of Julian. § 23. The Council of Nicæa: Constantine persecutes first the Arians, and afterwards the orthodox party. § 24. Persecution of the orthodox party by Constantius: history of Athanasius.

§ 1. The same fortune which so invariably followed the standard of Constantine seemed to secure the hopes and comforts of his domestic life. The emperor had been twice married. Minervina, his first wife, had left him only one son, who was called Crispus. By Fausta, the daughter of Maximian, he had three daughters, and three sons known by the kindred names of Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. The unambitious brothers of the great Constantine, Julius Constantius, Dalmatius, and Hannibalianus, were permitted

to enjoy the most honourable rank and the most affluent fortune that could be consistent with a private station. The youngest of the three lived without a name and died without posterity. His two elder brothers obtained in marriage the daughters of wealthy senators, and propagated new branches of the Imperial race. Gallus and Julian afterwards became the most illustrious of the children of Julius Constantius, the *Patrician*. The two sons of Dalmatius, who had been decorated with the vain title of *Censor*, were named Dalmatius and Hannibalianus. The two sisters of the great Constantine, Anastasia and Eutropia, were bestowed on Optatus and Nepotianus, two senators of noble birth and of consular dignity. His third sister, Constantia, was distinguished by her pre-eminence of greatness and of misery. She remained the widow of the vanquished Licinius; and it was by her entreaties that an innocent boy, the offspring of their marriage, preserved, for some time, his life, the title of Cæsar, and a precarious hope of the succession. Besides the females and the allies of the Flavian house, ten or twelve males, to whom the language of modern courts would apply the title of princes of the blood, seemed, according to the order of their birth, to be destined either to inherit or to support the throne of Constantine. But in less than 30 years this numerous and increasing family was reduced to the persons of Constantine and Julian, who alone had survived a series of crimes and calamities such as the tragic poets have deplored in the devoted lines of Pelops and of Cadmus.

§ 2. Crispus, the eldest son of Constantine, and the presumptive heir of the empire, is represented by impartial historians as an amiable and accomplished youth. The care of his education, or at least of his studies, was intrusted to Lactantius, the most eloquent of the Christians; a preceptor admirably qualified to form the taste and to excite the virtues of his illustrious disciple. At the age of seventeen Crispus was invested with the title of Cæsar, and the administration of the Gallic provinces, where the inroads of the Germans gave him an early occasion of signalising his military prowess. In the civil war which broke out soon afterwards he displayed his valour in forcing the straits of the Hellespont, so obstinately defended by the superior fleet of Licinius. The public favour which seldom accompanies old age, diffused its lustre over the youth of Crispus. He deserved the esteem and he engaged the affections of the court, the army, and the people. Constantine became jealous of his eldest son, and kept him almost a prisoner in his court, exposed, without power or defence, to every calumny which the malice of his enemies could suggest. Under such painful circumstances the royal youth might not always be able to compose his behaviour or suppress his discontent; and we may be assured that he was encompassed by a train of indiscreet or perfidious followers,

who assiduously studied to inflame, and who were perhaps instructed to betray, the unguarded warmth of his resentment. In A.D. 326 Constantine removed from Nicomedia to Rome, in order to celebrate the august ceremony of the twentieth year of his reign. In the midst of the festival the unfortunate Crispus was apprehended by order of the emperor, who laid aside the tenderness of a father without assuming the equity of a judge. The examination was short and private; and as it was thought decent to conceal the fate of the young prince from the eyes of the Roman people, he was sent under a strong guard to Pola, in Istria, where, soon afterwards, he was put to death, either by the hand of the executioner or by the more gentle operation of poison. The Cæsar Licinius, a youth of amiable manners, was involved in the ruin of Crispus, and the stern jealousy of Constantine was unmoved by the prayers and tears of his favourite sister, pleading for the life of a son whose rank was his only crime, and whose loss she did not long survive. The story of these unhappy princes, the nature and evidence of their guilt, the forms of their trial, and the circumstances of their death, were buried in mysterious obscurity.

§ 3. Some ancient writers ascribe the misfortunes of Crispus to the arts of his stepmother Fausta, whose implacable hatred or whose disappointed love renewed in the palace of Constantine the ancient tragedy of Hippolytus and of Phædra. Like the daughter of Minos, the daughter of Maximian accused her son ~~in law~~ of an incestuous attempt on the chastity of his father's wife, and easily obtained, from the jealousy of the emperor, a sentence of death against a young prince whom she considered with reason as the most formidable rival of her own children. But Helena, the aged mother of Constantine, lamented and revenged the untimely fate of her grandson Crispus; nor was it long before a real or pretended discovery was made that Fausta herself entertained a criminal connection with a slave belonging to the Imperial stables. Her condemnation and punishment were the instant consequences of the charge, and the adulteress was suffocated by the steam of a bath, which, for that purpose, had been heated to an extraordinary degree. By some it will perhaps be thought that the remembrance of a conjugal union of 20 years, and the honour of their common offspring, the destined heirs of the throne, might have softened the obdurate heart of Constantine, and persuaded him to suffer his wife, however guilty she might appear, to expiate her offences in a solitary prison.

§ 4. By the death of Crispus the inheritance of the empire seemed to devolve on the three sons of Fausta, who have been already mentioned under the names of Constantine, of Constantius, and of Constans. These young princes were successively invested with the title of Cæsar. This conduct, though it tended to multiply the

future masters of the Roman world, might be excused by the partiality of paternal affection; but it is not so easy to understand the motives of the emperor, when he endangered the safety both of his family and of his people by the unnecessary elevation of his two nephews, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus. The former was raised, by the title of Cæsar, to an equality with his cousins. In favour of the latter, Constantine invented the new and singular appellation *Nobilissimus*. He intrusted these princes with the government of provinces; but he always reserved for himself the title of Augustus; and while he showed the *Cæsars* to the armies and provinces, he maintained every part of the empire in equal obedience to its supreme head. The tranquillity of the last fourteen years of his reign was scarcely interrupted by the active part which the policy of Constantine engaged him to assume in the wars of the Goths and Sarmatians.

§ 5. The Sarmatians, who are first mentioned by Herodotus under the name of Sauromatæ, are the ancestors of the modern Slavonians. Soon after the reign of Augustus they obliged the Dacians, who subsisted by fishing on the banks of the river Theiss or Tibiscus, to retire into the hilly country, and to abandon to the victorious Sarmatians the fertile plains of the Upper Hungary, which are bounded by the course of the Danube and the semicircular enclosure of the Carpathian mountains. They lived under the irregular aristocracy of their chieftains; but after they had received into their bosom the fugitive Vandals, who yielded to the pressure of the Gothic power, they seem to have chosen a king from that nation, and from the illustrious race of the Astingi. This motive of enmity must have inflamed the subjects of contention which perpetually arise on the confines of warlike and independent nations. The Vandal princes were stimulated by fear and revenge; the Gothic kings aspired to extend their dominion from the Euxine to the frontiers of Germany; and the waters of the Maros, a small river which falls into the Theiss, were stained with the blood of the contending barbarians. After some experience of the superior strength and numbers of their adversaries, the Sarmatians implored the protection of the Roman monarch, who beheld with pleasure the discord of the nations, but who was justly alarmed by the progress of the Gothic arms. As soon as Constantine had declared himself in favour of the weaker party, the haughty Araric, king of the Goths, instead of expecting the attack of the legions, boldly passed the Danube, and spread terror and devastation through the province of Mœsia. To oppose the inroad of this destroying host the aged emperor took the field in person; he gained a great victory over the Goths, and compelled them to recross the Danube (A.D. 332).

The Sarmatians soon forgot, with the levity of barbarians, the

services which they had so lately received, and the dangers which still threatened their safety. Their inroads on the territory of the empire provoked the indignation of Constantine to leave them to their fate; and he no longer opposed the ambition of Geberic, a renowned warrior, who had recently ascended the Gothic throne. Wisumar, the Vandal king, whilst alone and unassisted, he defended his dominions with undaunted courage, was vanquished and slain in a decisive battle which swept away the flower of the Sarmatian youth. The remainder of the nation embraced the desperate expedient of arming their slaves, a hardy race of hunters and herdsmen, by whose tumultuary aid they revenged their defeat, and expelled the invader from their confines. But they soon discovered that they had exchanged a foreign for a domestic enemy, more dangerous and more implacable. Enraged by their former servitude, elated by their present glory, the slaves, under the name of Limigantes, claimed and usurped the possession of the country which they had saved. Their masters, unable to withstand the ungoverned fury of the populace, preferred the hardships of exile to the tyranny of their servants. The greater part of the distressed nation implored the protection and forgiveness of the emperor, and solemnly promised the most inviolable fidelity to the empire which should graciously receive them into its bosom. According to the maxims adopted by Probus and his successors, the offers of this barbarian colony were eagerly accepted; and a competent portion of lands in the provinces of Pannonia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Italy, were immediately assigned for the habitation and subsistence of 300,000 Sarmatians (A.D. 334).

§ 6. In A.D. 335 Constantine completed the thirtieth year of his reign: a period which none of his predecessors, since Augustus, had been permitted to celebrate. In the second year after that solemn festival, Constantine, at the mature age of sixty-four, after a short illness, ended his memorable life at a palace in the suburbs of Nicomedia, whither he had retired for the benefit of the air, and with the hope of recruiting his exhausted strength by the use of the warm baths (May 22, A.D. 337). His death was followed by a conspiracy to exclude his two nephews, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus, from the share which he had assigned them in the succession of the empire. The intrigue was conducted with zeal and secrecy, till a loud and unanimous declaration was procured from the troops that they would suffer none except the sons of their lamented monarch to reign over the Roman empire.

The voice of the dying emperor had recommended the care of his funeral to the piety of Constantius, the second, and perhaps the most favoured of his sons; and that prince, by the vicinity of his eastern station, could easily anticipate the diligence of his brothers,

who resided in their distant governments of Italy and Gaul. Upon the arrival of Constantius in the capital, he gave his consent to a promiscuous massacre, which involved his two uncles, seven of his cousins, of whom Dalmatius and Hannibalianus were the most illustrious, the patrician Optatus, who had married a sister of the late emperor, and the præfect Ablavius, whose power and riches had inspired him with some hope of obtaining the purple. Of so numerous a family, Gallus and Julian alone, the two youngest children of Julius Constantius, were saved from the hands of the assassins, till their rage, satiated with slaughter, had in some measure subsided. The emperor Constantius, who, in the absence of his brothers, was the most obnoxious to guilt and reproach, discovered, on some future occasions, a faint and transient remorse for those cruelties which the perfidious counsels of his ministers, and the irresistible violence of the troops, had extorted from his inexperienced youth.

§ 7. The massacre of the Flavian race was succeeded by a new division of the provinces, which was ratified in a personal interview of the three brothers. Constantine, the eldest of the Cæsars, obtained, with a certain pre-eminence of rank, the possession of the new capital, which bore his own name and that of his father. Thrace and the countries of the East were allotted for the patrimony of Constantius; and Constans was acknowledged as the lawful sovereign of Italy, Africa, and the western Illyricum. The armies submitted to their hereditary right, and they condescended, after some delay, to accept from the Roman senate the title of *Augustus*. When they first assumed the reins of government, the eldest of these princes was twenty-one, the second twenty, and the third only seventeen, years of age.

§ 8. While the martial nations of Europe followed the standards of his brothers, Constantius, at the head of the effeminate troops of Asia, was left to sustain the weight of the Persian war. At the decease of Constantine, the throne of the East was filled by Sapor, son of Hormouz, or Hormisdas, and grandson of Narses, who, after the victory of Galerius, had humbly confessed the superiority of the Roman power. Sapor was in the thirtieth year of his reign and his life, for his mother remained pregnant at the time of her husband's death. The ambition of Sapor, to whom his enemies ascribe the virtues of a soldier and a statesman, was animated by the desire of revenging the disgrace of his fathers, and of wresting from the hands of the Romans the five provinces beyond the Tigris. The military fame of Constantine, and the real or apparent strength of his government, suspended the attack; but the death of this emperor was the signal of war.

During the long period of the reign of Constantius the provinces

of the East were afflicted by the calamities of the Persian war. The irregular incursions of the light troops alternately spread terror and devastation beyond the Tigris and beyond the Euphrates, from the gates of Ctesiphon to those of Antioch. The more grave and important operations of the war were conducted with equal vigour; and the armies of Rome and Persia encountered each other in nine bloody fields, in all of which victory remained on the side of the Persians. But whatever advantages might attend the arms of Sapor in the field, he could not hope to succeed in the execution of his designs while the fortified towns of Mesopotamia, and, above all, the strong and ancient city of Nisibis, situate about two days' journey from the Tigris, remained in the possession of the Romans. In the space of twelve years Nisibis, which, since the time of Lucullus, had been deservedly esteemed the bulwark of the East, sustained three memorable sieges against the power of Sapor (A.D. 338, 346, 350), and the disappointed monarch, after urging his attacks above 60, 80, and 100 days, was thrice repulsed with loss and ignominy. Sapor was obliged to relinquish the third siege in consequence of a formidable invasion of the eastern provinces of Persia by the Massagetæ. The danger and difficulties of the Scythian war engaged him soon afterwards to conclude, or at least to observe, a truce with the Roman emperor, which was equally grateful to both princes, as Constantius himself, after the deaths of his two brothers, was involved, by the revolutions of the West, in a civil contest which required the most vigorous exertion of his undivided strength.

§ 9. After the partition of the empire three years had scarcely elapsed before the sons of Constantine seemed impatient to convince mankind that they were incapable of contenting themselves with the dominions which they were unqualified to govern. The eldest of those princes soon complained that he was defrauded of his just proportion of the spoils of their murdered kinsmen; and at the head of a tumultuary band, suited for rapine rather than for conquest, he suddenly broke into the dominions of Constans, by the way of the Julian Alps. On the news of his brother's invasion, Constans detached a select and disciplined body of his Illyrian troops, proposing to follow them in person with the remainder of his forces. But the conduct of his lieutenants soon terminated the unnatural contest. By the artful appearances of flight, Constantine was betrayed into an ambuscade, which had been concealed in a wood, where the rash youth, with a few attendants, was surprised, surrounded, and slain (A.D. 340).

§ 10. The fate of Constans himself was delayed about ten years longer, and the revenge of his brother's death was reserved for the more ignoble hand of a domestic traitor. The vices of Constans

had rendered him contemptible; and Magnentius, an ambitious soldier, who was of barbarian extraction, was encouraged by the public discontent to assert the honour of the Roman name. The friendship of Marcellinus, count of the sacred largesses, supplied with a liberal hand the means of seduction; and the soldiers in the city of Autun were easily persuaded to salute Magnentius as Augustus. Constans, who was pursuing in the adjacent forest his favourite amusement of hunting, had barely time for flight; but before he could reach a seaport in Spain, where he intended to embark, he was overtaken near Helena, at the foot of the Pyrenees, by a party of light cavalry, whose chief executed his commission by the murder of the son of Constantine (A.D. 350).

§ 11. As soon as the death of Constans had decided this easy but important revolution, Magnentius was acknowledged as Augustus through the whole extent of the two great præfectures of Gaul and Italy. The martial countries of Illyricum, from the Danube to the extremity of Greece, had long obeyed the government of Vetranio, an aged and experienced general, beloved for the simplicity of his manners. Attached to the house of Constantine, he immediately gave the strongest assurances to the only surviving son of his late master that he would inflict a just revenge on the traitors of Gaul. But the legions of Vetranio were seduced by the example of rebellion; their leader soon betrayed a want of firmness or a want of sincerity, and his ambition derived a specious pretence from the approbation of the princess Constantina. That cruel and aspiring woman, who had obtained from the great Constantine, her father, the rank of *Augusta*, placed the diadem with her own hands on the head of the Illyrian general (March, A.D. 350), and seemed to expect from his victory the accomplishment of those unbounded hopes of which she had been disappointed by the death of her husband Hannibalianus.

§ 12. The intelligence of these important events, which so deeply affected the honour and safety of the Imperial house, recalled the arms of Constantius from the inglorious prosecution of the Persian war. He recommended the care of the East to his lieutenants, and afterwards to his cousin Gallus, whom he raised from a prison to a throne, and marched towards Europe, with a mind agitated by the conflict of hope and fear, of grief and indignation. His first object was to disunite his antagonists, and to separate the forces of Illyricum from the cause of rebellion. It was an easy task to deceive the frankness and simplicity of Vetranio, who, fluctuating some time between the opposite views of honour and interest, was insensibly engaged in the snares of an artificial negotiation. Vetranio consented to meet Constantius in the plain of Sardica. The emperor of the East had seduced the troops of his rival; and when

Constantius addressed the two armies, even the soldiers of Vetranio saluted him as their lawful emperor (December, A.D. 350). Constantius used his victory with prudence and moderation. Vetranio, who had reigned only ten months, was allowed to retire to the city of Prusa, where he lived six years in the enjoyment of ease and affluence.

§ 13. The approaching contest with Magnentius could be determined by the sword alone. The tyrant advanced by rapid marches to encounter Constantius, at the head of a numerous army; and the plains of the Lower Pannonia, between the Drave, the Save, and the Danube, were the theatre of the war during the summer months. At length, on the 28th of September, A.D. 351, a bloody battle was fought near Mursa, or Essek, celebrated in modern times for a bridge of boats, five miles in length, over the river Drave. The number of the slain was computed at 54,000 men; but the victory remained on the side of Constantius; and Magnentius fled across the Julian Alps and took refuge in the city of Aquileia.

The approach of winter supplied the indolence of Constantius with specious reasons for deferring the prosecution of the war till the ensuing spring. Magnentius had fixed his residence in the city of Aquileia, and showed a seeming resolution to dispute the passage of the mountains and morasses which fortified the confines of the Venetian province. The surprisal of a castle in the Alps by the secret march of the Imperialists could scarcely have determined him to relinquish the possession of Italy, if the inclinations of the people had supported the cause of their tyrant. But the memory of the cruelties exercised by his ministers, after the unsuccessful revolt of Nepotian, had left a deep impression of horror and resentment on the minds of the Romans. That rash youth, the son of the princess Eutropia, and the nephew of Constantine, had seen with indignation the sceptre of the West usurped by a perfidious barbarian. Arming a desperate troop of slaves and gladiators, he overpowered the feeble guard of the domestic tranquillity of Rome, received the homage of the senate, and, assuming the title of Augustus, precariously reigned during a tumult of 28 days. The march of some regular forces put an end to his ambitious hopes: the rebellion was extinguished in the blood of Nepotian, of his mother Eutropia, and of his adherents; and the proscription was extended to all who had contracted a fatal alliance with the name and family of Constantine. But as soon as Constantius, after the battle of Mursa, became master of the sea-coast of Dalmatia, Rome and the Italian cities were persuaded to display the banners of Constantius on their walls. The grateful veterans, enriched by the liberality of the father, renewed their oath of allegiance to Constantius; and the usurper, alarmed by the general desertion, was compelled, with

the remains of his faithful troops, to retire beyond the Alps into the provinces of Gaul (A.D. 352).

The following year brought the civil war to a close. The Imperial troops forced the passages of the Cottian Alps, and gained a decisive victory over Magnentius in the bloody combat of Mount Seleucus. He was unable to bring another army into the field; and perceiving that his guards were preparing to deliver him to the conqueror, he prevented their design by falling on his sword. The example of suicide was imitated by Decentius, who had been raised by his brother to the rank either of Cæsar or Augustus.

§ 14. The divided provinces of the empire were again united by the victory of Constantius; but as that feeble prince was destitute of personal merit either in peace or war; as he feared his generals, and distrusted his ministers; the triumph of his arms served only to establish the reign of the *eunuchs* over the Roman world. They were skilled in the arts of flattery and intrigue; and they alternately governed the mind of Constantius by his fears, his indolence, and his vanity. Of these slaves the most distinguished was the chamberlain Eusebius, who ruled the monarch and the palace with absolute sway. By his artful suggestions, the emperor was persuaded to subscribe the condemnation of the unfortunate Gallus, and to add a new crime to the long list of unnatural murders which pollute the honour of the house of Constantine.

§ 15. When the two nephews of Constantine, Gallus and Julian, were saved from the fury of the soldiers, the former was about twelve, and the latter about six years of age. They received a careful education, but the strictest watch was set over them, and for many years they resided in the strong castle of Macellum, near Cæsarea. At length, however, the emergencies of the state compelled the emperor or rather his eunuchs, to invest Gallus, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, with the title of Cæsar, and to cement this political connection by his marriage with the princess Constantina (A.D. 351, March 5). Gallus fixed his residence at Antioch; from whence, with a delegated authority, he administered the five great dioceses of the eastern præfecture. Even the writers the most indulgent to the memory of Gallus, are obliged to confess that the Cæsar was incapable of reigning. Transported from a prison to a throne, he possessed neither genius nor application, nor docility to compensate for the want of knowledge and experience. A temper naturally morose and violent, instead of being corrected, was soured by solitude and adversity; the remembrance of what he had endured disposed him to retaliation rather than to sympathy; and the ungoverned sallies of his rage were often fatal to those who approached his person, or were subject to his power. Constantina, his wife, is described, not as a woman, but as one of the infernal furies tor-

mented with an insatiate thirst of human blood. Every apartment of the palace was adorned with the instruments of death and torture and a general consternation was diffused through the capital of Syria.

As long as the civil war suspended the fate of the Roman world, Constantius dissembled his knowledge of the weak and cruel administration to which his choice had subjected the East. But when the victory was decided in favour of Constantius, his dependent colleague became less useful and less formidable; and Domitian, the Oriental præfect, was empowered by a special commission to visit and reform the state of the East. On his arrival at Antioch, Domitian treated Gallus with such haughtiness, that the Cæsar expressed his resentment by delivering Domitian to the custody of a guard. Montius, the quæstor of the Imperial palace, interfered to protect Domitian, and required the civil and military officers, in the name of their sovereign, to defend the person and dignity of his representative. By this rash declaration of war the impatient temper of Gallus was provoked to embrace the most desperate counsels. He ordered his guards to stand to their arms, assembled the populace of Antioch, and recommended to their zeal the care of his safety and revenge. His commands were too fatally obeyed. They rudely seized the præfect and the quæstor, and, tying their legs together with ropes, they dragged them through the streets of the city, inflicted a thousand insults and a thousand wounds on these unhappy victims, and at last precipitated their mangled and lifeless bodies into the stream of the Orontes.

After such a deed, whatever might have been the designs of Gallus, it was only in a field of battle that he could assert his innocence with any hope of success. But the mind of that prince was formed of an equal mixture of violence and weakness. Instead of assuming the title of Augustus, instead of employing in his defence the troops and treasures of the East, he suffered himself to be deceived by the affected tranquillity of Constantius, who, leaving him the vain pageantry of a court, imperceptibly recalled the veteran legions from the provinces of Asia. But as it still appeared dangerous to arrest Gallus in his capital, the slow and safer arts of dissimulation were practised with success. The frequent and pressing epistles of Constantius were filled with professions of confidence and friendship, exhorting the Cæsar to relieve his colleague from a part of the public cares, and to assist the West by his presence, his counsels and his arms. After a long delay the reluctant Cæsar set forwards on his journey to the Imperial court. From Antioch to Hadrianople he traversed the wide extent of his dominions with a numerous and stately train; but soon after his arrival at the latter city he received a mandate, expressed in the most haughty and ab-

solute style, that his splendid retinue should halt in that city, while the Cæsar himself with only ten post-carriages, should hasten to the Imperial residence at Milan. The dissimulation which had hitherto been preserved was laid aside at Petovio, in Pannonia. Here he was arrested, ignominiously stripped of the ensigns of Cæsar and hurried away to Pola, in Istria, a sequestered prison, which had been so recently polluted with royal blood. The horror which he felt was soon increased by the appearance of his implacable enemy the eunuch Eusebius, who, with the assistance of a notary and a tribune, proceeded to interrogate him concerning the administration of the East. Constantius, who reviewed with partial prejudice the minutes of the examination, was easily convinced that his own safety was incompatible with the life of his cousin: the sentence of death was signed, despatched and executed; and the nephew of Constantine, with his hands tied behind his back, was beheaded in prison, like the vilest malefactor (A.D. 354, December).

§ 16. Besides the reigning emperor, Julian alone survived of all the numerous posterity of Constantius Chlorus. The misfortune of his royal birth involved him in the disgrace of Gallus. From his retirement in the happy country of Ionia he was conveyed under a strong guard, to the court of Milan, where he languished above seven months in the continual apprehension of suffering the same ignominious death which was daily inflicted, almost before his eyes, on the friends and adherents of his persecuted family. He owed his life to the steady and generous friendship of the empress Eusebia, a woman of beauty and merit, who, by the ascendant which she had gained over the mind of her husband, counterbalanced in some measure the powerful conspiracy of the eunuchs. By the intercession of his patroness Julian was admitted into the Imperial presence; he pleaded his cause with a decent freedom; he was heard with favour; and shortly afterwards the city of Athens was assigned as the place of his honourable exile. As he had discovered from his earliest youth a propensity, or rather passion, for the language, the manners, the learning, and the religion of the Greeks, he obeyed, with pleasure an order so agreeable to his wishes. After spending six months amidst the groves of the Academy, far from the tumults of arms and the treachery of courts, Julian was summoned back to Milan. The death of the late Cæsar had left Constantius invested with the sole command, and oppressed by the accumulated weight, of a mighty empire. Before the wounds of civil discord could be healed, the provinces of Gaul were overwhelmed by a deluge of barbarians. The Sarmatians no longer respected the barrier of the Danube. Above all, the Persian monarch, elated by victory, again threatened the peace of Asia; and the presence of the emperor was indispensably required both in the West and in the East. For the first

time Constantius sincerely acknowledged that his single strength was unequal to such an extent of care and of dominion. In consequence of the advice of Eusebia, it was resolved that Julian, after celebrating his nuptials with Helena, sister of Constantius, should be appointed, with the title of Cæsar, to reign over the countries beyond the Alps. Accordingly, Julian was declared Cæsar at Milan Nov. 6, A.D. 355, and shortly afterwards set out to his government of Gaul.

§ 17. The protection of the Rhætian frontier, and the persecution of the Catholic church, detained Constantius in Italy above eighteen months after the departure of Julian. Before the emperor returned into the East he indulged his pride and curiosity in a visit to the ancient capital (A.D. 357, April 28). His short visit of thirty days was employed in viewing the monuments of art and power which were scattered over the seven hills and the interjacent valleys. He admired the awful majesty of the Capitol, the vast extent of the baths of Caracalla and Diocletian, the severe simplicity of the Pantheon, the massive greatness of the amphitheatre of Titus, the elegant architecture of the theatre of Pompey and the Temple of Peace, and, above all, the stately structure of the Forum and column of Trajan; acknowledging that the voice of fame, so prone to invent and to magnify, had made an inadequate report of the metropolis of the world. The traveller who has contemplated the ruins of ancient Rome may conceive some imperfect idea of the sentiments which they must have inspired when they reared their heads in the splendour of unsullied beauty. The satisfaction which Constantius had received from his journey determined him to embellish the capital by the gift of an Egyptian obelisk, which Constantine had designed to adorn his new city. It had originally stood before the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, and had been floated down the Nile to Alexandria. The death of Constantine suspended the execution of his purpose; and this obelisk was now transported from the banks of the Nile to those of the Tiber, and elevated in the great circus of Rome. It stands at present in the square before the church of St. John Lateran.

§ 18. The departure of Constantius from Rome was hastened by the alarming intelligence of the distress and danger of the Illyrian provinces. The distractions of civil war, and the irreparable loss which the Roman legions had sustained in the battle of Mursa, exposed those countries, almost without defence, to the light cavalry of the barbarians; and particularly to the inroads of the Quadi. In A.D. 358 Constantius crossed the Danube, penetrated into the heart of the country of the Quadi, and soon reduced them to sue for peace. He then directed his arms against the Limigantes,* whom he exter-

* Respecting the Limigantes, see p. 148.

minated after a severe struggle, and reinstated the Sarmatians in the possession of their ancient seats.

§ 19. The Persian war, which had languished for some time, was renewed in A.D. 359 by the invasion of Mesopotamia by Sapor in person, who threatened to drive the Romans out of Asia. He first laid siege to Amida, a strongly fortified city on the Tigris, which resisted his attacks for 73 days, and which was not taken till 30,000 of his veterans had perished beneath its walls. But the ruin of this city was the safety of the Roman provinces. As soon as the first transports of victory had subsided, Sapor was at leisure to reflect that to chastise a disobedient city he had lost the flower of his troops and the most favourable season for conquest, and he returned to his capital with affected triumph and secret mortification. The strength as well as spirit of the army with which Sapor took the field in the ensuing spring (A.D. 360) was no longer equal to the unbounded views of his ambition. Instead of aspiring to the conquest of the East, he was obliged to content himself with the reduction of two fortified cities of Mesopotamia, Singara and Bezabde; the former situate in the midst of a sandy desert, the other on a low sandy island in the Tigris. After dismantling the walls of Singara, the conqueror abandoned that solitary and sequestered place; but he carefully restored the fortifications of Bezabde, and fixed in that important post a garrison or colony of veterans. Constantius arrived at the scene of war soon after the reduction of these two cities. He attempted to recover Bezabde, and pressed the siege with the utmost vigour, but he was at length compelled by the rainy season to retreat ingloriously into his winter-quarters at Antioch.

§ 20. In the blind fury of civil discord, Constantius had abandoned to the barbarians of Germany the countries of Gaul, which still acknowledged the authority of his rival. A numerous swarm of Franks and Alemanni were invited to cross the Rhine by presents and promises, and by a perpetual grant of all the territories which they should be able to subdue. But the emperor, who for a temporary service had thus imprudently provoked the rapacious spirit of the barbarians, soon discovered the difficulty of dismissing these formidable allies, after they had tasted the richness of the Roman soil. Regardless of the nice distinctions of loyalty and rebellion, these undisciplined robbers treated as their natural enemies all the subjects of the empire who possessed any property which they were desirous of acquiring. Forty-five flourishing cities, Tongres, Cologne, Trèves, Worms, Spires, Strasburg, &c., besides a far greater number of towns and villages, were pillaged, and for the most part reduced to ashes. The Alemanni were established in the modern countries of Alsace and Lorraine; the Franks occupied the island of

the Batavians, together with an extensive district of Brabant, which was then known by the appellation of Toxandria, and may deserve to be considered as the original seat of the Gallic monarchy. From the sources to the mouth of the Rhine, the conquests of the Germans extended above forty miles to the west of that river, and the scene of their devastations was three times more extensive than that of their conquests. At a still greater distance the open towns of Gaul were deserted, and the inhabitants of the fortified cities, who trusted to their strength and vigilance, were obliged to content themselves with such supplies of corn as they could raise on the vacant land within the enclosure of their walls.

Under these melancholy circumstances, an inexperienced youth was appointed to save and to govern the provinces of Gaul. The retired scholastic education of Julian, in which he had been more conversant with books than with arms, with the dead than with the living, left him in profound ignorance of the practical arts of war and government; and when he awkwardly repeated some military exercise which it was necessary for him to learn, he exclaimed with a sigh, "O Plato, Plato, what a task for a philosopher!" Yet even this speculative philosophy, which men of business are too apt to despise, had filled the mind of Julian with the noblest precepts and the most shining examples; had animated him with the love of virtue, the desire of fame, and the contempt of death. In learning the arts of war and of government he was assisted by the wisdom and experience of Sallust, an officer of rank, who soon conceived a sincere attachment for a prince so worthy of his friendship. In the course of four campaigns (A.D. 356–359) he not only drove the Franks and Alemanni out of Gaul, but he made three expeditions beyond the Rhine, and carried the terror of the Roman arms into the interior of Germany. He rebuilt the cities of Gaul which had suffered most from the inroads of the barbarians, and diffused prosperity over the provinces which had been so long exposed to the evils of civil discord, barbarian war, and domestic tyranny.

§ 21. While the praises of Julian were repeated with transport in every part of the empire, they excited the liveliest apprehension in the palace of Constantius. The timid monarch and his artful ministers resolved to disarm the Cæsar, to recall those faithful troops who guarded his person and dignity; and to employ, in a distant war against the Persian monarch, the hardy veterans who had vanquished, on the banks of the Rhine, the fiercest nations of Germany. While Julian used the laborious hours of his winter-quarters at Paris in the administration of power, he was surprised by the hasty arrival of a tribune and a notary, with positive orders from the emperor that four entire legions should be separated from the standard of Julian, under which they had acquired their fame

and discipline; that in each of the remaining bands 300 of the bravest youths should be selected; and that this numerous detachment, the strength of the Gallic army, should instantly begin their march, and exert their utmost diligence to arrive, before the opening of the campaign, on the frontiers of Persia. The Cæsar foresaw and lamented the consequences of this fatal mandate. He issued the necessary orders for carrying into execution the commands of the emperor; but the soldiers, who loved and admired Julian, who despised and perhaps hated Constantius, determined to raise their general to the throne. They were assembled at Paris before their departure to the East; and at the hour of midnight they quitted their quarters, encompassed the palace, and, careless of future dangers, pronounced the fatal and irrevocable words, JULIAN AUGUSTUS! The prince in vain refused the proffered honour; nor did he yield till he had been repeatedly assured that, if he wished to live, he must consent to reign (A.D. 360). Having once assumed the Imperial title, it was impossible to lay it down again with safety; but Julian was still desirous of saving his country from the calamities of civil war, of declining a contest with the superior forces of Constantius, and of preserving his own character from the reproach of perfidy and ingratitude. Accordingly, he obtained a solemn promise from the troops, that, if the emperor of the East would subscribe an equitable treaty, they would renounce any views of conquest, and satisfy themselves with the tranquil possession of the Gallic provinces. On this foundation he composed, in his own name, and in that of the army, a specious and moderate epistle, which was delivered to Pentadius, his master of the offices, and to his chamberlain Eutherius; two ambassadors whom he appointed to receive the answer and observe the dispositions of Constantius. This epistle is inscribed with the modest appellation of Cæsar; but Julian solicits in a peremptory though respectful manner, the confirmation of the title of Augustus. He acknowledges the irregularity of his own election, while he justifies, in some measure, the resentment and violence of the troops which had extorted his reluctant consent. He allows the supremacy of his brother Constantius; but he reserves for himself the nomination of his other civil and military officers, with the troops, the revenue, and the sovereignty of the provinces beyond the Alps. The summer of this year and the beginning of the following was occupied by Julian in his fourth and fifth expeditions beyond the Rhine, in which he renewed the deep impressions of terror and respect which had been already made by four preceding expeditions.

§ 22. Meantime, Constantius had rejected with contempt the moderate proposals of Julian. He required him to renounce the appellation and rank of Augustus, and to descend to his former station

of a limited and dependent minister. When Julian perceived that his moderate and respectful behaviour served only to irritate the pride of an implacable adversary, he boldly resolved to commit his life and fortune to the chance of a civil war. The imperial legions were still in their distant quarters of Asia; the Danube was feebly guarded; and if Julian could occupy, by a sudden incursion, the important provinces of Illyricum, he might expect that a people of soldiers would resort to his standard, and that the rich mines of gold and silver would contribute to the expenses of the civil war. In the neighbourhood of Basel he assembled and divided his army. One body was directed to advance through the midland parts of Rhætia and Noricum. Another division prepared to follow the oblique course of the highways through the Alps and the northern confines of Italy; and both were ordered to join their sovereign under the walls of Sirmium. For himself Julian had reserved a more difficult and extraordinary part. He selected 3000 brave and active volunteers, resolved, like their leader, to cast behind them every hope of a retreat; at the head of this faithful band, he fearlessly plunged into the recesses of the Marcian, or Black Forest, which conceals the sources of the Danube; and, for many days, the fate of Julian was unknown to the world. The secrecy of his march, his diligence and vigour, surmounted every obstacle; he forced his way over mountains and morasses, occupied the bridges or swam the rivers, pursued his direct course without reflecting whether he traversed the territory of the Romans or of the barbarians, and at length emerged, between Ratisbon and Vienna, at the place where he designed to embark his troops on the Danube. By a well-concerted stratagem he seized a fleet of light brigantines as it lay at anchor; and boldly committed himself to the stream of the Danube. The labours of his mariners, who plied their oars with incessant diligence, and the steady continuance of a favourable wind, carried his fleet above 700 miles in 11 days; and he had already disembarked his troops at Bononia, only 19 miles from Sirmium, before his enemies could receive any certain intelligence that he had left the banks of the Rhine. The inhabitants of Sirmium opened their gates to him; and the possession of the strongest and most populous city of Illyricum was followed by the submission of all the neighbouring provinces.

The intelligence of the march and rapid progress of Julian was speedily transmitted to his rival, who, by the retreat of Sapor, had obtained some respite from the Persian war. Disguising the anguish of his soul under the semblance of contempt, Constantius professed his intention of returning into Europe, and of giving chase to Julian; for he never spoke of this military expedition in any other light than that of a hunting party. But the seasonable

death of Constantius delivered the Roman empire from the calamities of civil war. The approach of winter could not detain the monarch at Antioch; and his favourites durst not oppose his impatient desire of revenge. A slight fever, which was perhaps occasioned by the agitation of his spirits, was increased by the fatigues of the journey, and Constantius was obliged to halt at the little town of Mopsucrene, 12 miles beyond Tarsus, where he expired, after a short illness, in the 45th year of his age, and the 24th of his reign (A.D. 361, November 3). His character was composed of pride and weakness, of superstition and cruelty. The long abuse of power rendered him a considerable object in the eyes of his contemporaries; but, as personal merit can alone deserve the notice of posterity, the last of the sons of Constantine may be dismissed from the world with the remark that he inherited the defects, without the abilities, of his father. The death of Constantius was followed by the immediate submission of his army; and two officers of rank were instantly despatched to assure Julian that every sword in the empire would be drawn for his service. Impatient to visit the capital of the empire, Julian advanced through the mountains of Hæmus and the cities of Thrace. When he reached Heraclea, at the distance of 60 miles, all Constantinople was poured forth to receive him; and he made his triumphal entry amidst the dutiful acclamations of the soldiers, the people, and the senate (Dec. 11). An innumerable multitude pressed around him with eager respect, and were perhaps disappointed when they beheld the small stature and simple garb of a hero, whose inexperienced youth had vanquished the barbarians of Germany, and who had now traversed, in a successful career, the whole continent of Europe, from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Bosporus.

§ 23. The history of the Church from the establishment of the Christian religion by Constantine to the death of Constantius demands a few words. The disputes regarding the nature of the Trinity led to the convocation of the first general council of the Christian Church, which assembled at Nicæa (Nice), a city of Bithynia in A.D. 325. This council condemned the opinions of Arius and his followers, and adopted the celebrated word *Homoousion*,* which affirmed that the Father and the Son were of the same substance. The Nicene creed was ratified by Constantine; and his firm declaration, that those who resisted the divine judgment of the synod must prepare themselves for an immediate exile, annihilated the murmurs of a feeble opposition. The impious Arius was banished into one of the remote provinces of Illyricum; his person and dis-

* Ὁμοούσιον, from *ὁμός*, *same*, and *οὐσία*, *substance*. The Arians adopted the word Ὁμοιοούσιον, which affirmed that the Father and the Son were of a similar (*ὅμοιος*) substance.

ciples were branded, by law, with the odious name of Porphyrians; his writings were condemned to the flames, and a capital punishment was denounced against those in whose possession they should be found.

But, as if the conduct of the emperor had been guided by passion instead of principle, three years from the council of Nice were scarcely elapsed before he discovered some symptoms of mercy, and even of indulgence, towards the proscribed sect, which was secretly protected by his favourite sister. The exiles were recalled; and Eusebius, the Arian bishop of Nicomedia, who gradually resumed his influence over the mind of Constantine, was restored to the episcopal throne, from which he had been ignominiously degraded. Arius himself was treated by the whole court with the respect which would have been due to an innocent and oppressed man. His faith was approved by the synod of Jerusalem; and the emperor seemed impatient to repair his injustice, by issuing an absolute command that he should be solemnly admitted to the communion in the cathedral of Constantinople. On the same day which had been fixed for the triumph of Arius he suddenly died (A.D. 336): his death was regarded by the orthodox as a direct judgment from heaven, but was attributed by his friends to poison. The three principal leaders of the catholics, Athanasius of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, and Paul of Constantinople, were deposed on various accusations, by the sentence of numerous councils; and were afterwards banished into distant provinces by the first of the Christian emperors, who, in the last moments of his life, received the rites of baptism from the Arian bishop of Nicomedia.

§ 24. The sons of Constantine must have been admitted from their childhood into the rank of catechumens, but they imitated, in the delay of their baptism, the example of their father. Like him, they presumed to pronounce their judgment on mysteries into which they had never been regularly initiated: and the fate of the Trinitarian controversy depended, in a great measure, on the sentiments of Constantius, who inherited the provinces of the East, and acquired the possession of the whole empire. After the death of his brothers, and his victory over the tyrant Magnentius, Constantius became a warm supporter of Arianism, and employed the arms of power to crush the orthodox party. It is unnecessary to relate the various attempts which he made to impose upon the Christian church the Arian doctrine; but we must not pass over in silence his unjust and ineffectual persecution of the great Athanasius.

The immortal name of Athanasius will never be separated from the catholic doctrine of the Trinity, to whose defence he consecrated every moment and every faculty of his being. He was only a deacon when appointed a member of the council of Nicæa; and

upon the death of Alexander, the Archbishop of Alexandria, in the following year (A.D. 326), Athanasius was elected as his successor. He filled that eminent station above 46 years, and his long administration was spent in a perpetual combat against the powers of Arianism. Five times was Athanasius expelled from his throne; 20 years he passed as an exile or a fugitive; and almost every province of the Roman empire was successively witness to his merit and his sufferings in the cause of the orthodox faith. Amidst the storms of persecution, the archbishop of Alexandria was patient of labour, jealous of fame, careless of safety; and he displayed a superiority of character and abilities which would have qualified him, far better than the degenerate sons of Constantine, for the government of a great monarchy.

In his youth the primate of Egypt resisted the great Constantine, who had repeatedly signified his will that Arius should be restored to the catholic communion. The emperor respected, and might forgive, this inflexible resolution; and the faction who considered Athanasius as their most formidable enemy were constrained to dissemble their hatred, and silently to prepare an indirect and distant assault. At length in A.D. 335 the council of Tyre deposed him from his archbishopric, and interdicted him from visiting Alexandria. Undismayed by the triumph of his enemies, the deposed archbishop hastened to Constantinople, and presenting himself before Constantine as he was entering the city, entreated the emperor to do him justice. Constantine, after some hesitation, sent him into a kind of honourable banishment at Trèves; but he refused to fill the vacancy of the archiepiscopal throne. The death of the emperor changed the face of public affairs; and, amidst the general indulgence of a young reign, the primate was restored to his country by an honourable edict of the younger Constantine, who expressed a deep sense of the innocence and merit of his venerable guest (A.D. 338). The death of that prince exposed Athanasius to a second persecution; and the feeble Constantius, the sovereign of the East, soon became the secret accomplice of the Arians. Ninety bishops of that sect or faction assembled at Antioch, under the specious pretence of dedicating the cathedral. It was decided, with some appearance of equity, that a bishop, deprived by a synod, should not resume his episcopal functions till he had been absolved by the judgment of an equal synod; the law was immediately applied to the case of Athanasius, who withdrew from Alexandria, and passed several years at Rome and in other parts of the Western empire. His cause was espoused by the prelates and the emperor of the West; the council of Sardica (A.D. 347), summoned by the authority of Constans, annulled his sentence of deposition; and two days afterwards Constans signified, by a concise and peremptory epistle to his bro-

ther Constantius, that, unless he consented to the immediate restoration of Athanasius, he himself, with a fleet and army, would seat the archbishop on the throne of Alexandria. This religious war was prevented by the timely compliance of Constantius; and Athanasius returned to Alexandria amidst the joyful acclamations of his people (A.D. 349). But the subject who has reduced his prince to the necessity of dissembling can never expect a sincere and lasting forgiveness; and the tragic fate of Constans soon deprived Athanasius of a powerful and generous protector. The civil war between the assassin and the only surviving brother of Constans, which afflicted the empire above three years, secured an interval of repose to the catholic church; but after the death of Magnentius, Constantius resolved to degrade Athanasius from his episcopal dignity, and to deprive him if possible of his life. But the memory of the firm and effectual support which the primate of Egypt had derived from the attachment of the Western church engaged the emperor to suspend the execution of the sentence till he had obtained the concurrence of the Latin bishops. Two years were consumed in ecclesiastical negotiations; but the great council of Milan, which consisted of above 300 bishops, was not dissolved till the archbishop of Alexandria had been solemnly condemned and deposed by the judgment of the Western, as well as of the Eastern, church (A.D. 355). But it was not till the ministers of Constantius had collected a large military force at Alexandria that they ventured to carry into execution the sentence of the council. Athanasius escaped the vengeance of his enemies, and went a third time into exile (A.D. 356.) He took refuge in the deserts of the Thebais, and remained in concealment till the death of Constantius. From the depth of his inaccessible retreat the intrepid primate waged an incessant and offensive war against the protector of the Arians; and his seasonable writings, which were diligently circulated and eagerly perused, contributed to unite and animate the orthodox party. In his public apologies, which he addressed to the emperor himself, he sometimes affected the praise of moderation; whilst at the same time, in secret and vehement invectives, he exposed Constantius as a weak and wicked prince, the executioner of his family, the tyrant of the republic, and the Antichrist of the church. In the height of his prosperity, the victorious monarch, who had chastised the rashness of Gallus, who had taken the diadem from the head of Vetranio, and vanquished in the field the legions of Magnentius, received from an invisible hand a wound which he could neither heal nor revenge; and the son of Constantine was the first of the Christian princes who experienced the strength of those principles which, in the cause of religion, could resist the most violent exertions of the civil power.

Julian the Apostate.

CHAPTER XII.

REIGN OF JULIAN.

§ 1. The civil government and private life of Julian. §. 2. His character. § 3. His apostasy. § 4. His initiation and fanaticism. § 5. His religious dissimulation: he writes against Christianity. § 6. Universal toleration: zeal and devotion of Julian in the restoration of Paganism. § 7. Julian attempts to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem. § 8. He attempts to ruin the Christians. § 9. Tumults at Alexandria: George of Cappadocia. § 10. Restoration and banishment of Athanasius. § 11. Julian resolves to march against the Persians. § 12. He spends the winter at Antioch: licentious manners of the people at Antioch. § 13. The sophist Libanius. § 14. March of Julian from Antioch to Circesium. § 15. His march through Mesopotamia. § 16. His march through Assyria. § 17. He crosses the Tigris. § 18. He burns his fleet and marches against Sapor. § 19. Retreat of the Romans: death of Julian. § 20. Election of the emperor JOVIAN: disgraceful treaty with the Persians. § 21. Jovian continues his retreat to Nisibis: he evacuates Nisibis and restores the five provinces to the Persians. § 22. Reflections on the death and funeral of Julian.

§ 1. JULIAN was in the thirty-second year of his age when he acquired the undisputed possession of the Roman empire. He practised upon the throne the lessons which he had learnt in the groves of the Academy. He despised the honours, renounced the

pleasures, and discharged with incessant diligence the duties of his exalted station; and there were few among his subjects who would have consented to relieve him from the weight of the diadem, had they been obliged to submit their time and their actions to the rigorous laws which their philosophic emperor imposed on himself. One of his most intimate friends, who had often shared the frugal simplicity of his table, has remarked that his light and sparing diet (which was usually of the vegetable kind) left his mind and body always free and active for the various and important business of an author, a pontiff, a magistrate, a general, and a prince. In one and the same day he gave audience to several ambassadors, and wrote or dictated a great number of letters to his generals, his civil magistrates, his private friends, and the different cities of his dominions. He listened to the memorials which had been received, considered the subjects of the petitions, and signified his intentions more rapidly than they could be taken in short-hand by the diligence of his secretaries. While his ministers reposed, the prince flew with agility from one labour to another; and, after a hasty dinner, retired into his library till the public business which he had appointed for the evening summoned him to interrupt the prosecution of his studies. By this avarice of time he seemed to protract the short duration of his reign; and, if the dates were less securely ascertained, we should refuse to believe that only sixteen months elapsed between the death of Constantius and the departure of his successor for the Persian war (December, A.D. 361; March, A.D. 363). The actions of Julian can only be preserved by the care of the historian; but the portion of his voluminous writings which is still extant remains as a monument of the application, as well as of the genius, of the emperor. The Misopogon, the Cæsars, several of his orations, and his elaborate work against the Christian religion, were composed in the long nights of the two winters, the former of which he passed at Constantinople, and the latter at Antioch.

§ 2. The personal merit of Julian was, in some measure, independent of his fortune. Whatever had been his choice of life, by the force of intrepid courage, lively wit, and intense application, he would have obtained, or at least he would have deserved, the highest honours of his profession, and Julian might have raised himself to the rank of minister or general of the state in which he was born a private citizen. But when we inspect with minute, or perhaps malevolent, attention the portrait of Julian, something seems wanting to the grace and perfection of the whole figure. His genius was less powerful and sublime than that of Cæsar, nor did he possess the consummate prudence of Augustus. The virtues of Trajan appear more steady and natural, and the philosophy of Marcus is more simple and consistent. Yet Julian sustained adversity with firm-

ness, and prosperity with moderation. After an interval of 120 years from the death of Alexander Severus, the Romans beheld an emperor who made no distinction between his duties and his pleasures, who laboured to relieve the distress and to revive the spirit of his subjects, and who endeavoured always to connect authority with merit, and happiness with virtue. Even faction, and religious faction, was constrained to acknowledge the superiority of his genius in peace as well as in war, and to confess, with a sigh, that the apostate Julian was a lover of his country, and that he deserved the empire of the world.

§ 3. The cause of Julian's apostasy from the Christian faith may be derived from the early period of his life when he was left an orphan in the hands of the murderers of his family. The names of Christ and of Constantius, the ideas of slavery and of religion, were soon associated in a youthful imagination, which was susceptible of the most lively impressions. He was educated in the lesser Asia, amidst the scandals of the Arian controversy. The fierce contests of the Eastern bishops, the incessant alterations of their creeds, and the profane motives which appeared to actuate their conduct, insensibly strengthened the prejudice of Julian that they neither understood nor believed the religion for which they so fiercely contended. At the age of twenty (A.D. 351) Julian secretly renounced Christianity, and embraced a theological system which united a philosophic notion of the Deity with the habits of vulgar superstition. The tottering cause of Paganism had formed an alliance with the philosophy of the Academy, and the modern Platonists resorted to the arts of magic and theurgy to resist the progress of the Christian religion. Julian was first initiated into the Grecian mysteries at Ephesus by the hands of Maximus, the boldest and most skilful master of the Theurgic science. During his residence at Athens Julian was also initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis, which, amidst the general decay of the Grecian worship, still retained some vestiges of their primæval sanctity. In the caverns of Ephesus and Eleusis the mind of Julian was penetrated with sincere, deep, and unalterable enthusiasm. From that moment he consecrated his life to the service of the gods; and while the occupations of war, of government, and of study seemed to claim the whole measure of his time, a stated portion of the hours of the night was invariably reserved for the exercise of private devotion. The temperance which adorned the severe manners of the soldier and the philosopher was connected with some strict and frivolous rules of religious abstinence; and it was in honour of Pan or Mercury, of Hecate or Isis, that Julian, on particular days, denied himself the use of some particular food, which might have been offensive to his tutelar deities. By these voluntary fasts he prepared his senses and

his understanding for the frequent and familiar visits with which he was honoured by the celestial powers. We learn from his faithful friend, the orator Libanius, that he lived in a perpetual intercourse with the gods and goddesses; that they descended upon earth to enjoy the conversation of their favourite hero; and that he had acquired such an intimate knowledge of his heavenly guests, as readily to distinguish the voice of Jupiter from that of Minerva, and the form of Apollo from the figure of Hercules.

§ 5. The important secret of the apostasy of Julian was intrusted to the fidelity of the *initiated*, with whom he was united by the sacred ties of friendship and religion. The apostate consulted his safety by dissembling his religion; and the easy temper of polytheism permitted him to join in the public worship of a sect which he inwardly despised. The dissimulation of Julian lasted above ten years, from his secret initiation at Ephesus to the beginning of the civil war; when he declared himself at once the implacable enemy of Christ and of Constantius. After he had become undisputed master of the Roman world he wrote an elaborate work against Christianity. Some fragments have been transcribed and preserved by his adversary, the vehement Cyril of Alexandria; and they exhibit a very singular mixture of wit and learning, of sophistry and fanaticism. The elegance of the style and the rank of the author recommended his writings to the public attention; and in the impious list of the enemies of Christianity the celebrated name of Porphyry was effaced by the superior merit or reputation of Julian.

§ 6. The Christians, who beheld with horror and indignation the apostasy of Julian, had much more to fear from his power than from his arguments. The Pagans, who were conscious of his fervent zeal, expected, perhaps with impatience, that the flames of persecution should be immediately kindled against the enemies of the gods. But the hopes, as well as the fears, of the religious factions were apparently disappointed by the prudent humanity of a prince who surprised the world by an edict which extended to all the inhabitants of the Roman world the benefits of a free and equal toleration. But at the same time he laboured to restore the ancient religion of the empire, and to undermine the foundations of Christianity. He celebrated the worship of the gods with great pomp and splendour, sent magnificent presents to all the celebrated places of devotion in the Roman world; and allotted sums to repair and decorate the ancient temples, which had suffered the silent decay of time, or the recent injuries of Christian rapine. Encouraged by the example, the exhortations, the liberality of their pious sovereign, the cities and families resumed the practice of their neglected ceremonies. "Every part of the world," exclaims Libanius, with devout transport, "displayed the triumph of religion, and the grateful prospect

of flaming altars, bleeding victims, the smoke of incense, and a solemn train of priests and prophets, without fear and without danger. The sound of prayer and of music was heard on the tops of the highest mountains; and the same ox afforded a sacrifice for the gods, and a supper for their joyous votaries."

The enthusiasm of Julian prompted him to embrace the friends of Jupiter as his personal friends and brethren. He admired and rewarded the perseverance of those Pagans who had preferred the favour of the gods to that of the emperor. If they cultivated the literature as well as the religion of the Greeks, they acquired an additional claim to the friendship of Julian, who ranked the Muses in the number of his tutelar deities. In the religion which he had adopted, piety and learning were almost synonymous; and a crowd of poets, of rhetoricians, and of philosophers, hastened to the Imperial court to occupy the vacant places of the bishops who had seduced the credulity of Constantius. Among the philosophers, Maximus obtained the most eminent rank in the friendship of his royal disciple, but he was insensibly corrupted by the temptations of a court, and was exposed, under a succeeding reign, to a disgraceful inquiry into the means by which the disciple of Plato had accumulated, in the short duration of his favour, a very scandalous proportion of wealth.

Julian showed almost equal favour to the Christians who prudently embraced the religion of their sovereign. The acquisition of new proselytes gratified the ruling passions of his soul, superstition and vanity; and he was heard to declare, with the enthusiasm of a missionary, that if he could render each individual richer than Midas, and every city greater than Babylon, he should not esteem himself the benefactor of mankind unless, at the same time, he could reclaim his subjects from their impious revolt against the immortal gods. A prince who had studied human nature, and who possessed the treasures of the Roman empire, could adapt his arguments, his promises, and his rewards to every order of Christians; and the merit of a seasonable conversion was allowed to supply the defects of a candidate, or even to expiate the guilt of a criminal. As the army is the most forcible engine of absolute power, Julian applied himself, with peculiar diligence, to corrupt the religion of his troops, without whose hearty concurrence every measure must be dangerous and unsuccessful, and the natural temper of soldiers made this conquest as easy as it was important. The legions of Gaul devoted themselves to the faith, as well as to the fortunes, of their victorious leader. The armies of the East, which had been trained under the standard of the cross and of Constantius, required a more artful and expensive mode of persuasion. On the days of solemn and public festivals the emperor received the homage, and

rewarded the merit, of the troops. His throne of state was encircled with the military ensigns of Rome, and the republic; the holy name of Christ was erased from the *Labarum;* and the symbols of war, of majesty, and of Pagan superstition were so dexterously blended that the faithful subject incurred the guilt of idolatry when he respectfully saluted the person or image of his sovereign. The soldiers passed successively in review, and each of them, before he received from the hand of Julian a liberal donative, proportioned to his rank and services, was required to cast a few grains of incense into the flame which burnt upon the altar. Some Christian confessors might resist, and others might repent; but the far greater number, allured by the prospect of gold and awed by the presence of the emperor, contracted the criminal engagement, and their future perseverance in the worship of the gods was enforced by every consideration of duty and of interest. By the frequent repetition of these arts, and at the expense of sums which would have purchased the service of half the nations of Scythia, Julian gradually acquired for his troops the imaginary protection of the gods, and for himself the firm and effectual support of the Roman legions.

§ 7. While the devout monarch incessantly laboured to restore and propagate the religion of his ancestors, he embraced the extraordinary design of rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem. As the Christians were firmly persuaded that a sentence of everlasting destruction had been pronounced against the whole fabric of the Mosaic law, the Imperial sophist would have converted the success of his undertaking into a specious argument against the faith of prophecy and the truth of revelation. He was also anxious to insult the Christians, by erecting, on the commanding eminence of Moriah, a stately temple which might eclipse the splendour of the church of the Resurrection on the adjacent hill of Calvary; and he determined to plant there a numerous colony of Jews, whose stern fanaticism would be always prepared to second, and even to anticipate, the hostile measures of the Pagan government. Accordingly at the beginning of the year 363 his friend Alypius received an extraordinary commission to restore, in its pristine beauty, the temple of Jerusalem. At the call of their great deliverer, the Jews from all the provinces of the empire assembled on the holy mountain of their fathers; and their insolent triumph alarmed and exasperated the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem. The desire of rebuilding the temple has in every age been the ruling passion of the children of Israel. In this propitious moment the men forgot their avarice, and the women their delicacy; spades and pickaxes of silver were provided by the vanity of the rich, and the rubbish was transported in mantles of silk and purple. Every purse was opened in liberal contributions, every hand claimed a share in the pious labour; and the

commands of a great monarch were executed by the enthusiasm of a whole people. Yet, on this occasion, the joint efforts of power and enthusiasm were unsuccessful; and the ground of the Jewish temple, which is now covered by a Mahometan mosque, still continued to exhibit the same edifying spectacle of ruin and desolation. Perhaps the absence and death of the emperor, and the new maxims of a Christian reign, might explain the interruption of an arduous work, which was attempted only in the last six months of the life of Julian. But the Christians entertained a natural and pious expectation that in this memorable contest the honour of religion would be vindicated by some signal miracle. An earthquake, a whirlwind, and a fiery eruption, which overturned and scattered the new foundations of the temple, are attested, with some variations, by contemporary and respectable evidence. Even Ammianus Marcellinus, a contemporary and a Pagan, relates* that, "whilst Alypius, assisted by the governor of the province, urged with vigour and diligence the execution of the work, horrible balls of fire, breaking out near the foundations, with frequent and reiterated attacks, rendered the place, from time to time, inaccessible to the scorched and blasted workmen; and, the victorious element continuing in this manner obstinately and resolutely bent, as it were, to drive them to a distance, the undertaking was abandoned." But Ammianus was not an eye-witness; and such a miracle cannot be accepted without the original evidence of impartial and intelligent spectators.

§ 8. The restoration of the Jewish temple was secretly connected with the ruin of the Christian church. Julian still continued to maintain the freedom of religious worship, but he determined to deprive the Christians of all the honours and advantages which rendered them respectable in the eyes of the world. He affected to pity the unhappy Christians, who were mistaken in the most important object of their lives; but his pity was degraded by contempt, his contempt was embittered by hatred; and the sentiments of Julian were expressed in a style of sarcastic wit, which inflicts a deep and deadly wound whenever it issues from the mouth of a sovereign. As he was sensible that the Christians gloried in the name of their Redeemer, he countenanced, and perhaps enjoined, the use of the less honourable appellation of GALILÆANS. He declared that, by the folly of the Galilæans, whom he describes as a sect of fanatics, contemptible to men and odious to the gods, the empire had been reduced to the brink of destruction. He prohibited them from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric, on the ground that, if they refused to adore the gods of Homer and Demosthenes, they ought to content themselves with expounding Luke and Matthew in the church of the Galilæans. The greater part of the

* xxiii. 1

Christian officers were gradually removed from their employments in the state, the army, and the provinces. The hopes of future candidates were extinguished by the declared partiality of a prince who maliciously reminded them that it was unlawful for a Christian to use the sword, either of justice or of war, and who studiously guarded the camp and the tribunals with the ensigns of idolatry. The powers of government were intrusted to the Pagans, who professed an ardent zeal for the religion of their ancestors; and though Julian himself would not violate the laws of justice and toleration which he himself had so recently established, the provincial ministers of his authority consulted the wishes, rather than the commands, of their sovereign; and ventured to exercise a secret and vexatious tyranny against the sectaries on whom they were not permitted to confer the honours of martyrdom. The most effectual instrument of oppression with which they were armed, was the law that obliged the Christians to make full and ample satisfaction for the temples which they had destroyed under the preceding reign. The restitution of those stately structures which had been levelled with the dust, and of the precious ornaments which had been converted to Christian uses, swelled into a very large account of damages and debt. The authors of the injury had neither the ability nor the inclination to discharge this accumulated demand, and the Pagan magistrates, inflamed by zeal and revenge, abused the rigorous privilege of the Roman law, which substitutes, in the place of his inadequate property, the person of the insolvent debtor. There can be no doubt that in many parts of the empire the Pagans abused, without prudence or remorse, the moment of their prosperity, and that the unhappy objects of their cruelty were released from torture only by death; but the massacre of Alexandria attracts still more attention from the rank of the victims, and the splendour of the capital of Egypt.

§ 9. George, from his parents or his education surnamed the Cappadocian, was of mean origin; and having obtained a lucrative contract to supply the army with bacon, he accumulated wealth by the basest arts of fraud and corruption; but his malversations were so notorious, that George was compelled to escape from the pursuits of justice. After this disgrace he embraced, with real or affected zeal, the profession of Arianism. He was elected the successor of Athanasius in A.D. 356. Each moment of his reign was polluted by cruelty and avarice; and he oppressed with an impartial hand the various inhabitants of his extensive diocese. Under the reign of Constantius he was expelled by the fury, or rather by the justice, of the people; and it was not without a violent struggle that the civil and military powers of the state could restore his authority, and gratify his revenge. The messenger who proclaimed at Alex-

andria the accession of Julian announced the downfal of the archbishop. George was ignominiously dragged in chains to the public prison, and at the end of 24 days was torn to pieces by the fury of the multitude, who, impatient of the tedious forms of judicial proceedings, forced open the prison (December 24, A.D. 361). The meritorious death of the archbishop obliterated the memory of his life. The rival of Athanasius was dear and sacred to the Arians, and the seeming conversion of those sectaries introduced his worship into the bosom of the catholic church. The odious stranger, disguising every circumstance of time and place, assumed the mask of a martyr, a saint, and a Christian hero; and the infamous George of Cappadocia has been transformed into the renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the garter.

§ 10. After the tumult of Alexandria had subsided, Athanasius, amidst the public acclamations, seated himself on the throne from whence his unworthy competitor had been precipitated: and as the zeal of the archbishop was tempered with discretion, the exercise of his authority tended not to inflame, but to reconcile, the minds of the people (A.D. 362, Feb. 21). But Julian, who despised the Christians, honoured Athanasius with his sincere and peculiar hatred. For his sake alone he introduced an arbitrary distinction, repugnant at least to the spirit of his former declarations. He maintained that the Galilæans whom he had recalled from exile were not restored, by that general indulgence, to the possession of their respective churches; and he expressed his astonishment that a criminal, who had been repeatedly condemned by the judgment of the emperors, should dare to insult the majesty of the laws, and insolently usurp the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria, without expecting the orders of his sovereign. Athanasius prudently retired to the monasteries of the Desert; eluded, with his usual dexterity, the snares of the enemy; and lived to triumph over the ashes of a prince who, in words of formidable import, had declared his wish that the whole venom of the Galilæan school were contained in the single person of Athanasius.

§ 11. Having thus narrated the attempts of Julian to restore Paganism and subvert Christianity, we now turn to the other events of his reign. Julian entered Constantinople, as we have already seen, on Dec. 11, A.D. 361. The first few months of his reign were devoted to the reformation of the abuses, which had crept into the administration during the feeble reign of his predecessors; but upon the approach of summer he resolved to invade Persia, and to chastise the haughty nation which had so long resisted and insulted the majesty of Rome. A formidable army was destined for this important service, and Julian, marching from Constantinople through the provinces of Asia Minor, arrived at Antioch about eight months

after the death of his predecessor. His ardent desire to march into the heart of Persia was checked by the indispensable duty of regulating the state of the empire, by his zeal to revive the worship of the gods, and by the advice of his wisest friends, who represented the necessity of allowing the salutary interval of winter-quarters to restore the exhausted strength of the legions of Gaul and the discipline and spirit of the Eastern troops. Julian was persuaded to fix, till the ensuing spring, his residence at Antioch.

§ 12. If Julian had flattered himself that his personal connection with the capital of the East would be productive of mutual satisfaction to the prince and people, he made a very false estimate of his own character and of the manners of Antioch. The warmth of the climate disposed the natives to the most intemperate enjoyment of tranquillity and opulence, and the lively licentiousness of the Greeks was blended with the hereditary softness of the Syrians. Fashion was the only law, pleasure the only pursuit, and the splendour of dress and furniture was the only distinction of the citizens of Antioch. The arts of luxury were honoured, the serious and manly virtues were the subject of ridicule, and the contempt for female modesty and reverent age announced the universal corruption of the capital of the East. The rustic manners of Julian soon disgusted the delicacy of his subjects, and the effeminate Orientals could neither imitate nor admire the severe simplicity which the emperor always maintained and sometimes affected. The majority of the people supported the glory of the Christian name, which had been first invented by their ancestors: they contented themselves with disobeying the moral precepts, but they were scrupulously attached to the speculative doctrines, of their religion. The hatred which the citizens of Antioch entertained against the austere philosopher, and the apostate from the Christian faith, was still further augmented by a scarcity of corn; and during the licentious days of the Saturnalia, the streets of the city resounded with insolent songs, which derided the laws, the religion, the personal conduct, and even the *beard*, of the emperor. The disciple of Socrates was too deeply affected by these popular insults; but the monarch, endowed with quick sensibility and possessed of absolute power, refused his passions the gratification of revenge. Instead of abusing or exerting the authority of the state to revenge his personal injuries, Julian contented himself with an inoffensive mode of retaliation, which it would be in the power of few princes to employ. He had been insulted by satires and libels; in his turn he composed, under the title of the *Enemy of the Beard*, an ironical confession of his own faults, and a severe satire of the licentious and effeminate manners of Antioch. This imperial reply was publicly exposed before the gates of the palace; and the MISOPOGON still remains a singular

monument of the resentment, the wit, the humanity, and the indiscretion of Julian.

§ 13. Yet Antioch possessed one citizen whose genius and virtues might atone, in the opinion of Julian, for the vice and folly of his country. The sophist Libanius was born in the capital of the East; he publicly professed the arts of rhetoric and declamation at Nice, Nicomedia, Constantinople, Athens, and, during the remainder of his life, at Antioch. His school was assiduously frequented by the Grecian youth; his disciples, who sometimes exceeded the number of eighty, celebrated their incomparable master; and the jealousy of his rivals, who persecuted him from one city to another, confirmed the favourable opinion which Libanius ostentatiously displayed of his superior merit. When Julian ascended the throne, he declared his impatience to embrace and reward the Syrian sophist, who had preserved in a degenerate age the Grecian purity of taste, of manners, and of religion. The emperor's prepossession was increased and justified by the discreet pride of his favourite. Instead of pressing, with the foremost of the crowd, into the palace of Constantinople, Libanius calmly expected his arrival at Antioch, withdrew from court on the first symptoms of coldness and indifference, required a formal invitation for each visit, and taught his sovereign an important lesson, that he might command the obedience of a subject, but that he must deserve the attachment of a friend. Julian might disdain the acclamations of a venal court who adored the Imperial purple; but he was deeply flattered by the praise, the admonition, the freedom, and the envy of an independent philosopher, who refused his favours, loved his person, celebrated his fame, and protected his memory. The voluminous writings of Libanius still exist; for the most part they are the vain and idle compositions of an orator who cultivated the science of words,—the productions of a recluse student, whose mind, regardless of his contemporaries, was incessantly fixed on the Trojan war and the Athenian commonwealth. Yet the sophist of Antioch sometimes descended from this imaginary elevation; he entertained a various and elaborate correspondence; he praised the virtues of his own times; he boldly arraigned the abuses of public and private life; and he eloquently pleaded the cause of Antioch against the just resentment of Julian and Theodosius.*

§ 14. The martial impatience of Julian urged him to take the field in the beginning of the spring (A.D. 363, March 5). He marched from Antioch through Berœa (Aleppo) and Batnæ to Hierapolis, situated about 24 miles from the Euphrates. He crossed

* The birth of Libanius is assigned to the year 314. He mentions the 76th year of his age (A.D. 390), and seems to allude to some events of a still later date.

this river on a bridge of boats which was previously constructed, and advanced without delay to Carrhæ, a very ancient city of Mesopotamia, at the distance of fourscore miles from Hierapolis (Mar. 19). The secret of the expedition had hitherto remained in his own breast; but as Carrhæ is the point of separation of the two great roads, he could no longer conceal whether it was his design to attack the dominions of Sapor on the side of the Tigris, or on that of the Euphrates. The emperor detached an army of 30,000 men, under the command of his kinsman Procopius, and of Sebastian, who had been duke of Egypt. They were ordered to direct their march towards Nisibis, and to secure the frontier from the desultory incursions of the enemy, before they attempted the passage of the Tigris. Their subsequent operations were left to the discretion of the generals; but Julian expected that, after wasting with fire and sword the fertile districts of Media and Adiabene, they might arrive under the walls of Ctesiphon about the same time that he himself, advancing with equal steps along the banks of the Euphrates, should besiege the capital of the Persian monarchy. The success of this well-concerted plan depended, in a great measure, on the powerful and ready assistance of the king of Armenia, who, without exposing the safety of his own dominions, might detach an army of 4000 horse and 20,000 foot to the assistance of the Romans. But the pusillanimous monarch was averse to any enterprise of danger and glory, and could disguise his timid indolence by the more decent excuses of religion and gratitude. He expressed a pious attachment to the memory of Constantius, from whose hands he had received in marriage Olympias, the daughter of the præfect Ablavius. He professed the Christian religion; he reigned over a nation of Christians; and he was restrained by every principle of conscience and interest from contributing to the victory which would consummate the ruin of the church.

The military dispositions of Julian were skilfully contrived to deceive the spies and to divert the attention of Sapor. The legions appeared to direct their march towards Nisibis and the Tigris. On a sudden they wheeled to the right, traversed the level and naked plain of Carrhæ, and reached, on the third day, the banks of the Euphrates, where the strong town of Nicephorium, or Callinicum, had been founded by the Macedonian kings. From thence the Emperor pursued his march, above 90 miles, along the winding stream of the Euphrates, till at length, about one month after his departure from Antioch, he discovered the towers of Circesium, the extreme limit of the Roman dominions. The army of Julian, the most numerous that any of the Cæsars had ever led against Persia, consisted of 65,000 effective and well-disciplined soldiers. The broad channel of the Euphrates was crowded by a fleet of

1100 ships, destined to attend the motions and to satisfy the wants of the Roman army. The river Chaboras falls into the Euphrates at Circesium, and, as soon as the trumpet gave the signal of march, the Romans passed the little stream which separated two mighty and hostile empires (April 7).

§ 15. The country which the Romans traversed from the Chaboras to the cultivated lands of Assyria may be considered as a part of the desert of Arabia, a dry and barren waste, which could never be improved by the most powerful arts of human industry. Julian marched over the same ground which had been trod above 700 years before by the footsteps of the younger Cyrus, and which is described by one of the companions of his expedition, the sage and heroic Xenophon.* The sandy plains of Mesopotamia were abandoned to the antelopes and wild asses of the desert, but a variety of populous towns and villages were pleasantly situated on the banks of the Euphrates and in the islands which are occasionally formed by that river. The city of Anah, or Anatho, which consists of a small island in the midst, and two fruitful spots on either side, of the Euphrates, yielded to Julian; but the impregnable fortress of Thilutha could scorn the menace of a siege, and the emperor would not delay his march by a vain attempt to take it. Upon arriving at Macepracta the Romans perceived the ruins of the wall which had been constructed by the ancient kings of Assyria to secure their dominions from the incursions of the Medes. These preliminaries of the expedition of Julian appear to have employed about fifteen days, and we may compute near 300 miles from the fortress of Circesium to the wall of Macepracta.

§ 16. The fertile province of Assyria, which stretched beyond the Tigris, as far as the mountains of Media, extended about 400 miles from the ancient wall of Macepracta to the territory of Basra, where the united streams of the Euphrates and Tigris discharge themselves into the Persian Gulf. The whole country might have claimed the peculiar name of Mesopotamia, as the two rivers, which are never more distant than 50, approach, between Bagdad and Babylon, within 25 miles of each other. The fields of Assyria were devoted by Julian to the calamities of war; and the philosopher retaliated on a guiltless people the acts of rapine and cruelty which had been committed by their haughty master in the Roman provinces. Two cities of Assyria presumed to resist the arms of the Roman emperor; and they both paid the severe penalty of their rashness. Perisabor, or Anbar, a large and populous city on the Euphrates, and Maogamalcha, a strong fortress upon the Tigris, situate only 11 miles from the royal residence of Ctesiphon, were

* Anabasis, i. v.

both taken by storm, and levelled to the ground. Julian had thus triumphed over all the obstacles that opposed his march to the gates of Ctesiphon. But the reduction, or even the siege, of the capital of Persia was still at a distance: nor can the military conduct of the emperor be clearly apprehended without a knowledge of the country which was the theatre of his bold and skilful operations. Twenty miles to the south of Bagdad, and on the eastern bank of the Tigris, the curiosity of travellers has observed some ruins of the palaces of Ctesiphon, which in the time of Julian was a great and populous city. The name and glory of the adjacent Seleucia were for ever extinguished; and the only remaining quarter of that Greek colony had resumed, with the Assyrian language and manners, the primitive appellation of Coche. Coche was situate on the western side of the Tigris; but it was naturally considered as a suburb of Ctesiphon, with which we may suppose it to have been connected by a permanent bridge of boats. The united parts contributed to form the common epithet of Al Modain, THE CITIES, which the Orientals have bestowed on the winter residence of the Sassanidæ; and the whole circumference of the Persian capital was strongly fortified by the waters of the river, by lofty walls, and by impracticable morasses. Near the ruins of Seleucia the camp of Julian was fixed, and secured by a ditch and rampart against the sallies of the numerous and enterprising garrison of Coche. The Nahar-Malcha, or royal canal, flows from the Euphrates into the Tigris at a small distance *below* the great city. If the Roman fleet had followed this canal, the intermediate situation of Coche would have separated the fleet and army of Julian; and the rash attempt of steering against the current of the Tigris, and forcing their way through the midst of a hostile capital, must have been attended with the total destruction of the Roman navy. The prudence of the emperor foresaw the danger, and provided the remedy. As he had minutely studied the operations of Trajan in the same country, he soon recollected that his warlike predecessor had dug a new and navigable canal, which, leaving Coche on the right hand, conveyed the waters of the Nahar-Malcha into the river Tigris at some distance *above* the cities. From the information of the peasants Julian ascertained the vestiges of this ancient work, which were almost obliterated by design or accident. By the indefatigable labour of the soldiers a broad and deep channel was speedily prepared for the reception of the Euphrates. A strong dyke was constructed to interrupt the ordinary current of the Nahar-Malcha: a flood of waters rushed impetuously into their new bed; and the Roman fleet, steering their triumphant course into the Tigris, derided the vain and ineffectual barriers which the Persians of Ctesiphon had erected to oppose their passage.

§ 17. As it became necessary to transport the Roman army over the Tigris, another labour presented itself, of less toil, but of more danger, than the preceding expedition. The stream was broad and rapid, the ascent steep and difficult; and the entrenchments which had been formed on the ridge of the opposite bank were lined with a numerous army. In the presence of such an enemy the construction of a bridge was impracticable; but in the dead of night he transported a large detachment of troops across the river, defeated the Persians upon the opposite bank, and pursued them to the gates or Ctesiphon. The victory was followed by a solemn sacrifice to the god of war, but the appearances of the victims threatened the most inauspicious events; and Julian soon discovered, by less ambiguous signs, that he had now reached the term of his prosperity.

While the Persians beheld from the walls of Ctesiphon the desolation of the adjacent country, Julian cast many an anxious look towards the North, in full expectation that, as he himself had victoriously penetrated to the capital of Sapor, the march and junction of his lieutenants, Sebastian and Procopius, would be executed with the same courage and diligence. His expectations were disappointed by the treachery of the Armenian king, who permitted, and most probably directed, the desertion of his auxiliary troops from the camp of the Romans; and by the dissensions of the two generals, who were incapable of forming or executing any plan for the public service. When the emperor had relinquished the hope of this important reinforcement, he condescended to hold a council of war, and approved, after a full debate, the sentiment of those generals who dissuaded the siege of Ctesiphon, as a fruitless and pernicious undertaking. At the same time he rejected, with obstinacy and disdain, the most flattering offers of a negotiation of peace.

§ 18. The honour, as well as interest, of Julian, forbade him to consume his time under the impregnable walls of Ctesiphon. Instead of confining his servile march to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, he resolved to imitate the adventurous spirit of Alexander, and boldly to advance into the inland provinces, till he forced his rival to contend with him, perhaps in the plains of Arbela, for the empire of Asia. The magnanimity of Julian was applauded and betrayed by the arts of a noble Persian, who, in the cause of his country, had generously submitted to act a part full of danger, of falsehood, and of shame. With a train of faithful followers he deserted to the Imperial camp; exposed, in a specious tale, the injuries which he had sustained; and confidentially offered himself as the hostage and guide of the Roman monarch. The credulous Julian, receiving the traitor into his bosom, was persuaded to issue an hasty order, which, in the opinion of mankind, appeared to arraign his prudence and to endanger his safety. He destroyed in a single

hour the whole navy, which had been transported above 500 miles, at so great an expense of toil, of treasure, and of blood. A few small vessels were saved, to accompany, on carriages, the march of the army, and to form occasional bridges for the passage of the rivers. A supply of twenty days' provisions was reserved for the use of the soldiers; and the rest of the magazines, with a fleet of 1100 vessels, which rode at anchor in the Tigris, were abandoned to the flames by the absolute command of the emperor. The Christian bishops, Gregory and Augustin, insult the madness of the apostate, who executed, with his own hands, the sentence of divine justice. Yet there are not wanting some specious, and perhaps solid, reasons, which might justify the resolution of Julian. The navigation of the Euphrates never ascended above Babylon, nor that of the Tigris above Opis. The distance of the last-mentioned city from the Roman camp was not very considerable; and Julian must soon have renounced the vain and impracticable attempt of forcing upwards a great fleet against the stream of a rapid river; which in several places was embarrassed by natural or artificial cataracts. If, moreover, it was advisable to advance into the inland country, the destruction of the fleet and magazines was the only measure which could save that valuable prize from the hands of the numerous and active troops which might suddenly be poured from the gates of Ctesiphon.

The extensive region that lies between the river Tigris and the mountains of Media was filled with villages and towns; and the fertile soil, for the most part, was in a very improved state of cultivation. But on the approach of the Romans this rich and smiling prospect was instantly blasted. Wherever they moved, the inhabitants deserted the open villages and took shelter in the fortified towns; the cattle was driven away; the grass and ripe corn were consumed with fire; and, as soon as the flames had subsided which interrupted the march of Julian, he beheld the melancholy face of a smoking and naked desert. The emperor was soon reduced to the scanty stock of provisions which continually wasted in his hands. Before they were entirely consumed he might still have reached the wealthy and unwarlike cities of Ecbatana or Susa by the effort of a rapid and well-directed march; but he was deprived of this last resource by his ignorance of the roads and by the perfidy of his guides. The Romans wandered several days in the country to the eastward of Bagdad; the Persian deserter, who had artfully led them into the snare, escaped from their resentment; and his followers, as soon as they were put to the torture, confessed the secret of the conspiracy. The visionary conquests of Hyrcania and India, which had so long amused, now tormented, the mind of Julian. Conscious that his own imprudence was the cause of the public

distress, he anxiously balanced the hopes of safety or success without obtaining a satisfactory answer either from gods or men. At length, as the only practicable measure, he embraced the resolution of directing his steps towards the banks of the Tigris, with the design of saving the army by a hasty march to the confines of Corduene, a fertile and friendly province, which acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. The desponding troops obeyed the signal of the retreat (June 16), only 70 days after they had passed the Chaboras with the sanguine expectation of subverting the throne of Persia.

§ 19. As soon as the Romans commenced their retreat, they were surrounded by the whole force of the Persian army, and had to fight their way step by step. The repeated attacks of the Persians were repulsed with firmness; but the hardy veterans, accustomed to the cold climate of Gaul and Germany, fainted under the sultry heat of an Assyrian summer; their vigour was exhausted by the incessant repetition of march and combat; and the progress of the army was suspended by the precautions of a slow and dangerous retreat in the presence of an active enemy. Every day, every hour, as the supply diminished, the value and price of subsistence increased in the Roman camp, and the Romans began to entertain the most gloomy apprehensions that, before they could reach the frontiers of the empire, they should all perish, either by famine or by the sword of the barbarians.

Under these trying circumstances Julian was distinguished by his personal bravery, and by the skill with which he led his forces. One day he had succeeded in driving off the Persians, who discharged, as they fled, a cloud of darts and arrows. The heat of the weather had tempted Julian to lay aside his cuirass; and a javelin, after raising the skin of his arm, transpierced the ribs, and fixed in the inferior part of the liver. Julian attempted to draw the deadly weapon from his side; but his fingers were cut by the sharpness of the steel, and he fell senseless from his horse. His guards flew to his relief; and the wounded emperor was gently raised from the ground, and conveyed out of the tumult of the battle into an adjacent tent. The first words that Julian uttered, after his recovery from the fainting fit into which he had been thrown by loss of blood, were expressive of his martial spirit. He called for his horse and arms, and was impatient to rush into the battle. His remaining strength was exhausted by the painful effort; and the surgeons, who examined his wound, discovered the symptoms of approaching death. He employed the awful moments with the firm temper of a hero and a sage; the philosophers who had accompanied him in this fatal expedition compared the tent of Julian with the prison of Socrates; and the spectators, whom duty, or friendship, or curiosity,

had assembled round his couch, listened with respectful grief to the funeral oration of their dying emperor. At the same time he reproved the immoderate grief of the spectators; and conjured them not to disgrace, by unmanly tears, the fate of a prince who in a few moments would be united with heaven and with the stars. The efforts which he made most probably hastened his death. His wound began to bleed with fresh violence; his respiration was embarrassed by the swelling of the veins: he called for a draught of cold water, and, as soon as he had drunk it, expired without pain, about the hour of midnight. Such was the end of that extraordinary man, in the 32nd year of his age, after a reign of one year and about eight months from the death of Constantius (A.D. 363, June 26). In his last moments he displayed, perhaps with some ostentation, the love of virtue and of fame, which had been the ruling passions of his life.

§ 20. The unexpected death of Julian left the empire without a master, and without an heir, in a state of perplexity and danger which, in the space of fourscore years, had never been experienced, since the election of Diocletian. The situation of a famished army, encompassed on all sides by a host of barbarians, shortened the moments of grief and deliberation. In this scene of terror and distress, the body of the deceased prince, according to his own directions, was decently embalmed; and, at the dawn of day, the generals convened a military senate, at which the commanders of the legions, and the officers both of cavalry and infantry, were invited to assist. Three or four hours of the night had not passed away without some secret cabals; and when the election of an emperor was proposed, the spirit of faction began to agitate the assembly. The superior virtues of Sallust could alone reconcile their divisions and unite their suffrages; and the venerable præfect would immediately have been declared the successor of Julian, if he himself, with sincere and modest firmness, had not alleged his age and infirmities, so unequal to the weight of the diadem. While the generals debated, a few voices saluted Jovian, who was no more than *first* of the domestics, with the names of Emperor and Augustus. The tumultuary acclamation was instantly repeated by the guards who surrounded the tent, and passed, in a few minutes, to the extremities of the line. The new prince, astonished with his own fortune, was hastily invested with the Imperial ornaments, and received an oath of fidelity from the generals, whose favour and protection he so lately solicited. A few hours after the death of Julian the Romans continued their march; and though attacked with redoubled fury by the Persians, who were elated by the death of Julian, they repulsed the enemy, and after marching and fighting a long summer's day, arrived, in the evening, at Samara, on the banks of the Tigris, about

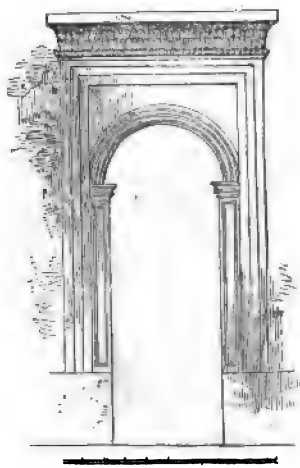
100 miles above Ctesiphon. From Samara they continued their march to Dura, also on the Tigris, which they reached four days after the death of Julian, although incessantly exposed to the vexatious pursuit of the Persians. Here the fainting spirits of the Romans were revived by the sound of peace. The transient presumption of Sapor had vanished: he observed, with serious concern, that, in the repetition of doubtful combats, he had lost his most faithful and intrepid nobles, his bravest troops, and the greatest part of his train of elephants: and the experienced monarch feared to provoke the resistance of despair, the vicissitudes of fortune, and the unexhausted powers of the Roman empire, which might soon advance to relieve or to revenge, the successor of Julian. Two satraps appeared in the camp of Jovian, and declared that the clemency of their sovereign was not averse to signify the conditions on which he would consent to spare and to dismiss the Cæsar with the relics of his captive army. The hopes of safety subdued the firmness of the Romans; and the five provinces beyond the Tigris, which had been ceded by the grandfather of Sapor, were restored to the Persian monarchy. He acquired, by a single article, the impregnable city of Nisibis, which had sustained, in three successive sieges, the effort of his arms. Singara, and the castle of the Moors, one of the strongest places of Mesopotamia, were likewise dismembered from the empire. It was considered as an indulgence that the inhabitants of those fortresses were permitted to retire with their effects; but the conqueror rigorously insisted that the Romans should for ever abandon the king and kingdom of Armenia. A peace, or rather a long truce, of thirty years, was stipulated between the hostile nations. The conclusion of so ignominious a treaty was facilitated by the private ambition of Jovian. The obscure domestic, exalted to the throne by fortune rather than by merit, was impatient to escape from the hands of the Persians, that he might prevent the designs of Procopius, who commanded the army of Mesopotamia, and establish his doubtful reign over the legions and provinces which were still ignorant of the hasty and tumultuous choice of the camp beyond the Tigris.

§ 21. The Romans were now allowed to pass the Tigris unmolested; but in a laborious march of 200 miles over the plains of Mesopotamia they endured the last extremities of thirst and hunger. They were obliged to traverse a sandy desert, which, in the extent of 70 miles, did not afford a single blade of sweet grass nor a single spring of fresh water, and the rest of the inhospitable waste was untrod by the footsteps either of friends or enemies. The remains of the army at length reposed themselves under the walls of Nisibis. When the conditions of the ignominious treaty became known, the minds of the people were filled with astonishment and grief, with

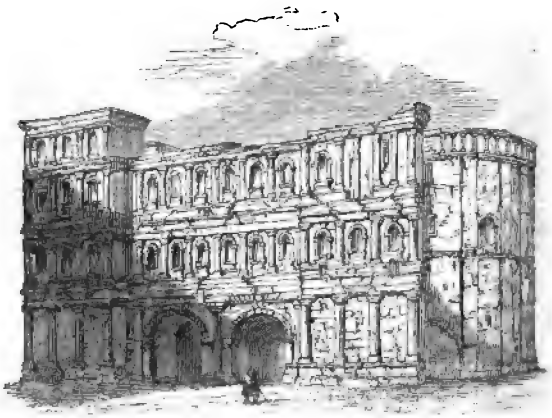
indignation and terror. The deep and dangerous question, how far the public faith should be observed when it becomes incompatible with the public safety, was freely agitated in popular conversation, and some hopes were entertained that the emperor would redeem his pusillanimous behaviour by a splendid act of patriotic perfidy. But the same motives which had forced him to subscribe, now pressed him to execute, the treaty of peace. He was impatient to secure an empire at the expense of a few provinces, and the respectable names of religion and honour concealed the personal fears and the ambition of Jovian. The inhabitants of Nisibis, notwithstanding their entreaties and remonstrances, were compelled to evacuate their city, and were removed to a new-built quarter of Amida, which rising city, with the reinforcement of a very considerable colony, soon recovered its former splendour and became the capital of Mesopotamia. Similar orders were despatched by the emperor for the evacuation of Singara and the castle of the Moors, and for the restitution of the five provinces beyond the Tigris. Sapor enjoyed the glory and the fruits of his victory; and this ignominious peace has justly been considered as a memorable æra in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The predecessors of Jovian had sometimes relinquished the dominion of distant and unprofitable provinces; but, since the foundation of the city, the genius of Rome, the god Terminus, who guarded the boundaries of the republic, had never retired before the sword of a victorious enemy.

§ 22. After Jovian had performed those engagements which the voice of his people might have tempted him to violate, he hastened away from the scene of his disgrace, and proceeded with his whole court to enjoy the luxury of Antioch. Without consulting the dictates of religious zeal, he was prompted, by humanity and gratitude, to bestow the last honours on the remains of his deceased sovereign. The corpse of Julian was transported from Nisibis to Tarsus, in a slow march of fifteen days, and, as it passed through the cities of the East, was saluted by the hostile factions with mournful lamentations and clamorous insults. It was an ancient custom in the funerals, as well as in the triumphs of the Romans, that the voice of praise should be corrected by that of satire and ridicule, and that, in the midst of the splendid pageants which displayed the glory of the living or of the dead, their imperfections should not be concealed from the eyes of the world. This custom was practised in the funeral of Julian. The comedians, who resented his contempt and aversion for the theatre, exhibited, with the applause of a Christian audience, the lively and exaggerated representation of the faults and follies of the deceased emperor. His various character and singular manners afforded an ample scope for pleasantry and ridicule. In the exercise of his uncommon talents

he often descended below the majesty of his rank. Alexander was transformed into Diogenes,—the philosopher was degraded into a priest. The purity of his virtue was sullied by excessive vanity; his superstition disturbed the peace and endangered the safety of a mighty empire; and his irregular sallies were the less entitled to indulgence, as they appeared to be the laborious efforts of art, or even of affectation. The remains of Julian were interred at Tarsus in Cilicia; but his stately tomb, which arose in that city on the banks of the cold and limpid Cydnus, was displeasing to the faithful friends who loved and revered the memory of that extraordinary man. The philosopher expressed a very reasonable wish that the disciple of Plato might have reposed amidst the groves of the Academy, while the soldier exclaimed, in bolder accents, that the ashes of Julian should have been mingled with those of Cæsar, in the field of Mars, and among the ancient monuments of Roman virtue. The history of princes does not very frequently renew the example of a similar competition.



Specimen of Sassanian Architecture—Doorway at Firouzabad.



Porta Nigra at Trèves, erected probably in the fourth century.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE REIGNS OF JOVIAN AND VALENTINIAN I.

§ 1. Jovian restores Christianity as the established religion, but proclaims universal toleration. § 2. Death of Jovian. § 3. Election of VALENTINIAN: he associates his brother VALENS in the empire. § 4. Final division of the Eastern and Western empires. § 5. Revolt and death of Procopius. § 6. Character and government of Valentinian and Valens. § 7. Valentinian maintains religious toleration. § 8. Valens professes Arianism and persecutes the Catholics. § 9. Foreign wars. § 10. Wars with the Germans: the Alemanni, Burgundians, and Saxons. § 11. War in Britain: the Scots and Picts. § 12. War in Africa: revolt and death of Firmus: execution of Theodosius. § 13. War on the Danube: the Gothic war. § 14. War of the Quadi and Sarmatians: death of Valentinian. § 15. Succession of GRATIAN and VALENTINIAN II.

§ 1. THE death of Julian had left the public affairs of the empire in a very doubtful and dangerous situation. The Roman army was saved by an inglorious, perhaps a necessary treaty; and the first moments of peace were consecrated by Jovian to restore the domestic tranquillity of the church and state. Jovian was educated in the profession of Christianity; and as he marched from Nisibis to Antioch, the banner of the Cross, the LABARUM of Constantine, which was again displayed at the head of the legions, announced to the people the faith of their new emperor. As soon as he ascended

the throne he transmitted a circular epistle to all the governors of provinces, in which he confessed the divine truth, and secured the legal establishment of the Christian religion. He showed his attachment to the Nicene Creed by the reverence which he expressed for the *celestial* virtues of the great Athanasius. The intrepid veteran of the faith, at the age of 70, had issued from his retreat on the first intelligence of the tyrant's death. The acclamations of the people seated him once more on the archiepiscopal throne, and he wisely accepted or anticipated the invitation of Jovian. The venerable figure of Athanasius, his calm courage and insinuating eloquence, sustained the reputation which he had already acquired in the courts of four successive princes. As soon as he had gained the confidence and secured the faith of the Christian emperor, he returned in triumph to his diocese, and continued, with mature counsels and undiminished vigour, to direct, ten years longer, the ecclesiastical government of Alexandria, Egypt, and the catholic church. Under the reign of Jovian Christianity obtained an easy and lasting victory; and as soon as the smile of royal patronage was withdrawn, the genius of Paganism, which had been fondly raised and cherished by the arts of Julian, sunk irrecoverably in the dust. But the Pagans were not persecuted; and Jovian published a wise and gracious edict of toleration, in which he explicitly declared that, although he should severely punish the sacrilegious rites of magic, his subjects might exercise, with freedom and safety, the ceremonies of the ancient worship.

§ 2. After remaining six weeks at Antioch, Jovian continued his march towards Constantinople, but Dadastana, an obscure town, almost at an equal distance between Ancyra and Nice, was marked for the fatal term of his journey and his life. After indulging himself with a plentiful supper, he retired to rest, and the next morning the emperor Jovian was found dead in his bed (A.D. 364, Feb. 17). The cause of this sudden death was variously understood. By some it was ascribed to the consequences of an indigestion, occasioned either by the quantity of the wine or the quality of the mushrooms which he had swallowed in the evening. According to others, he was suffocated in his sleep by the vapour of charcoal, which extracted from the walls of the apartment the unwholesome moisture of the fresh plaster. But the want of a regular inquiry into the death of a prince whose reign and person were soon forgotten appears to have been the only circumstance which countenanced the malicious whispers of poison and domestic guilt.

§ 3. After the death of Jovian the throne of the Roman world remained ten days without a master. The ministers and generals still continued to meet in council, to exercise their respective functions, to maintain the public order, and peaceably to conduct the

army to the city of Nice in Bithynia, which was chosen for the place of the election. In a solemn assembly of the civil and military powers of the empire, the diadem was again unanimously offered to the præfect Sallust. He enjoyed the glory of a second refusal. Several candidates were proposed and successively rejected: but as soon as the name of Valentinian was pronounced, the merit of that officer united the suffrages of the whole assembly, and obtained the sincere approbation of Sallust himself (Feb. 26). Valentinian was the son of Count Gratian, a native of Cibalis, in Pannonia, who from an obscure condition had raised himself to the military commands of Africa and Britain. The rank and services of Gratian contributed to smooth the first steps of the promotion of his son, and afforded him an early opportunity of displaying those solid and useful qualifications which raised his character above the ordinary level of his fellow-soldiers. The person of Valentinian was tall, graceful, and majestic. His manly countenance, deeply marked with the impression of sense and spirit, inspired his friends with awe, and his enemies with fear; and, to second the efforts of his undaunted courage, the son of Gratian had inherited the advantages of a strong and healthy constitution. By the habits of chastity and temperance Valentinian preserved his own and the public esteem. In the time of Julian he provoked the danger of disgrace by the contempt which he publicly expressed for the reigning religion. He was pardoned, however, and still employed, by a prince who esteemed his merit, and in the various events of the Persian war he improved the reputation which he had already acquired on the banks of the Rhine. Valentinian was now in the 44th year of his age: and 30 days after his own elevation he bestowed the title of Augustus on his brother Valens (March 28), who was in his 36th year. The abilities of Valens had never been exercised in any employment, military or civil, and his character had not inspired the world with any sanguine expectations. He possessed, however, one quality which recommended him to Valentinian, and preserved the domestic peace of the empire: a devout and grateful attachment to his benefactor, whose superiority of genius, as well as of authority, Valens humbly and cheerfully acknowledged in every action of his life.

§ 4. After remaining a short time at Constantinople, the two emperors set out for the Illyrian provinces, and in the neighbourhood of Naissus they executed the solemn and final division of the Roman empire (A.D. 364, June). Valentinian bestowed on his brother the rich præfecture of the *East*, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persia; whilst he reserved for his immediate government the warlike præfectures of *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*, from the extremity of Greece to the Caledonian rampart, and from the

rampart of Caledonia to the foot of Mount Atlas. The provincial administration remained on its former basis, but a double supply of generals and magistrates was required for two councils and two courts; the division was made with a just regard to their peculiar merit and situation, and seven master-generals were soon created either of the cavalry or infantry. When this important business had been amicably transacted, Valentinian and Valens embraced for the last time. The emperor of the West established his temporary residence at Milan, and the emperor of the East returned to Constantinople to assume the dominion of fifty provinces, of whose language he was totally ignorant.

§ 5. The tranquillity of the East was soon disturbed by rebellion, and the throne of Valens was threatened by the daring attempts of a rival whose affinity to the emperor Julian was his sole merit, and had been his only crime. Procopius had endeavoured, by his dutiful and submissive behaviour, to disarm the jealousy both of Jovian and Valentinian, and had retired, with his wife and family, to cultivate the ample patrimony which he possessed in the province of Cappadocia. These useful and innocent occupations were interrupted by the appearance of an officer with a band of soldiers, who, in the name of his new sovereigns, Valentinian and Valens, was despatched to conduct the unfortunate Procopius either to a perpetual prison or an ignominious death. His presence of mind procured him a longer respite and a more splendid fate. Without presuming to dispute the royal mandate, he requested the indulgence of a few moments to embrace his weeping family, and, while the vigilance of his guards was relaxed by a plentiful entertainment, he dexterously escaped to the sea-coast of the Euxine, from whence he passed over to the country of Bosporus. After remaining several months in concealment he ventured into the capital, and, during the absence of Valens in Syria, was proclaimed emperor by his friends, and was saluted by the soldiers with shouts of joy and vows of fidelity (A.D. 365, Sept. 28). At first everything seemed to promise success to the usurper. The people regretted the justice and the abilities of Sallust, who had been imprudently dismissed from the præfecture of the East. They despised the character of Valens, which was rude without vigour, and feeble without mildness. The large bodies of troops stationed in the cities of Thrace and the fortresses of the Lower Danube were gradually involved in the guilt of rebellion, and the Gothic princes consented to supply the sovereign of Constantinople with the formidable strength of several thousand auxiliaries. His generals passed the Bosporus, and subdued, without an effort, the unarmed but wealthy provinces of Bithynia and Asia. Valens began to despair of his life and fortune, and proposed to negotiate with the usurper. The timid monarch

was saved from disgrace and ruin by the firmness of his ministers, and their abilities soon decided in his favour the event of the civil war. Sallust was restored to the præfecture of the East; and in two engagements the unfortunate Procopius was deserted by his troops, who were seduced by the instructions and example of their perfidious officers. After wandering some time among the woods and mountains of Phrygia, he was betrayed by his desponding followers, conducted to the Imperial camp, and immediately beheaded (A.D. 366, May 28).

§ 6. The fall of the usurper was followed by many acts of cruelty; and indeed the whole reign of the two brothers was disgraced by frequent executions, both at Rome and Antioch. Valens was of a timid, and Valentinian of a choleric, disposition. An anxious regard to his personal safety was the ruling principle of the administration of Valens. The favourites of Valens obtained, by the privilege of rapine and confiscation, the wealth which his economy would have refused. They urged, with persuasive eloquence, *that*, in all cases of treason, suspicion is equivalent to proof; *that* the power supposes the intention of mischief; *that* the intention is not less criminal than the act; and *that* a subject no longer deserves to live, if his life may threaten the safety, or disturb the repose of his sovereign. The judgment of Valentinian was sometimes deceived, and his confidence abused; but he would have silenced the informers with a contemptuous smile, had they presumed to alarm his fortitude by the sound of danger. They praised his inflexible love of justice; and, in the pursuit of justice, the emperor was easily tempted to consider clemency as a weakness, and passion as a virtue. As long as he wrestled with his equals in the bold competition of an active and ambitious life, Valentinian was seldom injured, and never insulted, with impunity; and the proudest and most powerful generals were apprehensive of provoking the resentment of a fearless soldier. After he became master of the world, he unfortunately forgot that where no resistance can be made no courage can be exerted; and instead of consulting the dictates of reason and magnanimity, he indulged the furious emotions of his temper, at a time when they were disgraceful to himself, and fatal to the defenceless objects of his displeasure. In the government of his household, or of his empire, slight, or even imaginary offences—a hasty word, a casual omission, an involuntary delay—were chastised by a sentence of immediate death. The expressions which issued the most readily from the mouth of the emperor of the West were, "Strike off his head;"—"Burn him alive;"—"Let him be beaten with clubs till he expires;" and his most favoured ministers soon understood that, by a rash attempt to dispute or suspend the execution of his sanguinary commands, they might involve themselves in the guilt and

punishment of disobedience. The repeated gratification of this savage justice hardened the mind of Valentinian against pity and remorse; and the sallies of passion were confirmed by the habits of cruelty. But in the calmer moments of reflection the dispassionate judgment of Valentinian could clearly perceive, and accurately pursue, his own and the public interest; and Valens, who imitated with equal docility the various examples which he received from his elder brother, was sometimes guided by the wisdom and virtue of the præfect Sallust. Both princes invariably retained, in the purple, the chaste and temperate simplicity which had adorned their private life; and under their reign the pleasures of the court never cost the people a blush or a sigh. They gradually reformed many of the abuses of the time of Constantius; judiciously adopted and improved the designs of Julian and his successor; and displayed a style and spirit of legislation which might inspire posterity with the most favourable opinion of their character and government. Valentinian condemned the exposition of new-born infants, and established fourteen skilful physicians, with stipends and privileges, in the fourteen quarters of Rome. He enacted that the arts of rhetoric and grammar should be taught, in the Greek and Latin languages, in the metropolis of every province; and as the size and dignity of the school was usually proportioned to the importance of the city, the academies of Rome and Constantinople claimed a just pre-eminence. The institutions of Valentinian contributed to secure the benefits of peace and plenty; and the cities were guarded by the establishment of the *Defensors;* freely elected as the tribunes and advocates of the people, to support their rights, and to expose their grievances, before the tribunals of the civil magistrates, or even at the foot of the Imperial throne. The finances were diligently administered by two princes who had been so long accustomed to the rigid economy of a private fortune.

§ 7. But the most honourable circumstance of the character of Valentinian is the firm and temperate impartiality which he uniformly preserved in an age of religious contention. Under the reign of an apostate, he had signalized his zeal for the honour of Christianity: he allowed to his subjects the privilege which he had assumed for himself; and they might accept, with gratitude and confidence, the general toleration which was granted by a prince addicted to passion, but incapable of fear or of disguise. The Pagans, the Jews, and all the various sects which acknowledged the divine authority of Christ were protected by the laws from arbitrary power or popular insult; nor was any mode of worship prohibited by Valentinian, except those secret and criminal practices which abused the name of religion for the dark purposes of vice and disorder.

§ 8. In the West the Arian party was insignificant, and the friend of toleration was placed at a distance from the fiercest controversies. But in the provinces of the East, the strength and numbers of the hostile factions were more equally balanced. Athanasius still reigned at Alexandria; the thrones of Constantinople and Antioch were occupied by Arian prelates; and every episcopal vacancy was the occasion of a popular tumult. Valens was baptized by Eudoxus, the Arian bishop of the Imperial city; and, after he had taken this decisive step, it was extremely difficult for him to preserve either the virtue, or the reputation of impartiality. Valens resigned his conscience to the direction of his ecclesiastical guides, and his feeble mind was easily persuaded to oppress the Athanasian party. The enemies of Athanasius attempted to disturb the last years of his venerable age; and his temporary retreat to his father's sepulchre has been celebrated as a fifth exile. But the zeal of a great people, who instantly flew to arms, intimidated the præfect: and the archbishop was permitted to end his life in peace and in glory, after a reign of 47 years (May 2, A.D. 373). The death of Athanasius was the signal of the persecution of Egypt; and the Pagan minister of Valens, who forcibly seated the worthless Lucius on the archiepiscopal throne, purchased the favour of the reigning party by the blood and sufferings of their Christian brethren.

§ 9. When the suffrage of the generals and of the army committed the sceptre of the Roman empire to the hands of Valentinian, his reputation in arms, his military skill and experience, and his rigid attachment to the forms as well as spirit of ancient discipline, were the principal motives of their judicious choice. As soon as the death of Julian had relieved the barbarians from the terror of his name, the most sanguine hopes of rapine and conquest excited the nations of the East, of the North, and of the South. Their inroads were often vexatious, and sometimes formidable; but, during the twelve years of the reign of Valentinian (A.D. 364—375), his firmness and vigilance protected his own dominions; and his powerful genius seemed to inspire and direct the feeble counsels of his brother. Perhaps the method of annals would more forcibly express the urgent and divided cares of the two emperors; but the attention of the reader, likewise, would be distracted by a tedious and desultory narrative. A separate view of the four great theatres of war—I. Germany; II. Britain; III. Africa; and IV. The Danube—will impress a more distinct image of the military state of the empire under the reigns of Valentinian and Valens.

§ 10.—I. In A.D. 365 the Alemanni crossed the Rhine, and laid waste the villages of the Gauls; and before Valentinian could pass the Alps, they had secured their captives and spoil in the forests of Germany. In the following year they repeated their ravages, but

they were defeated with great slaughter on the banks of the Moselle, and abandoned Gaul. But in A.D. 368 they suddenly passed the Rhine, and surprised Moguntiacum, or Mainz (Mayence), the principal city of the Upper Germany. Valentinian resolved to execute severe vengeance on the whole body of the nation. He crossed the Rhine at the head of a powerful army, and defeated the Alemanni with great slaughter in their own territory; but instead of aspiring to the conquest of Germany, the wise monarch confined his attention to the important and laborious defence of the Gallic frontier, against an enemy whose strength was renewed by a stream of daring volunteers, which incessantly flowed from the most distant tribes of the North. The banks of the Rhine, from its source to the straits of the ocean, were closely planted with strong castles and convenient towers; and these works secured the tranquillity of Gaul during the nine subsequent years of the administration of Valentinian.

That prudent emperor, who diligently practised the wise maxims of Diocletian, was studious to foment and excite the intestine divisions of the tribes of Germany. About the middle of the fourth century, the countries, perhaps of Lusace and Thuringia, on either side of the Elbe, were occupied by the vague dominion of the BURGUNDIANS, a warlike and numerous people, whose obscure name insensibly swelled into a powerful kingdom, and has finally settled on a flourishing province. The disputed possession of some saltpits engaged the Alemanni and the Burgundians in frequent contests, and the latter were easily tempted by the secret solicitations and liberal offers of the emperor. In A.D. 371 an army of fourscore thousand Burgundians appeared on the banks of the Rhine, and impatiently required the support and subsidies which Valentinian had promised; but they were amused with excuses and delays, till at length, after a fruitless expectation, they were compelled to retire. The arms and fortifications of the Gallic frontier checked the fury of their just resentment; and their massacre of the captives served to embitter the hereditary feud of the Burgundians and the Alemanni.

The land was covered by the fortifications of Valentinian; but the sea-coast of Gaul and Britain was exposed to the depredations of the Saxons. That celebrated name, in which we have a dear and domestic interest, escaped the notice of Tacitus; and in the maps of Ptolemy it faintly marks the narrow neck of the Cimbric peninsula, and three small islands towards the mouth of the Elbe. This contracted territory, the present duchy of Schleswig, or perhaps of Holstein, was incapable of pouring forth the inexhaustible swarms of Saxons who reigned over the ocean, who filled the British island with their language, their laws, and their colonies, and who so long defended the liberty of the North against the arms of Charlemagne.

It is probable that Saxon was the general name given by the Celts of Britain to the Germans of the sea-coast, and of the water systems of the Lower Elbe, Weser, and Lower Rhine. Their situation disposed them to embrace the hazardous professions of fishermen and pirates; the success of the first adventurers naturally excited the emulation of others; and the various troops of pirates who fought under the same standard were insensibly united in a permanent society, at first of rapine, and afterwards of government. After they had acquired an accurate knowledge of the maritime provinces of the West they extended the scene of their depredations, and the most sequestered places had no reason to presume on their security. The Saxon boats drew so little water that they could easily proceed fourscore or an hundred miles up the great rivers; their weight was so inconsiderable that they were transported on waggons from one river to another; and the pirates who had entered the mouth of the Seine or of the Rhine might descend, with the rapid stream of the Rhone, into the Mediterranean. Under the reign of Valentinian the maritime provinces of Gaul were afflicted by the Saxons, and a military count was stationed for the defence of the sea-coast, or Armorican limit.

§ 11.—II. The islands of Great Britain and Ireland were gradually peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul. From the coast of Kent, to the extremity of Caithness and Ulster, the memory of a Celtic origin was distinctly preserved in the perpetual resemblance of language, of religion, and of manners. The Roman province was reduced to the state of civilized and peaceful servitude: the rights of savage freedom were contracted to the narrow limits of Caledonia. The inhabitants of that northern region were divided, as early as the reign of Constantine, between the two great tribes of the SCOTS and of the PICTS, who have since experienced a very different fortune. The power, and almost the memory, of the Picts have been extinguished by their successful rivals; and the Scots, after maintaining for ages the dignity of an independent kingdom, have multiplied, by an equal and voluntary union, the honours of the English name. The origin of the Scots and Picts has given rise to long controversies; but it is most probable that the Scots were the same as the Gael of the present day, and that the Picts were akin to the Welch family of the Celtic race. The Scots inhabited the western part of Caledonia, and, according to tradition, had crossed over from the neighbouring coast of Ireland. It may admit of doubt whether Ireland or Scotland was the original seat of the Scots; but this is immaterial: the Scots were of the same race as the inhabitants of Ireland, and even in the fourth and following centuries were more numerous in Ireland than in Caledonia. The Picts dwelt upon the eastern coast of Caledonia, and were distin-

guished, in the eyes of the Romans, by the strange fashion of painting their naked bodies with gaudy colours and fantastic figures.

Six years after the death of Constantine the destructive inroads of the Scots and Picts required the presence of his youngest son, who reigned in the Western empire. Constans visited his British dominions in A.D. 343: but we may form some estimate of the importance of his achievements by the language of panegyric, which celebrates only his triumph over the elements, or, in other words, the good fortune of a safe and easy passage from the port of Boulogne to the harbour of Sandwich. The calamities which the afflicted provincials continued to experience were aggravated by the feeble and corrupt administration of the eunuchs of Constantius. The hostile tribes of the North, who detested the pride and power of the King of the World, suspended their domestic feuds; and the barbarians of the land and sea, the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons, spread themselves, with rapid and irresistible fury, from the wall of Antoninus to the shores of Kent. Every messenger who escaped across the British Channel conveyed the most melancholy and alarming tidings to the ears of Valentinian; and the emperor at length resolved to intrust the defence, or rather the recovery, of Britain, to the abilities of the brave Theodosius (A.D. 367). This general not only succeeded in driving the Scots and Picts out of the Roman province, but he confined them with a strong hand to the northern angle of the island, and perpetuated, by the name and settlement of the new province of *Valentia*, the glories of the reign of Valentinian.

§ 12.—III. The tyranny of Count Romanus, who held the military command of Africa, at length provoked the provincials to join the rebellious standard of Firmus, the Moor, who established his power in Mauritania and Numidia. But the imprudent and unhappy Africans soon discovered that, in this rash insurrection, they had not sufficiently consulted their own strength or the abilities of their leader. Before he could procure any certain intelligence that the emperor of the West had fixed the choice of a general, he was suddenly informed that the great Theodosius, the conqueror of Britain, had landed with a small band of veterans on the African coast, and the timid usurper sunk under the ascendant of virtue and military genius. Firmus took refuge among the chiefs of the independent tribes of Africa; but he was pursued by Theodosius from place to place, and at length put an end to his own life to avoid falling into the hands of the Roman general (A.D. 374). Two years afterwards (A.D. 376) the restorer of Britain and Africa, on a vague suspicion that his name and services were superior to the rank of a subject, was ignominiously beheaded at Carthage. Va-

lentinian no longer reigned; and the death of Theodosius may justly be imputed to the arts of the ministers who abused the confidence and deceived the inexperienced youth of his sons.

§ 13—IV. During a peaceful interval of thirty years, the Romans secured their frontiers, and the Goths extended their dominions. The victories of the great Hermanric, king of the Ostrogoths, had extended his dominions from the Danube to the Baltic. The independent tribes were persuaded, or compelled, to acknowledge the king of the Ostrogoths as the sovereign of the Gothic nation; and the chiefs of the Visigoths, or Thervingi, renounced the royal title, and assumed the more humble appellation of *Judges*. The Heruli, who inhabited the marshy lands near the lake Mæotis; the Venedi, who filled the wide extent of the plains of modern Poland; the Æstii, who dwelt upon the Baltic, and whose name is still preserved in the province of Esthonia, successively yielded to the superiority of the Gothic arms, and Hermanric reigned over the greatest part of Germany and Scythia with the authority of a conqueror, and sometimes with the cruelty of a tyrant.

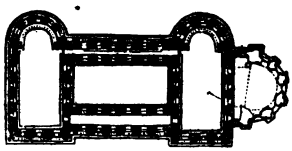
The Goths had contracted an hereditary attachment for the Imperial house of Constantine, of whose power and liberality they had received so many signal proofs. Their contempt for two new and obscure princes, who had been raised to the throne by a popular election, inspired the Goths with bolder hopes; and they were easily tempted to embrace the party of Procopius, and to foment, by their dangerous aid, the civil discord of the Romans. Thirty thousand Goths crossed the Danube, but before they could receive any certain intelligence of the defeat and death of Procopius, they perceived, by the hostile state of the country, that the civil and military powers were resumed by his successful rival. A chain of posts and fortifications, skilfully disposed by Valens, or the generals of Valens, resisted their march, prevented their retreat, and intercepted their subsistence. The fierceness of the barbarians was tamed and suspended by hunger; they indignantly threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror, who offered them food and chains: and the numerous captives were distributed in all the cities of the East. Hermanric was grieved and exasperated by this national calamity; but the war which followed (A.D. 367) scarcely deserves the attention of posterity, except as the preliminary steps of the approaching decline and fall of the empire. Instead of leading the nations of Germany and Scythia to the banks of the Danube, or even to the gates of Constantinople, the aged monarch of the Goths resigned to the brave Athanaric, judge of the Visigoths, the danger and glory of a defensive war, against an enemy who wielded with a feeble hand the powers of a mighty state. After the war had lasted three years, Valens concluded a treaty

with the Goths (A.D. 370), who remained in a state of tranquillity for the next six years, till they were violently impelled against the Roman empire by an innumerable host of Scythians, who appeared to issue from the frozen regions of the North.

§ 14. The emperor of the West, who had resigned to his brother the command of the Lower Danube, reserved for his immediate care the defence of the Rhætian and Illyrian provinces, which spread so many hundred miles along the greatest of the European rivers. The Quadi, indignant at the treacherous murder of their king by one of the Roman governors, called in the assistance of their Pannonian allies, and invaded the province of Pannonia, which they laid waste with fire and sword. Valentinian, who then resided at Trèves, was deeply affected by the calamities of Illyricum, but the lateness of the season suspended the execution of his designs till the ensuing spring (A.D. 375). He marched in person, with a considerable part of the forces of Gaul, from the banks of the Moselle; crossed the Danube, and advanced into the country of the Quadi with an insatiate thirst of blood and revenge. The extreme devastation and promiscuous massacre of a savage war were justified in the eyes of the emperor, and perhaps in those of the world, by the cruel equity of retaliation; and such was the discipline of the Romans, and the consternation of the enemy, that Valentinian repassed the Danube without the loss of a single man. As he had resolved to complete the destruction of the Quadi by a second campaign, he fixed his winter-quarters at Bregetio, on the Danube, near the Hungarian city of Presburg. While the operations of war were suspended by the severity of the weather, the Quadi made an humble attempt to deprecate the wrath of their conqueror. Their ambassadors were introduced into the Imperial council. They approached the throne with bended bodies and dejected countenances, and, without daring to complain of the murder of their king, they affirmed, with solemn oaths, that the late invasion was the crime of some irregular robbers, which the public council of the nation condemned and abhorred. The answer of the emperor left them but little to hope from his clemency or compassion. He reviled, in the most intemperate language, their baseness, their ingratitude, their insolence. His eyes, his voice, his colour, his gestures, expressed the violence of his ungoverned fury; and while his whole frame was agitated with convulsive passion a large blood-vessel suddenly burst in his body, and Valentinian fell speechless into the arms of his attendants. Their pious care immediately concealed his situation from the crowd, but in a few minutes the emperor of the West expired in an agony of pain, retaining his senses till the last, and struggling, without success, to declare his intentions to the generals and ministers who surrounded the royal

couch. Valentinian was about 54 years of age, and he wanted only one hundred days to accomplish the twelve years of his reign (November 17, A.D. 375).

§ 15. Valentinian was twice married, first to Severa, the granddaughter of Constantine, and secondly to Justina, the widow of Magnentius. By his first wife he had a son named Gratian, who was 17 years old at his father's death. The issue of the second marriage was also a son, who bore the same name as his father, but who was at this time only four years of age. Gratian had received the title of Augustus in the lifetime of Valentinian, and had every title to the throne; but he resided, without apprehension, in the palace of Trèves, whilst at the distance of many hundred miles his father suddenly expired in the camp of Bregetio. The troops at Bregetio were persuaded to proclaim the infant Valentinian emperor. The impending dangers of a civil war were seasonably prevented by the wise and moderate conduct of the emperor Gratian. He cheerfully accepted the choice of the army, declared that he should always consider the son of Justina as a brother, not as a rival, and advised the empress, with her son Valentinian, to fix their residence at Milan, in the fair and peaceful province of Italy, while he assumed the more arduous command of the countries beyond the Alps. The government of the Roman world was exercised in the united name of Valens and his two nephews; but the feeble emperor of the East, who succeeded to the rank of his elder brother, never obtained any weight or influence in the councils of the West.



Plan of Porta Nigra at Trèves. See p. 186.

Wall of China. See p. 200.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE DEATH OF VALENTINIAN TO THE DEATH OF THEODOSIUS.

§ 1. The nomadic tribes of central Asia. § 2. Their government. § 3. The Huns; their wars with the Chinese. § 4. Migrations of the Huns. § 5. The Huns defeat the Goths: the Goths cross the Danube and revolt against the Romans. § 5. The Gothic war. § 6. Defeat and death of the emperor Valens. § 7. THEODOSIUS appointed emperor of the East: his birth and character. § 8. Submission of the Visigoths. § 9. Defeat of the Ostrogoths, who are transplanted to Phrygia and Lydia. § 10. Revolt of Maximus: death of Gratian. § 11. MAXIMUS recognised by Theodosius as emperor. § 12. Orthodoxy of Theodosius: he persecutes the Arians; Council of Constantinople. § 13. Basil and Gregory Nazianzen. § 14. Ambrose, bishop of Milan; his successful opposition to the empress Justina. § 15. Maximus invades Italy: flight of Valentinian. § 16. War between Theodosius and Maximus: death of Maximus. § 17. Character of Theodosius. § 18. Sedition and massacre of Thessalonica. § 19. Penance of Theodosius. § 20. Murder of Valentinian by Arbogastes. § 21. Arbo-

gastes makes EUGENIUS emperor of the West: defeat and death of Arbogastes and Eugenius. § 22. Death of Theodosius. § 23. Ruin of Paganism.

§ 1. THE fall of the Roman empire may justly be dated from the reign of Valens. In this disastrous period the arts and labours of ages were rudely defaced by the barbarians of Scythia and Germany. The invasion of the Huns precipitated on the provinces of the West the Gothic nation, which advanced, in less than forty years, from the Danube to the Atlantic, and opened a way, by the success of their arms, to the inroads of so many hostile tribes more savage than themselves.

In every age the immense plains of Central Asia have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement of a sedentary life. These nomadic tribes were called in antiquity by the general name of SCYTHIANS, and have received in modern times the common designation of TARTARS.* They are divided into four great races, called respectively, the Mongolian, Tungusian, Turkish, and Ugrian. I. *The Mongolian Race* is the least numerous of the four, and was confined to a comparatively small territory till the time of their national hero Zingis Khan, when they first occur in history. With the exception of a few scattered hords, the Mongolians are still confined to the country northward of the great wall of China and westward of the Mandshú country. II. *The Tungusian Race* extends on the east from the Yenesei to the sea of Okhotsk, and on the north from the coast of the Icy Sea, between the Yenesei and the Lena, to the Yellow Sea on the south-east. Among the numerous tribes of the Tungusian race, some of which are very barbarous, the only one which has exercised an influence upon the history of the world is that of the Mandshús, the present rulers of China. III. *The Turkish Race*, the most widely extended of the four, and one of the most considerable of the families of the world, occupies as a continuous population the vast extent of country from the neighbourhood of the lake Baikal, 110° E. long., to the eastern boundaries of the Greek and Slavonic countries of Europe. IV. *The Ugrian Race*, also called the *Finnish* or *Tschudish*, left the great eastern plateau of Asia,

* The *Tartars* were closely allied to the Mongols in race, and dwelt near the lake Bouyir, to the eastward of Mongolia. They occupied so conspicuous a place in the army of Zingis Khan that their name was given by the nations of western Europe to the whole Mongolian army. Their proper name was *Tatars*. It is said to have been changed into *Tartar* in consequence of an expression of St. Louis, who, when the devastations of Zingis Khan were heard of with horror in western Europe, is reported to have exclaimed, "Erigat nos, mater, cœleste solatium, quia si proveniant ipsi, vel nos ipsos quos vocamus *Tartaros* ad suas *Tartareas* sedes, unde exierunt, retrudemus, vel ipsi nos omnes ad cœlum advehant."

and settled in the north-west of Asia and the north of Europe, at a period long antecedent to all historical documents. They extend as a continuous population from the Yenesei on the east to Norway on the west. The Magyars of Hungary are the only people of the Ugrian race who have exercised any influence upon the history of the world.

§ 2. The tribes of Scythia, distinguished by the modern appellation of *Hords*, assume the form of a numerous and increasing family, which, in the course of successive generations, has been propagated from the same original stock. The haughty barbarians yield a cheerful and voluntary obedience to the head of their blood, and their chief, or *mursa*, as the representative of their great father, exercises the authority of a judge in peace and of a leader in war. In the original state of the pastoral world, each of the *mursas* acted as the independent chief of a large and separate family, and the limits of their peculiar territories were gradually fixed by superior force or mutual consent. But the constant operation of various and permanent causes contributed to unite the vagrant Hords into national communities, under the command of a supreme head. The most successful of the Tartar princes assumed the military command, to which he was entitled by the superiority either of merit or of power. He was raised to the throne by the acclamations of his equals, and the title of *Khan* expresses in the language of the North of Asia the full extent of the regal dignity. The right of hereditary succession was long confined to the blood of the founder of the monarchy; and at this moment all the Khans who reign from Crimea to the wall of China are the lineal descendants of the renowned Zingis.

§ 3. In every age the Scythians and Tartars have been renowned for their invincible courage and rapid conquests. The thrones of Asia have been repeatedly overturned by the shepherds of the North, and their arms have spread terror and devastation over the most fertile and warlike countries of Europe. The Huns, who under the reign of Valens threatened the empire of Rome, had been formidable, in a much earlier period, to the empire of China. They belonged to the Turkish race;* and their ancient, perhaps their original, seat was an extensive, though dry and barren, tract of country, immediately on the north side of the great wall. Their place is at present occupied by the forty-nine Hords or Banners of the Mongous, a pastoral nation, which consists of about two hundred thousand families. But the valour of the Huns had extended the narrow limits of their dominions; and their rustic chiefs, who assumed the

* It is supposed by many that the name of Hungary is derived from that of the Huns: and as the Magyars of Hungary are Ugrians, it is maintained that the Huns belonged to the same race. But the name Hungary is more probably derived from that of the Ugrians or Ungrians who peopled this country in historical times.

appellation of *Tanjou*, gradually became the conquerors and the sovereigns of a formidable empire. In the third century before the Christian æra, a wall of 1500 miles in length was constructed, to defend the frontiers of China against the inroads of the Huns; but this stupendous work, which holds a conspicuous place in the map of the world, has never contributed to the safety of an unwarlike people. At the beginning of the second century before the Christian æra, the Huns broke through the wall, and spread themselves over the face of the country; and the Chinese emperors were content to purchase a temporary and precarious peace by a regular payment of money and silk. The conquest of China has been twice achieved by the pastoral tribes of the North: the forces of the Huns were not inferior to those of the Mongols, or of the Mandshús; and their ambition might entertain the most sanguine hopes of success. But their pride was humbled, and their progress was checked, by the arms and policy of Vouti, the fifth emperor of the powerful dynasty of the Han. In his long reign of 45 years (B.C. 141-87), he humbled the power of the Huns; many of the subject tribes threw off the yoke, and the Sienpi, a tribe of Oriental Tartars, retaliated the injuries they had formerly sustained, and destroyed for ever the empire of the Tanjous (A.D. 93).

§ 4. Some of the vanquished Huns were contented to remain in their native country, and to mingle with the victorious nation of the Sienpi. Others, ambitious of a more honourable servitude, retired towards the south, and were permitted to inhabit and to guard the extreme frontiers of one of the provinces of China. But the most warlike and powerful tribes of the Huns maintained in their adverse fortune the undaunted spirit of their ancestors. The Western world was open to their valour, and they resolved, under the conduct of their hereditary chieftains, to discover and subdue some remote country which was still inaccessible to the arms of the Sienpi and to the laws of China. Two great divisions of these formidable exiles directed their march towards the Oxus and towards the Volga. The first of these colonies established their dominion in the fruitful and extensive plains of Sogdiana, on the eastern side of the Caspian, where they received the name of *white* Huns. The second division of the Huns, after dwelling some time upon the eastern banks of the Volga, crossed this river, and invaded the country of the Alani, a pastoral people, who occupied an extensive tract between the Volga and the Tanais. The Alani were defeated; many of them joined the ranks of their conquerors; and the Huns proceeded, with an increase of numbers and confidence, to invade the limits of the Gothic empire.

§ 5. The great Hermanric, whose dominions extended from the Baltic to the Euxine, enjoyed, in the full maturity of age and repu-

tation, the fruit of his victories, when he was alarmed by the formidable approach of an host of unknown enemies, on whom his barbarous subjects might, without injustice, bestow the epithet of barbarians. The numbers, the strength, the rapid motions, and the implacable cruelty of the Huns were felt, and dreaded, and magnified by the astonished Goths, who beheld their fields and villages consumed with flames and deluged with indiscriminate slaughter. To these real terrors they added the surprise and abhorrence which were excited by the shrill voice, the uncouth gestures, and the strange deformity of the Huns. These savages of Scythia were distinguished from the rest of the human species by their broad shoulders, flat noses, and small black eyes, deeply buried in the head; and as they were almost destitute of beards, they never enjoyed either the manly graces of youth or the venerable aspect of age. Against these enemies, Hermanric prepared to exert the united forces of the Gothic state; but he soon discovered that his vassal tribes, provoked by oppression, were much more inclined to second than to repel the invasion of the Huns. The aged king of the Goths died soon afterwards, and his successor maintained the unequal contest against the arms of the Huns and the Alani till he was defeated and slain in a decisive battle. The Ostrogoths submitted to their fate; and the Visigoths, who were persuaded that the interposition of the Danube was the only barrier that could save them from the invincible valour of the barbarians of Scythia, implored Valens to permit them to cross the river, and solemnly protested that, if the gracious liberality of the emperor would permit them to cultivate the waste lands of Thrace, they should ever hold themselves bound, by the strongest obligations of duty and gratitude, to obey the laws and to guard the limits of the republic. The prayers of the Goths were granted, and their service was accepted by the Imperial court; and orders were immediately despatched to the civil and military governors of the Thracian diocese to make the necessary preparations for the passage and subsistence of a great people, till a proper and sufficient territory could be allotted for their future residence. The liberality of the emperor was accompanied, however, with two harsh and rigorous conditions, which prudence might justify on the side of the Romans, but which distress alone could extort from the indignant Goths. Before they passed the Danube they were required to deliver their arms, and it was insisted that their children should be taken from them and dispersed through the provinces of Asia, where they might be civilized by the arts of education, and serve as hostages to secure the fidelity of their parents. A probable testimony has fixed the number of the Gothic warriors at two hundred thousand men; and if we can venture to add the just proportion of women, of children, and of slaves, the whole mass

of people which composed this formidable emigration must have amounted to near a million of persons, of both sexes and of all ages. The children of the Goths, those at least of a distinguished rank, were separated from the multitude. They were conducted without delay to the distant seats assigned for their residence and education; but the stipulation, the most offensive to the Goths and the most important to the Romans, was shamefully eluded. The barbarians, who considered their arms as the ensigns of honour and the pledges of safety, were disposed to offer a price which the lust or avarice of the Imperial officers was easily tempted to accept. The Goths, with arms in their hands, were permitted to enter the boats; and, when their strength was collected on the other side of the river, the immense camp which was spread over the plains and the hills of the Lower Mœsia assumed a threatening and even hostile aspect (A.D. 376). At this important crisis the military government of Thrace was exercised by Lupicinus and Maximus, in whose venal minds the slightest hope of private emolument outweighed every consideration of public advantage. Instead of obeying the orders of their sovereign, and satisfying, with decent liberality, the demands of the Goths, they levied an ungenerous and oppressive tax on the wants of the hungry barbarians. The vilest food was sold at an extravagant price, and, in the room of wholesome and substantial provisions, the markets were filled with the flesh of dogs and of unclean animals who had died of disease. A spirit of discontent insensibly arose in the camp of the barbarians. They beheld around them the wealth and plenty of a fertile province, in the midst of which they suffered the intolerable hardships of artificial famine. But the means of relief, and even of revenge, were in their hands; since the rapaciousness of their tyrants had left to an injured people the possession and the use of arms. They advanced against Marcianopolis, defeated Lupicinus at the head of a Roman army, and laid waste Thrace with fire and sword.

§ 6. The imprudence of Valens and his ministers had introduced into the heart of the empire a nation of enemies; but the Visigoths might even yet have been reconciled by the manly confession of past errors and the sincere performance of former engagements. These healing and temperate measures seemed to concur with the timorous disposition of the sovereign of the East: but on this occasion alone Valens was brave; and his unseasonable bravery was fatal to himself and to his subjects. He declared his intention of marching from Antioch to Constantinople, to subdue this dangerous rebellion; and, as he was not ignorant of the difficulties of the enterprise, he solicited the assistance of his nephew, the emperor Gratian, who commanded all the forces of the West. In the first campaign (A.D. 377) a bloody battle was fought between the generals of Valens, and Friti-

gern, the leader of the Visigoths, in which neither side could claim the honours or the effects of a decisive victory. In the second campaign (A.D. 378) the army of Fritigern was swelled by new swarms of barbarians, who had passed the unguarded Danube. Many of the Ostrogoths joined his standard, and several of the hords of the Huns and the Alani were allured by his liberal promises. The Sarmatians, who could never forgive the successor of Valentinian, enjoyed and increased the general confusion; and a seasonable irruption of the Alemanni into the provinces of Gaul engaged the attention and diverted the forces of the emperor of the West. The Gothic army was collected by the diligence of Fritigern in the neighbourhood of Hadrianople. Valens, who had at length removed his camp and army from Antioch, marched from Constantinople to Hadrianople, and there resolved to bring the war to an end by a decisive battle.

On the 9th of August, a day which has deserved to be marked among the most inauspicious of the Roman calendar, the emperor Valens, leaving, under a strong guard, his baggage and military treasure, marched from Hadrianople to attack the Goths, who were encamped about 12 miles from the city. The event of the battle, so fatal to Valens and to the empire, may be described in a few words; the Roman cavalry fled; the infantry was abandoned, surrounded, and cut in pieces. In the midst of tumults, of slaughter, and of dismay, the emperor, deserted by his guards, and wounded, as it was supposed, with an arrow, sought protection among a body of soldiers who still maintained their ground with some appearance of order and firmness. Some troops advanced to his relief: they found only a bloody spot, covered with a heap of broken arms and mangled bodies, without being able to discover their unfortunate prince either among the living or the dead. Their search could not indeed be successful, if there is any truth in the circumstances with which some historians have related the death of the emperor. By the care of his attendants, Valens was removed from the field of battle to a neighbouring cottage, where they attempted to dress his wound, and to provide for his future safety. But this humble retreat was instantly surrounded by the enemy: they tried to force the door; they were provoked by a discharge of arrows from the roof; till at length, impatient of delay, they set fire to a pile of dry faggots, and consumed the cottage with the Roman emperor and his train. Valens perished in the flames; and a youth, who dropped from the window, alone escaped, to attest the melancholy tale and to inform the Goths of the inestimable prize which they had lost by their own rashness. A great number of brave and distinguished officers perished in the battle of Hadrianople, which equalled in the actual loss, and far surpassed in the fatal consequences, the mis-

fortune which Rome had formerly sustained in the fields of Cannæ. About two-thirds of the Roman army were destroyed: and the darkness of the night was esteemed a very favourable circumstance, as it served to conceal the flight of the multitude. The Goths, after a vain attempt to take Hadrianople, advanced as far as the walls of Constantinople. Thence they slowly moved, laden with the spoils of the wealthy suburbs and the adjacent territory, to the mountains which form the western boundary of Thrace. Having no longer any resistance to apprehend from the scattered and vanquished troops of the East, they spread themselves over the face of a fertile and cultivated country, as far as the confines of Italy and the Adriatic Sea.

§ 7. The emperor Gratian was far advanced on his march towards the plains of Hadrianople when he was informed that his colleague had been slain in battle, and that two-thirds of the Roman army were exterminated by the sword of the victorious Goths. Gratian was too late to assist, he was too weak to revenge, his unfortunate colleague; and the valiant and modest youth felt himself unequal to the support of a sinking world. A formidable tempest of the barbarians of Germany seemed ready to burst over the provinces of Gaul, and the mind of Gratian was oppressed and distracted by the administration of the Western empire. In this important crisis the government of the East and the conduct of the Gothic war required the undivided attention of a hero and a statesman. It was the wish of Gratian to bestow the purple as the reward of virtue; and his choice was soon declared in favour of an exile, whose father, only three years before, had suffered, under the sanction of *his* authority, an unjust and ignominious death. The great THEODOSIUS, a name celebrated in history and dear to the catholic church, was summoned to the Imperial court at Sirmium, and was compelled to accept, amidst the general acclamations, the diadem, the purple, and the equal title of Augustus (A.D. 379, Jan. 19). The provinces of Thrace, Asia, and Egypt, over which Valens had reigned, were resigned to the administration of the new emperor; but as he was specially intrusted with the conduct of the Gothic war, the Illyrian præfecture was dismembered, and the two great dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia were added to the dominions of the Eastern empire.

The same province, and perhaps the same city,* which had given to the throne the virtue of Trajan and the talents of Hadrian, was the original seat of another family of Spaniards, who, in a less fortunate age, possessed, near fourscore years, the declining empire of Rome. They emerged from the obscurity of municipal honours by the active spirit of the elder Theodosius, a general whose exploits in

* *Italica*, founded by Scipio Africanus for his wounded veterans of *Italy*.

Britain and Africa have formed one of the most splendid parts of the annals of Valentinian. The son of that general, who likewise bore the name of Theodosius, was educated, by skilful preceptors, in the liberal studies of youth; but he was instructed in the art of war by the tender care and severe discipline of his father. Under the standard of such a leader, young Theodosius sought glory and knowledge in the most distant scenes of military action; inured his constitution to the differences of seasons and climates; distinguished his valour by sea and land; and observed the various warfare of the Scots, the Saxons, and the Moors. His rising fortunes were soon blasted by the disgrace and execution of his illustrious father; and Theodosius obtained, as a favour, the permission of retiring to a private life in his native province of Spain. From the innocent, but humble, labours of his farm, Theodosius was transported, in less than four months, to the throne of the Eastern empire: and the whole period of the history of the world will not perhaps afford a similar example of an elevation at the same time so pure and so honourable. During the season of prosperity he had been neglected; but, in the public distress, his superior merit was universally felt and acknowledged. What confidence must have been reposed in his integrity, since Gratian could trust that a pious son would forgive, for the sake of the republic, the murder of his father! What expectations must have been formed of his abilities, to encourage the hope that a single man could save, and restore, the empire of the East! Theodosius was invested with the purple in the 33rd year of his age. The vulgar gazed with admiration on the manly beauty of his face and the graceful majesty of his person, which they were pleased to compare with the pictures and medals of the emperor Trajan; whilst intelligent observers discovered, in the qualities of his heart and understanding, a more important resemblance to the best and greatest of the Roman princes.

§ 8. The effects produced by the battle of Hadrianople on the minds of the barbarians and of the Romans, extended the victory of the former, and the defeat of the latter, far beyond the limits of a single day. The same terrors, which the names of the Huns had spread among the Gothic tribes, were inspired by the formidable name of the Goths among the subjects and soldiers of the Roman empire. If Theodosius, hastily collecting his scattered forces, had led them into the field to encounter a victorious enemy, his army would have been vanquished by their own fears; and his rashness could not have been excused by the chance of success. But the *great* Theodosius, an epithet which he honourably deserved on this momentous occasion, conducted himself as the firm and faithful guardian of the republic. He fixed his head-quarters at Thessalonica, the capital of the Macedonian diocese; from whence he

could watch the irregular motions of the barbarians, and direct the operations of his lieutenants from the gates of Constantinople to the shores of the Adriatic. The fortifications and garrisons of the cities were strengthened; and the troops, among whom a sense of order and discipline was revived, were insensibly emboldened by the confidence of their own safety. From these secure stations they were encouraged to make frequent sallies on the barbarians, who infested the adjacent country; and as they were seldom allowed to engage, without some decisive superiority, either of ground or of numbers, their enterprises were, for the most part, successful; and they were soon convinced, by their own experience, of the possibility of vanquishing their *invincible* enemies. The prudence of Theodosius was seconded by fortune; and the emperor never failed to seize, and to improve, every favourable circumstance. As long as the superior genius of Fritigern preserved the union and directed the motions of the barbarians, their power was not inadequate to the conquest of a great empire. The death of that hero, the predecessor and master of the renowned Alaric, relieved an impatient multitude from the intolerable yoke of discipline and discretion. Dissensions soon arose among the different tribes; and a very considerable part of the subjects of Fritigern, who already felt the inconvenience of anarchy, were easily persuaded to acknowledge for their king Athanaric, who had formerly governed them as Judge under the great Hermanric. But age had chilled the daring spirit of Athanaric; and, instead of leading his people to the field of battle and victory, he wisely listened to the fair proposal of an honourable and advantageous treaty. The submission of so great a body of the Visigoths was productive of the most salutary consequences; and the mixed influence of force, of reason, and of corruption, became every day more powerful and more extensive. Each independent chieftain hastened to obtain a separate treaty, from the apprehension that an obstinate delay might expose *him*, alone and unprotected, to the revenge or justice of the conqueror. The general, or rather the final, capitulation of the Goths, may be dated four years, one month, and twenty-five days, after the defeat and death of the emperor Valens (A.D. 382, Oct. 3).

§ 9. The provinces of the Danube had been already relieved from the oppressive weight of the Gruthungi, or Ostrogoths, by the voluntary retreat of their leaders Alatheus and Saphrax, whose restless spirit had prompted them to seek new scenes of rapine and glory. Their destructive course was pointed towards the West; but we must be satisfied with a very obscure and imperfect knowledge of their various adventures. After an interval of more than four years, they returned, with accumulated force, to the banks of the Lower Danube. Here they were defeated in A.D. 386 by Theo-

dosius or his generals; and the survivors formed a treaty with the emperor, which fixed their settlement in Phrygia and Lydia. The hereditary chiefs of the tribes and families were still permitted to command their followers in peace and war: but the royal dignity was abolished; and the generals of the Goths were appointed and removed at the pleasure of the emperor. An army of 40,000 Goths was maintained for the perpetual service of the empire of the East; and those haughty troops, who assumed the title of *Fœderati*, or allies, were distinguished by their gold collars, liberal pay, and licentious privileges. Their native courage was improved by the use of arms and the knowledge of discipline; and, while the republic was guarded or threatened by the doubtful sword of the barbarians, the last sparks of the military flame were finally extinguished in the minds of the Romans.

§ 10. The popularity of Gratian had long been declining. He had abandoned the reins of government to the ambitious hands which were stretched forward to grasp them, and amused his leisure with the most frivolous gratifications. Among the various arts which had exercised the youth of Gratian, he had applied himself, with singular inclination and success, to manage the horse, to draw the bow, and to dart the javelin; and these qualifications, which might be useful to a soldier, were prostituted to the viler purposes of hunting. Large parks were enclosed for the Imperial pleasures, and plentifully stocked with every species of wild beasts, and Gratian neglected the duties and even the dignity of his rank to consume whole days in the vain display of his dexterity and boldness in the chase. The behaviour of Gratian, which degraded his character in the eyes of mankind, could not have disturbed the security of his reign if the army had not been provoked to resent their peculiar injuries. As long as the young emperor was guided by the instructions of his masters, he professed himself the friend and pupil of the soldiers; many of his hours were spent in the familiar conversation of the camp, and the health, the comforts, the rewards, the honours of his faithful troops, appeared to be the object of his attentive concern. But, after Gratian more freely indulged his prevailing taste for hunting and shooting, he naturally connected himself with the most dexterous ministers of his favourite amusement. A body of the Alani was received into the military and domestic service of the palace, and the admirable skill which they were accustomed to display in the unbounded plains of Scythia was exercised on a more narrow theatre in the parks and enclosures of Gaul. Gratian admired the talents and customs of these favourite guards, to whom alone he intrusted the defence of his person; and, as if he meant to insult the public opinion, he frequently showed himself to the soldiers and people with the dress and arms, the long

bow, the sounding quiver, and the fur garments of a Scythian warrior. The unworthy spectacle of a Roman prince who had renounced the dress and manners of his country filled the minds of the legions with grief and indignation. Even the Germans, so strong and formidable in the armies of the empire, affected to disdain the strange and horrid appearance of the savages of the North, who, in the space of a few years, had wandered from the banks of the Volga to those of the Seine. The legions of Britain, which shared in the general discontent, compelled Maximus to assume the Imperial title (A.D. 383). Maximus was a native of Spain, the countryman, the fellow-soldier, and the rival of Theodosius, whose elevation he had not seen without some emotions of envy and resentment; the events of his life had long since fixed him in Britain; but if he held any civil or military office in the island, he was not invested with the authority either of governor or general. Maximus could not hope to reign, or even to live, if he confined his moderate ambition within the narrow limits of Britain. He boldly and wisely resolved to prevent the designs of Gratian; he invaded Gaul with a powerful fleet and army; and the soldiers of Gratian, instead of opposing the march of Maximus, received him with joyful and loyal acclamations. The emperor of the West fled towards Lyons with a train of only 300 horse, and in the cities along the road, where he hoped to find a refuge, or at least a passage, he was taught by cruel experience that every gate is shut against the unfortunate. Yet he might still have reached in safety the dominions of his brother if he had not suffered himself to be fatally deceived by the perfidious governor of the Lyonnese province. Gratian was amused by protestations of doubtful fidelity, till the arrival of Andragathias, the general of the cavalry of Maximus, put an end to his suspense. That resolute officer executed, without remorse, the orders or the intentions of the usurper. Gratian, as he rose from supper, was delivered into the hands of the assassin, and his body was denied to the pious and pressing entreaties of his brother Valentinian (A.D. 383).

§ 11. The events of this revolution had passed in such rapid succession that it would have been impossible for Theodosius to march to the relief of his benefactor before he received the intelligence of his defeat and death. Maximus offered Theodosius the alternative of peace or war. The imperious voice of honour and gratitude called aloud for revenge; but the assassin of Gratian was in possession of the most warlike provinces of the empire; the East was exhausted by the Gothic war; and it was seriously to be apprehended that, after the vital strength of the republic had been wasted in a doubtful and destructive contest, the feeble conqueror would remain an easy prey to the barbarians of the North. These weighty considerations engaged Theodosius to dissemble his resentment and to accept the

alliance of the tyrant. But he stipulated that Maximus should content himself with the possession of the countries beyond the Alps. Valentinian II. was confirmed and secured in the sovereignty of Italy, Africa, and the Western Illyricum.

§ 12. Gratian had been a firm supporter of the orthodox clergy, who bewailed his death and their own irreparable loss; but they were soon comforted by the discovery that Gratian had committed the sceptre of the East to the hands of a prince whose humble faith and fervent zeal were supported by the spirit and abilities of a more vigorous character. Among the benefactors of the church, the fame of Constantine has been rivalled by the glory of Theodosius. If Constantine had the advantage of erecting the standard of the cross, the emulation of his successor assumed the merit of subduing the Arian heresy, and of abolishing the worship of idols in the Roman world. Theodosius was the first of the emperors baptized in the true faith of the Trinity. In the year after his accession (A.D. 380), before he again took the field against the Goths, he received the sacrament of baptism from Acholius, the orthodox bishop of Thessalonica; and, as the emperor ascended from the holy font, still glowing with the warm feelings of regeneration, he dictated a solemn edict, which proclaimed the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity, and branded all who denied it with the infamous name of heretics. As soon as the emperor had finished the operations of the campaign, he returned to his capital with the firm resolution to purify it from the Arian heresy. Constantinople had long been the principal seat and fortress of Arianism; and the cathedral of St. Sophia was still in possession of Damophilus, the Arian prelate. Theodosius immediately deposed Damophilus, and handed over all the churches in the city to the exclusive use of the orthodox party, who formed only a small portion of the population of Constantinople. About six weeks afterwards, Theodosius declared his resolution of expelling from all the churches of his dominions the bishops and their clergy who should obstinately refuse to believe the doctrine of the council of Nice. His lieutenant Sapor was armed with the ample powers of a general law, a special commission, and a military force; and this ecclesiastical revolution was conducted with so much discretion and vigour, that the religion of the emperor was established without tumult or bloodshed, in all the provinces of the East. A few months afterwards (May, A.D. 381) Theodosius convened at Constantinople a synod of 150 bishops, which ranks as the second general council of the Christian church. This council completed the theological system which had been established in the council of Nice, and solemnly declared by an unanimous sentence the equal Deity of the Holy Ghost. It was not enough that Theodosius had suppressed the insolent reign of Arianism, or that he had abundantly revenged the

injuries which the catholics sustained from the zeal of Constantius and Valens. The orthodox emperor considered every heretic as a rebel against the supreme powers of heaven and of earth. In the space of fifteen years he promulgated at least fifteen severe edicts against the heretics, more especially against those who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity; and to deprive them of every hope of escape, he sternly enacted that, if any laws or rescripts should be alleged in their favour, the judges should consider them as the illegal productions either of fraud or forgery.

§ 13. Among the ecclesiastics who illustrated the reign of Theodosius, Basil and Gregory Nazianzen in the East, and Ambrose in the West, were the most conspicuous. Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, who were natives of Cappadocia, were distinguished above all their contemporaries by the rare union of profane eloquence and of orthodox piety. These orators, who might sometimes be compared, by themselves and by the public, to the most celebrated of the ancient Greeks, were united by the ties of the strictest friendship. They had cultivated, with equal ardour, the same liberal studies in the schools of Athens; they had retired, with equal devotion, to the same solitude in the deserts of Pontus; and every spark of emulation or envy appeared to be totally extinguished in the holy and ingenuous breasts of Gregory and Basil. But the exaltation of Basil, from a private life to the archiepiscopal throne of Cæsarea, discovered to the world, and perhaps to himself, the pride of his character; and the first favour which he condescended to bestow on his friend was received, and perhaps was intended, as a cruel insult. Instead of employing the superior talents of Gregory in some useful and conspicuous station, the haughty prelate selected, among the fifty bishoprics of his extensive province, the wretched village of Sasima, without water, without verdure, without society, situate at the junction of three highways, and frequented only by the incessant passage of rude and clamorous waggoners. Gregory submitted with reluctance to this humiliating exile: he was ordained bishop of Sasima; but he never entered upon the duties of his office. He afterwards consented to undertake the government of his native church of Nazianzus, of which his father had been bishop above forty-five years. But as he was still conscious that he deserved another audience and another theatre, he accepted, with no unworthy ambition, the honourable invitation which was addressed to him from the orthodox party of Constantinople. After labouring in the city for two years, exposed to the opposition and persecution of the dominant Arian party, he was placed by Theodosius upon the archiepiscopal throne (A.D. 381). But he did not enjoy this dignity long. His enemies disputed the validity of his election, and rigorously asserted the obsolete canon that prohibited the licentious practice of episcopal trans-

lations. The pride, or the humility, of Gregory, prompted him to decline a contest which might have been imputed to ambition and avarice; and he publicly offered, not without some mixture of indignation, to renounce the government of a church which had been restored by his labours. His resignation was accepted by the council of Constantinople, and by the emperor, with more readiness than he seems to have expected. After this remarkable experience of the ingratitude of princes and prelates, Gregory retired once more to his obscure solitude of Cappadocia, where he employed the remainder of his life, about eight years, in the exercises of poetry and devotion.

§ 14. Ambrose was descended from a noble family of Romans; and he attained, in the regular gradation of civil honours, the station of consular of Liguria, a province which included the Imperial residence of Milan. At the age of 34, and before he had received the sacrament of baptism, Ambrose, to his own surprise and to that of the world, was suddenly transformed from a governor to an archbishop. Without the least mixture, as it is said, of art or intrigue, the whole body of the people unanimously saluted him with the episcopal title; the concord and perseverance of their acclamations were ascribed to a præternatural impulse; and the reluctant magistrate was compelled to undertake a spiritual office for which he was not prepared by the habits and occupations of his former life. But the active force of his genius soon qualified him to exercise, with zeal and prudence, the duties of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Gratian loved and revered him as a father; and the elaborate treatise on the faith of the Trinity was designed for the instruction of the young prince. After his tragic death, at a time when the empress Justina trembled for her own safety, and for that of her son Valentinian, the archbishop of Milan was despatched on two different embassies to the court of Trèves. He exercised, with equal firmness and dexterity, the powers of his spiritual and political characters; and perhaps contributed, by his authority and eloquence, to check the ambition of Maximus, and to protect the peace of Italy.

The government of Italy, and of the young emperor, naturally devolved upon his mother Justina, who, in the midst of an orthodox people, had the misfortune of professing the Arian heresy, which she endeavoured to instil into the mind of her son. Justina was persuaded that a Roman emperor might claim, in his own dominions, the public exercise of his religion; and she proposed to the archbishop, as a moderate and reasonable concession, that he should resign the use of a single church, either in the city or suburbs of Milan (A.D. 385). But Ambrose resolutely refused to allow the heretics the use of a church in his diocese; the people

espoused the cause of their bishop, and after a vehement struggle between the powers of the state and of the church, the empress was persuaded by the advice of her wisest counsellors to leave the catholics in possession of all the churches in Milan. Shortly afterwards Justina ordered Ambrose to depart from Milan without delay; but he again boldly refused to obey; and his refusal was supported by the unanimous consent of his faithful people. They guarded by turns the person of their archbishop; the gates of the cathedral and the episcopal palace were strongly secured; and the Imperial troops, who had formed the blockade, were unwilling to risk the attack of that impregnable fortress. While he maintained this arduous contest, he was instructed, by a dream, to open the earth in a place where the remains of two martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius, had been deposited above three hundred years. Immediately under the pavement of the church two perfect skeletons were found, with the heads separated from their bodies, and a plentiful effusion of blood. The holy relics were presented, in solemn pomp, to the veneration of the people; the bones of the martyrs, their blood, their garments, were supposed to contain a healing power; and the extraordinary cure of a blind man, and the reluctant confessions of several dæmoniacs, appeared to justify the faith of Ambrose. The reason of the present age may possibly approve the incredulity of Justina and her Arian court, who derided the theatrical representations which were exhibited by the contrivance, and at the expense, of the archbishop. Their effect, however, on the minds of the people was rapid and irresistible; and the feeble sovereign of Italy found himself unable to contend with the favourite of Heaven. The powers likewise of the earth interposed in the defence of Ambrose: the disinterested advice of Theodosius was the genuine result of piety and friendship; and the mask of religious zeal concealed the hostile and ambitious designs of the tyrant of Gaul.

§ 15. The reign of Maximus might have ended in peace and prosperity, could he have contented himself with the possession of three ample countries, which now constitute the three most flourishing kingdoms of modern Europe. But he aspired to the conquest of Italy; and, collecting a powerful army, he secretly crossed the Alps, and appeared almost under the walls of Milan, before Justina and her son had received intelligence of his approach. Flight was their only hope; and Aquileia their only refuge. They reached Aquileia in safety: but Justina distrusted the strength of the fortifications, and she resolved to implore the protection of the great Theodosius. A vessel was secretly provided to transport the Imperial family; they embarked with precipitation in one of the obscure harbours of Venetia, or Istria; and, after a long but successful navigation, reposed themselves in the port of Thessalonica. All the

subjects of Valentinian deserted the cause of a prince who, by his abdication, had absolved them from the duty of allegiance; and Maximus obtained almost without a struggle the sole possession of the Western empire (A.D. 387).

§ 16. The momentous question of peace or war was referred by Theodosius to the deliberation of his council; and the arguments which might be alleged on the side of honour and justice had acquired, since the death of Gratian, a considerable degree of additional weight. The persecution of the Imperial family, to which Theodosius himself had been indebted for his fortune, was now aggravated by recent and repeated injuries. Neither oaths nor treaties could restrain the boundless ambition of Maximus; and the delay of vigorous and decisive measures, instead of prolonging the blessings of peace, would expose the Eastern empire to the danger of an hostile invasion. The barbarians who had passed the Danube had lately assumed the character of soldiers and subjects, but their native fierceness was yet untamed; and the operations of a war, which would exercise their valour and diminish their numbers, might tend to relieve the provinces from an intolerable oppression. The charms of the princess Galla most powerfully pleaded the cause of her brother Valentinian. The heart of Theodosius was softened by the tears of beauty; his affections were insensibly engaged by the graces of youth and innocence; the art of Justina managed and directed the impulse of passion; and the celebration of the royal nuptials was the assurance and signal of the civil war. The contest was brought to a close by a single and decisive battle upon the banks of the Save; the army of Maximus was almost annihilated; and the usurper fled with precipitation to Aquileia. But the citizens and soldiers would not fight in his defence; and the wretched Maximus was dragged from his throne, and conducted, like a malefactor, to the camp and presence of Theodosius, at a place about three mile from Aquileia. The emperor showed some disposition to pity and forgive the tyrant of the West; but the feeble emotion of involuntary pity was checked by his regard for public justice and the memory of Gratian; and he abandoned the victim to the pious zeal of the soldiers, who drew him out of the Imperial presence and instantly separated his head from his body (A.D. 388). Theodosius employed the winter months of his residence at Milan to restore the state of the afflicted provinces; and early in the spring he made, after the example of Constantine and Constantius, his triumphal entry into the ancient capital of the Roman empire.

§ 17. The character of Theodosius might furnish the subject of a sincere and ample panegyric. The wisdom of his laws and the success of his arms rendered his administration respectable in the eyes

both of his subjects and of his enemies. He loved and practised the virtues of domestic life, which seldom hold their residence in the palaces of kings. He respected the simplicity of the good and virtuous; every art, every talent, of an useful or even of an innocent nature, was rewarded by his judicious liberality; and, except the heretics, whom he persecuted with implacable hatred, the diffusive circle of his benevolence was circumscribed only by the limits of the human race. But with all these virtues there were two essential imperfections in the character of Theodosius. His virtuous mind was often relaxed by indolence, and it was sometimes inflamed by passion. In the pursuit of an important object his active courage was capable of the most vigorous exertions; but as soon as the design was accomplished, or the danger was surmounted, the hero sunk into inglorious repose, and, forgetful that the time of a prince is the property of his people, resigned himself to the enjoyment of the innocent but trifling pleasures of a luxurious court. The natural disposition of Theodosius was hasty and choleric; it was the constant study of his life to suppress or regulate the intemperate sallies of passion; and the success of his efforts enhanced the merit of his clemency. But the painful virtue which claims the merit of victory is exposed to the danger of defeat; and the reign of a wise and merciful prince was polluted by an act of cruelty which would stain the annals of Nero or Domitian.

§ 18. Thessalonica, the metropolis of all the Illyrian provinces, had been protected from the dangers of the Gothic war by strong fortifications and a numerous garrison. Botheric, the general of those troops, had thrown into prison one of the charioteers of the circus, and sternly rejected the importunate clamours of the multitude, who, on the day of the public games, lamented the absence of their favourite. The resentment of the people was embittered by some previous disputes; and, as the strength of the garrison had been drawn away for the service of the Italian war, the feeble remnant could not save the unhappy general from their licentious fury. Botheric and several of his principal officers were inhumanly murdered; their mangled bodies were dragged about the streets; and the emperor, who then resided at Milan, was surprised by the intelligence of the audacious and wanton cruelty of the people of Thessalonica. The sentence of a dispassionate judge would have inflicted a severe punishment on the authors of the crime; but the fiery and choleric temper of Theodosius was impatient of the dilatory forms of a judicial inquiry; and he hastily resolved that the blood of his lieutenant should be expiated by the blood of the guilty people. The punishment of a Roman city was blindly committed to the undistinguishing sword of the barbarians; and the hostile preparations were concerted with the dark and perfidious

artifice of an illegal conspiracy. The people of Thessalonica were treacherously invited, in the name of their sovereign, to the games of the circus; and such was their insatiate avidity for those amusements that every consideration of fear or suspicion was disregarded by the numerous spectators. As soon as the assembly was complete, the soldiers, who had secretly been posted round the circus, received the signal, not of the races, but of a general massacre. The promiscuous carnage continued three hours, without discrimination of strangers or natives, of age or sex, of innocence or guilt; the most moderate accounts state the number of the slain at 7,000; and it is affirmed by some writers that more than 15,000 victims were sacrificed to the manes of Botheric (A.D. 390).

§ 19. When Ambrose was informed of the massacre of Thessalonica, his mind was filled with horror and anguish. He retired into the country to indulge his grief and to avoid the presence of Theodosius. But as the archbishop was satisfied that a timid silence would render him the accomplice of his guilt, he represented in a private letter the enormity of the crime, which could only be effaced by the tears of penitence. The emperor was deeply affected by his own reproaches and by those of his spiritual father; and after he had bewailed the mischievous and irreparable consequences of his rash fury, he proceeded in the accustomed manner to perform his devotions in the great church of Milan. He was stopped in the porch by the archbishop, who, in the tone and language of an ambassador of Heaven, declared to his sovereign that private contrition was not sufficient to atone for a public fault or to appease the justice of the offended Deity. Theodosius humbly represented that, if he had contracted the guilt of homicide, David, the man after God's own heart, had been guilty not only of murder but of adultery. "You have imitated David in his crime, imitate then his repentance," was the reply of the undaunted Ambrose. The rigorous conditions of peace and pardon were accepted; and the public penance of the emperor Theodosius has been recorded as one of the most honourable events in the annals of the church. Stripped of the ensigns of royalty, and in the midst of the church of Milan, the emperor humbly solicited, with sighs and tears, the pardon of his sins. After a delay of about eight months Theodosius was restored to the communion of the faithful; and the example of Theodosius may prove the beneficial influence of those principles which could force a monarch, exalted above the apprehension of human punishment, to respect the laws and ministers of an invisible Judge.

§ 20. After the defeat and death of the tyrant of Gaul, the Roman world was in the possession of Theodosius. But after spending three years in Italy (A.D. 388–391) he left Valentinian in possession

of Italy, and also added to his dominions the countries beyond the Alps. The empress Justina did not long survive her return to Italy, and, though she beheld the triumph of Theodosius, she was not allowed to influence the government of her son. The pernicious attachment to the Arian sect which Valentinian had imbibed from her example and instructions was soon erased by the lessons of a more orthodox education. His growing zeal for the faith of Nice, and his filial reverence for the character and authority of Ambrose, disposed the catholics to entertain the most favourable opinion of the virtues of the young emperor of the West. But this amiable youth, before he had accomplished the twentieth year of his age, was oppressed by domestic treason, and the empire was again involved in the horrors of a civil war. Arbogastes, a gallant soldier of the nation of the Franks, had been appointed by Theodosius master-general of the armies of Gaul. His real merit and apparent fidelity had gained the confidence both of the prince and people; his boundless liberality corrupted the allegiance of the troops; and, whilst he was universally esteemed as the pillar of the state, the bold and crafty barbarian was secretly determined either to rule or to ruin the empire of the West. The important commands of the army were distributed among the Franks; the creatures of Arbogastes were promoted to all the honours and offices of the civil government; the progress of the conspiracy removed every faithful servant from the presence of Valentinian; and the emperor insensibly sunk into the precarious and dependent condition of a captive. The indignation which he expressed, though it might arise only from the rash and impatient temper of youth, may be candidly ascribed to the generous spirit of a prince who felt that he was not unworthy to reign. He resolved to throw off his chains; and one day, as the count approached him with some appearance of respect, Valentinian delivered to him a paper which dismissed him from all his employments. "My authority," replied Arbogastes, with insulting coolness, "does not depend on the smile or the frown of a monarch;" and he contemptuously threw the paper on the ground. The indignant monarch snatched at the sword of one of the guards, which he struggled to draw from its scabbard, and it was not without some degree of violence that he was prevented from using the deadly weapon against his enemy or against himself. A few days after this extraordinary quarrel, in which he had exposed his resentment and his weakness, the unfortunate Valentinian was found strangled in his apartment; and some pains were employed to disguise the manifest guilt of Arbogastes, and to persuade the world that the death of the young emperor had been the voluntary effect of his own despair (A.D. 392).

§ 21. The prudence of Arbogastes had prepared the success of his ambitious designs; but the judicious barbarian thought it more

advisable to reign under the name of some dependent Roman. He bestowed the purple on the rhetorician Eugenius, whom he had already raised from the place of his domestic secretary to the rank of master of the offices. The ambassadors of the new emperor were immediately despatched to the court of Theodosius, to communicate, with affected grief, the unfortunate accident of the death of Valentinian, and to request that the monarch of the East would embrace as his lawful colleague the respectable citizen who had obtained the unanimous suffrage of the armies and provinces of the West. Theodosius was justly provoked that the perfidy of a barbarian should have destroyed in a moment the labours and the fruit of his former victory; but as the second conquest of the West was a task of difficulty and danger, he dismissed, with splendid presents and an ambiguous answer, the ambassadors of Eugenius, and almost two years were consumed in the preparations of the civil war. It was not till late in the summer of the year 394 that Theodosius marched against the usurper. Arbogastes awaited him in the North of Italy in the open country which extends to the walls of Aquileia and the banks of the Frigidus, or Cold River. Here a bloody battle was fought, in which the Gallic and German troops of Arbogastes after an obstinate struggle gained the advantage; and the approach of night alone protected the disorderly flight, or retreat, of the troops of Theodosius. In the night the active and vigilant Arbogastes secretly detached a considerable body of troops to occupy the passes of the mountains and to encompass the rear of the Eastern army. The dawn of day discovered to the eyes of Theodosius the extent and the extremity of his danger, but his apprehensions were soon dispelled by a friendly message from the leaders of those troops, who expressed their inclination to desert the standard of the tyrant. The spirit of his soldiers was revived by this seasonable reinforcement, and they again marched with confidence to surprise the camp of a tyrant whose principal officers appeared to distrust either the justice or the success of his arms. The victory of Theodosius was decisive, and the deaths of his two rivals were distinguished only by the difference of their characters. The rhetorician Eugenius was reduced to implore the mercy of the conqueror, and the unrelenting soldiers separated his head from his body as he lay prostrate at the feet of Theodosius. Arbogastes wandered several days among the mountains; but when he was convinced that his cause was desperate, and his escape impracticable, the intrepid barbarian imitated the example of the ancient Romans, and turned his sword against his own breast.

§ 22. After the defeat of Eugenius, the merit, as well as the authority, of Theodosius was cheerfully acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the Roman world. The experience of his past con-

duct encouraged the most pleasing expectations of his future reign; and the age of the emperor, which did not exceed 50 years, seemed to extend the prospect of the public felicity. His death, only four months after his victory, was considered by the people as an unforeseen and fatal event, which destroyed in a moment the hopes of the rising generation. But the indulgence of ease and luxury had secretly nourished the principles of disease. The strength of Theodosius was unable to support the sudden and violent transition from the palace to the camp; and the increasing symptoms of a dropsy announced the speedy dissolution of the emperor. The opinion, and perhaps the interest, of the public had confirmed the division of the Eastern and Western empires; and the two royal youths, Arcadius and Honorius, who had already obtained, from the tenderness of their father, the title of Augustus, were destined to fill the thrones of Constantinople and of Rome. Those princes were not permitted to share the danger and glory of the civil war; but as soon as Theodosius had triumphed over his unworthy rivals, he called his younger son, Honorius, to enjoy the fruits of the victory, and to receive the sceptre of the West from the hands of his dying father. The arrival of Honorius at Milan was welcomed by a splendid exhibition of the games of the circus; and the emperor, though he was oppressed by the weight of his disorder, contributed by his presence to the public joy. But the remains of his strength were exhausted by the painful effort which he made to assist at the spectacles of the morning. Honorius supplied, during the rest of the day, the place of his father; and the great Theodosius expired in the ensuing night (A.D. 395, Jan. 17). Notwithstanding the recent animosities of a civil war, his death was universally lamented. The barbarians, whom he had vanquished, and the churchmen, by whom he had been subdued, celebrated with loud and sincere applause the qualities of the deceased emperor which appeared the most valuable in their eyes. The Romans were terrified by the impending dangers of a feeble and divided administration; and every disgraceful moment of the unfortunate reigns of Arcadius and Honorius revived the memory of their irreparable loss.

§ 23. The ruin of Paganism was completed in the reign of Theodosius. Even Christian emperors had shown respect to the prejudices of their Pagan subjects, and had condescended to accept the robe and ensigns which were appropriated to the office of supreme pontiff. Gratian sternly rejected those profane symbols; applied to the service of the state or of the church the revenue of the priests and vestals; abolished their honours and immunities; and dissolved the ancient fabric of Roman superstition, which was supported by the opinions and habits of 1,100 years. But this emperor yet spared the statues of the gods which were exposed to the public veneration;

424 temples, or chapels, still remained to satisfy the devotion of the people, and in every quarter of Rome the delicacy of the Christians was offended by the fumes of idolatrous sacrifice. Theodosius, however, would not permit such idolatrous worship in the dominions of a Christian emperor. After the defeat of Maximus, he ordered all the temples in Rome to be closed, and prohibited the use of sacrifices which he declared to be criminal as well as infamous. A special commission was granted to officers of distinguished rank, by which they were directed to shut the temples, to seize or destroy the instruments of idolatry, to abolish the privileges of the priests, and to confiscate the consecrated property for the benefit of the emperor, of the church, or of the army. Finally, an edict of Theodosius (A.D. 390) made the act of sacrificing and the practice of divination by the entrails of the victim a crime of high-treason against the state, which could be expiated only by the death of the guilty. The rites of Pagan superstition which might seem less bloody and atrocious are abolished as highly injurious to the truth and honour of religion; luminaries, garlands, frankincense, and libations of wine are specially enumerated and condemned; and the harmless claims of the domestic genius, of the household gods, are included in this rigorous proscription. The use of any of these profane and illegal ceremonies subjects the offender to the forfeiture of the house or estate where they have been performed; and if he has artfully chosen the property of another for the scene of his impiety, he is compelled to discharge, without delay, a heavy fine of 25 pounds of gold, or more than 1,000 pounds sterling. Such was the persecuting spirit of the laws of Theodosius, which were repeatedly enforced by his sons and grandsons, with the loud and unanimous applause of the Christian world.

Coin of Theodosius the Great.

Basilica of St. Paul at Rome, outside the walls, built by Honorius.

CHAPTER XV.

THE WESTERN EMPIRE DURING THE REIGN OF HONORIUS.

§ 1. Division of the empire between Arcadius and Honorius. § 2. Character and administration of Rufinus: marriage of Arcadius. § 3. Stilicho: death of Rufinus: Arcadius governed by the eunuch Eutropius. § 4. Invasion of Greece by Alaric. § 5. Defeat and death of Gildo: marriage of Honorius. § 6. Invasion of Italy by Alaric: battle of Pollentia and retreat of Alaric. § 7. The triumph of Honorius at Rome: the gladiators abolished: Honorius fixes his residence at Ravenna. § 8. Radagaisus invades Italy: his defeat and death. § 9. The Vandals and other barbarians enter Gaul. § 10. Revolt of Constantine in Britain: he is acknowledged in Gaul and Spain. § 11. Negotiation of Alaric and Stilicho: death of Stilicho. § 12. First siege of Rome by the Goths. § 13. Second siege of Rome by the Goths: elevation and degradation of Attalus. § 14. Third siege of Rome by the Goths. § 15. The Goths ravage Italy: death of Alaric. § 16. Adolphus succeeds Alaric, concludes a peace with the empire, and marches into Gaul. § 17. The Goths conquer Gaul and Spain, and restore those countries to Honorius: the Goths established in Aquitain. § 18. Revolt of Britain and Armorica. § 19. Death of Honorius.

§ 1. The genius of Rome expired with Theodosius, the last of the successors of Augustus and Constantine, who appeared in the field at the head of their armies, and whose authority was universally acknowledged throughout the whole extent of the empire. The memory of his virtues still continued, however, to protect the feeble and inexperienced youth of his two sons. After the death of their father, Arcadius and Honorius were saluted, by the unanimous consent of mankind, as the lawful emperors of the East and of the West (A.D. 395, Jan. 17). Arcadius, who was then about 18 years of age, reigned over the East; his younger brother, Honorius, assumed, in the 11th year of his age, the nominal government of the West. The great and martial præfecture of Illyricum was divided between the two princes: the defence and possession of the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, still belonged to the Western empire; but the two large dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia, which Gratian had intrusted to the valour of Theodosius, were for ever united to the empire of the East.

§ 2. But the real rulers of the empire were Rufinus in the East and Stilicho in the West. Theodosius had tarnished the glory of his reign by the elevation of Rufinus to the dignity of præfect of the East; an odious favourite, who, in an age of civil and religious faction, has deserved, from every party, the imputation of every crime. The character of Theodosius imposed on his minister the task of hypocrisy, which disguised, and sometimes restrained, the abuse of power; but the death of the emperor confirmed the absolute authority of Rufinus over Arcadius, a feeble youth, whom the imperious præfect considered as his pupil rather than his sovereign. Regardless of the public opinion, he indulged his passions without remorse and without resistance. He aspired to marry his daughter Maria to the young emperor; but during his absence at Antioch the eunuch Eutropius, the great chamberlain of the palace, secretly undermined his power, and persuaded Arcadius to marry the fair Eudoxia, the daughter of Bauto, a general of the Franks in the service of Rome. Though Rufinus had been thus bitterly disappointed in the great object of his ambition, he still exercised an uncontrolled authority over the civil and military government of the East, and thus possessed the most effectual means of defending his dignity and crushing his enemies. But his career was suddenly cut short by the formidable Stilicho, the master-general of the West.

§ 3. The praises of Stilicho have been celebrated by the muse of Claudian; and these two names shed a lustre upon the declining state of Roman ability and Roman genius. The victories of Stilicho and the poetry of Claudian are worthy of the better ages of the state. Stilicho embraced from his earliest youth the profession of

arms; he was married by Theodosius to Serena, the daughter of his brother Honorius; was raised by that emperor to the supreme rank of master-general of all the cavalry and infantry of the Roman, or at least of the Western empire; and upon the death of Theodosius claimed the guardianship of the two empires during the minority of Arcadius and Honorius, who had been recommended to his care by the dying monarch in the last moments of his life. The person and court of Honorius were subject to the master-general of the West; but Rufinus asserted his equal reign over the emperor and the empire of the East.

The civil war with Eugenius had brought a large number of the Eastern legions into Italy. Stilicho declared his intention of re-conducting in person these troops, and he dexterously employed the rumour of a Gothic tumult to conceal his private designs of ambition and revenge. The guilty soul of Rufinus was alarmed by the approach of a warrior and a rival whose enmity he deserved; and, as the last hope of safety, he interposed the authority of the emperor Arcadius. Stilicho was not far distant from the city of Thessalonica when he received a peremptory message to recall the troops of the East, and to declare that *his* nearer approach would be considered by the Byzantine court as an act of hostility. The prompt and unexpected obedience of the general of the West convinced the vulgar of his loyalty and moderation; and, as he had already engaged the affection of the Eastern troops, he recommended to their zeal the execution of his bloody design. Stilicho left the command of the troops of the East to Gainas, the Goth, on whose fidelity he firmly relied. The soldiers were easily persuaded to punish the enemy of Stilicho and of Rome; and such was the general hatred which Rufinus had excited, that the fatal secret, communicated to thousands, was faithfully preserved during the long march from Thessalonica to the gates of Constantinople. At the distance of a mile from the capital the troops halted; and the emperor, as well as his minister, advanced, according to ancient custom, respectfully to salute the power which supported their throne. As Rufinus passed along the ranks, and disguised, with studied courtesy, his innate haughtiness, the wings insensibly wheeled from the right and left, and enclosed the devoted victim within the circle of their arms. Before he could reflect on the danger of his situation, Gainas gave the signal of death; a daring and forward soldier plunged his sword into the breast of the guilty præfect, and Rufinus fell, groaned, and expired, at the feet of the affrighted emperor (A.D. 395, Nov. 27). But Stilicho did not derive from the murder of his rival the fruit which he had proposed; and, though he gratified his revenge, his ambition was disappointed. Under the name of a favourite, the weakness of Arcadius required a master, but he naturally preferred

the obsequious arts of the eunuch Eutropius, who had obtained his domestic confidence; and the emperor contemplated with terror and aversion the stern genius of a foreign warrior. Till they were divided by the jealousy of power, the sword of Gainas, and the charms of Eudoxia, supported the favour of the great chamberlain of the palace: the perfidious Goth, who was appointed master-general of the East, betrayed, without scruple, the interest of his benefactor; and the same troops who had so lately massacred the enemy of Stilicho were engaged to support, against him, the independence of the throne of Constantinople. The prudent Stilicho, instead of persisting to force the inclinations of a prince and people who rejected his government, wisely abandoned Arcadius to his unworthy favourites. The subjects of Arcadius and Honorius became estranged from each other: and the distinction of two governments is a reason for suspending the series of the Byzantine history, and prosecuting, without interruption, the disgraceful but memorable reign of Honorius.

§ 4. The death of the great Theodosius was speedily followed by the revolt of the Goths, who were now directed by the bold and artful genius of Alaric. Thrace and Dacia had hitherto been the scene of the Gothic ravages; but Alaric, disdaining to trample any longer on these prostrate and ruined countries, resolved to seek a plentiful harvest of fame and riches in a province which had hitherto escaped the ravages of war. In the summer of A.D. 395 he entered Macedonia, and in the course of this and the following year he carried his ravages into almost every district of Greece. In A.D. 396 Stilicho marched into Peloponnesus to chastise the invaders. He surrounded the Gothic army upon the borders of Elis and Arcadia; but Alaric broke through the lines of circumvallation which were formed to prevent his escape, and conducted his army in safety across the mouth of the gulf of Corinth. The ministers of Arcadius, anxious to remove the formidable Stilicho from the dominions of their master, formed a treaty with the leader of the Goths, and promoted the invader of Greece to the rank of master-general of the Eastern Illyricum. The apprehension of a civil war compelled Stilicho to retire, at the haughty mandate of his rivals, from the dominions of Arcadius; and he respected, in the enemy of Rome, the honourable character of the ally and servant of the emperor of the East.

§ 5. Stilicho was now at leisure to direct his arms against Gildo, the Moor, who maintained in Africa a proud and dangerous independence. Gildo, the brother of the tyrant Firmus, had been invested by Theodosius with the command of Africa. His ambition soon usurped the administration of justice and of the finances, without account and without control; and he maintained, during a reign

of twelve years, the possession of an office from which it was impossible to remove him without the danger of a civil war. Upon the death of Theodosius, Gildo had consented to govern that extensive country in the name of Honorius; but his knowledge of the character and designs of Stilicho soon engaged him to address his homage to the ministers of Arcadius, who embraced the cause of a perfidious rebel. Stilicho intrusted the command of the African expedition to Mascezel, who had been expelled from Africa by his brother Gildo, and whose two innocent children had been murdered by their inhuman uncle. In one campaign the war was brought to a close. Gildo was defeated in battle, and put an end to his own life (A.D. 398). The conquest of Africa was followed by the nuptials of the emperor Honorius and of his cousin Maria, the daughter of Stilicho; and this equal and honourable alliance seemed to invest the powerful minister with the authority of a parent over his submissive pupil.

§ 6. The power of Alaric continued to increase. The glory of his past exploits, and the confidence in his future designs, insensibly united the body of the nation under his victorious standard; and, with the unanimous consent of the barbarian chieftains, the master-general of Illyricum was elevated, according to ancient custom, on a shield, and solemnly proclaimed king of the Visigoths. Armed with this double power, seated on the verge of the two empires, he alternately sold his deceitful promises to the courts of Arcadius and Honorius, till he declared and executed his resolution of invading the dominions of the West. The provinces of Europe which belonged to the Eastern emperor were already exhausted, those of Asia were inaccessible, and the strength of Constantinople had resisted his attack. But he was tempted by the fame, the beauty, the wealth of Italy, which he had twice visited; and he secretly aspired to plant the Gothic standard on the walls of Rome, and to enrich his army with the accumulated spoils of three hundred triumphs.

Towards the end of the year 402 Alaric crossed the Alps, and appeared under the walls of Milan, before Stilicho had been able to assemble a sufficient body of troops to repel the invader. Honorius fled to the impregnable fortress of Ravenna, and Stilicho hastily crossed the Alps in the middle of winter to collect from Gaul, Germany, and Britain an army for the defence of Italy. Such was the energy of Stilicho that early in the spring of the following year Alaric was gradually invested on every side by the troops of the West, who successively issued through all the passes of the Alps; and at Easter a general attack was made upon his camp, which he had pitched in the neighbourhood of Pollentia, about 25 miles to the south-east of Turin. The battle which ensued, and which is one of

the most memorable in the sinking fortunes of the Roman empire, ended with the overthrow of the Gothic army. In the evening of the bloody day the Goths retreated from the field of battle; the entrenchments of their camp were forced, and the scene of rapine and slaughter made some atonement for the calamities which they had inflicted on the subjects of the empire. But Alaric possessed the invincible temper of mind which rises superior to every misfortune, and derives new resources from adversity. After the total defeat of his infantry he escaped from the field of battle, with the greatest part of his cavalry entire and unbroken. Without wasting a moment to lament the irreparable loss of so many brave companions, he boldly resolved to break through the unguarded passes of the Apennines, and to conquer or die before the gates of Rome. The capital was saved by the active and incessant diligence of Stilicho; but he respected the despair of his enemy; and, instead of committing the fate of the republic to the chance of another battle, he proposed to purchase the absence of the barbarians. The spirit of Alaric would have rejected such terms, the permission of a retreat, and the offer of a pension, with contempt and indignation; but the Gothic chieftains compelled him to accept the proposals of Stilicho; he ratified the treaty with the empire of the West, and repassed the Po with the remains of the flourishing army which he had led into Italy.

§ 7. The citizens of Rome had been astonished by the approach of Alaric; and the diligence with which they laboured to restore the walls of the capital* confessed their own fears, and the decline of the empire. After the retreat of the barbarians, Honorius was directed to accept the dutiful invitation of the senate, and to celebrate, in the Imperial city, the auspicious æra of the Gothic victory (A.D. 404). The triumphal procession was followed by games, in which the inhuman combats of gladiators polluted for the last time the amphitheatre of Rome. It was owing to the generous boldness of Telemachus, a Christian monk, that the horrid custom was abolished. He had descended into the arena to separate the gladiators; but the Romans were provoked by the interruption of their pleasures; and the rash monk was overwhelmed under a shower of stones. The madness of the people soon subsided; they respected the memory of Telemachus, who had deserved the honours of martyrdom; and they submitted, without a murmur, to the laws of Honorius, which abolished for ever the human sacrifices of the amphitheatre.

The recent danger to which the person of the emperor had been

* The walls which surround the modern city of Rome are the same as those of Honorius, who restored the walls which had been built by Aurelian. See p. 69.

exposed in the defenceless palace of Milan urged him to fix his residence in the inaccessible fortress of Ravenna upon the Adriatic. The adjacent country, to the distance of many miles, was a deep and impassable morass; and the artificial causeway which connected Ravenna with the Continent might be easily guarded or destroyed on the approach of an hostile army. The example of Honorius was imitated by his feeble successors, by the Gothic kings, and afterwards by the Exarchs, who occupied the throne and palace of the emperors; and till the middle of the eighth century Ravenna was considered as the seat of government and the capital of Italy.

§ 8. The fears of Honorius were not without foundation, nor were his precautions without effect. While Italy rejoiced in her deliverance from the Goths, another barbarian, the haughty Radegast, or Radagaisus, marched from the plains of the Vistula almost to the gates of Rome, and left the remains of his army to achieve the destruction of the West. Radegast is a Slavonian name; and there can be no doubt that he was the leader of a great Slavonian migration. The Vandals, who formed the strength of this mighty host, were Slavonians; but they were also joined by the Suevi and Burgundians, who were Germans, and by the Scythian Alani. In A.D. 405 the king of this confederate host passed without resistance the Alps, the Po, and the Apennines; leaving on one hand the inaccessible palace of Honorius securely buried among the marshes of Ravenna, and, on the other, the camp of Stilicho, who had fixed his head-quarters at Ticinum, or Pavia, but who seems to have avoided a decisive battle till he had assembled his distant forces. Many cities of Italy were pillaged or destroyed; and the siege of Florence by Radagaisus is one of the earliest events in the history of that celebrated republic, whose firmness checked and delayed the unskilful fury of the barbarians. The senate and people trembled at their approach within 180 miles of Rome, and anxiously compared the danger which they had escaped with the new perils to which they were exposed. Alaric was a Christian and a soldier, the leader of a disciplined army; who understood the laws of war, who respected the sanctity of treaties, and who had familiarly conversed with the subjects of the empire in the same camps and the same churches. The savage Radagaisus was a stranger to the manners, the religion, and even the language of the civilized nations of the South. The fierceness of his temper was exasperated by cruel superstition; and it was universally believed that he had bound himself by a solemn vow to reduce the city into a heap of stones and ashes, and to sacrifice the most illustrious of the Roman senators on the altars of those gods who were appeased by human blood.

Florence was reduced to the last extremity, when Stilicho, advanced with his united force to the relief of the faithful city.

Conscious that he commanded the *last* army of the republic, his prudence would not expose it in the open field to the headstrong fury of the Slavonians. The method of surrounding the enemy with strong lines of circumvallation, which he had twice employed against the Gothic king, was repeated on a larger scale and with more considerable effect. The imprisoned multitude of horses and men was gradually destroyed by famine rather than by the sword; and the proud monarch of so many warlike nations, after the loss of his bravest warriors, was reduced to confide either in the faith of a capitulation, or in the clemency of Stilicho. But the death of the royal captive, who was ignominiously beheaded, disgraced the triumph of Rome and of Christianity. Stilicho informed the emperor and the senate of his success, and deserved a second time the glorious title of Deliverer of Italy.

§ 9. After the defeat of Radagaisus, two parts of his army, which must have exceeded the number of 100,000 men, still remained in arms. It is uncertain whether they attempted to revenge the death of their general; but their irregular fury was soon diverted by the prudence and firmness of Stilicho, who opposed their march and facilitated their retreat, who considered the safety of Rome and Italy as the great object of his care, and who sacrificed with too much indifference the wealth and tranquillity of the distant provinces. The barbarians acquired, from the junction of some Pannonian deserters, the knowledge of the country and of the roads, at length crossed the Rhine, and entered without opposition the defenceless provinces of Gaul. This memorable passage of the Vandals, the Suevi, the Alani, and the Burgundians, who never afterwards retreated, may be considered as the fall of the Roman empire in the countries beyond the Alps; and the barriers which had so long separated the savage and the civilized nations of the earth were from that fatal moment levelled with the ground. The frontiers of Gaul had enjoyed for many years a state of quiet and prosperity; but the consuming flames of war spread from the banks of the Rhine over the greatest part of the seventeen provinces of Gaul. That rich and extensive country, as far as the ocean, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, was delivered to the barbarians, who destroyed the cities, ravaged the fields, and drove before them in a promiscuous crowd, the bishop, the senator, and the virgin, laden with the spoils of their houses and altars (A.D. 406).

§ 10. While the neighbouring provinces of Gaul were suffering these calamities, the island of Britain was again disturbed, as in the age of Gallienus, by the spirit of revolt. After the British legions had successively placed upon the throne two emperors, whom they almost immediately afterwards murdered, their third choice fell upon a private soldier, whose only recommendation was that he

bore the name of the great Constantine (A.D. 407). The authority of the new emperor was less precarious, and his government was more successful, than the transient reigns of his two predecessors. The danger of leaving his inactive troops in those camps which had been twice polluted with blood and sedition urged him to attempt the reduction of the Western provinces. He landed at Boulogne with an inconsiderable force, and summoned the cities of Gaul, which had escaped the yoke of the barbarians, to acknowledge their lawful sovereign. They obeyed the summons without reluctance. The neglect of the court of Ravenna had absolved a deserted people from the duty of allegiance; and the submission of Gaul was followed by that of Spain, which yielded to the influence of regular and habitual subordination, and received the laws and magistrates of the Gallic præfecture.

§ 11. Meantime Alaric and Stilicho had been engaged in negotiations. Soon after his retreat from Italy, the king of the Goths renounced the service of the emperor of the East, and concluded with the court of Ravenna a treaty of peace and alliance, by which he was declared master-general of the Roman armies throughout the præfecture of Illyricum. Misunderstandings, however, soon arose; but Stilicho pacified Alaric by the promise of a sum of 4000 pounds of gold. Stilicho, who knew the power of the Gothic king, feared to provoke his resentment, and continued to cultivate his friendly connexion with the Gothic court; but the troops, who still assumed the name and prerogatives of the Roman legions, were exasperated by the partial affection of Stilicho for the barbarians; and the people imputed to the mischievous policy of the minister the public misfortunes which were the natural consequence of their own degeneracy. Yet Stilicho might have continued to brave the clamours of the people, and even of the soldiers, if he could have maintained his dominion over the feeble mind of his pupil. But the respectful attachment of Honorius was converted into fear, suspicion, and hatred. The crafty Olympius had secretly undermined the benefactor by whose favour he was promoted to the honourable offices of the Imperial palace. Olympius revealed to the unsuspecting emperor, who had attained the 25th year of his age, that he was without weight or authority in his own government; and artfully alarmed his timid and indolent disposition by a lively picture of the designs of Stilicho, who already meditated the death of his sovereign, with the ambitious hope of placing the diadem on the head of his son Eucherius. The emperor was instigated by his new favourite to assume the tone of independent dignity; and the minister was astonished to find that secret resolutions were formed in the court and council, which were repugnant to his interest, or to his intentions. Honorius repaired to the camp of Pavia, which was

composed of the Roman troops, the enemies of Stilicho and of his barbarian auxiliaries. Here he pronounced, as he had been taught, a military oration in the presence of the soldiers, whom Olympius had prepared to execute a dark and bloody conspiracy. At the first signal they massacred the friends of Stilicho, the most illustrious officers of the empire; the furious sedition continued to rage till the close of the evening; and the trembling emperor yielded to the persuasions of his favourite, condemned the memory of the slain, and solemnly approved the innocence and fidelity of their assassins. When the intelligence of this massacre reached Stilicho, who was in the camp of Bologna, he was urged by his friends to place himself at the head of his troops and to march without a moment's delay against the guilty Olympius and his degenerate Romans. Instead of executing a resolution which might have been justified by success, Stilicho hesitated till he was irrecoverably lost, and his confidence or his despair urged him to throw himself into Ravenna, which was already in the absolute possession of his enemies. Olympius, who had assumed the dominion of Honorius, was speedily informed that his rival had embraced, as a suppliant, the altar of the Christian church. The base and cruel disposition of the hypocrite was incapable of pity or remorse; but he piously affected to elude, rather than to violate, the privilege of the sanctuary. Count Heraclian, with a troop of soldiers, appeared at the dawn of day before the gates of the church of Ravenna. The bishop was satisfied by a solemn oath that the Imperial mandate only directed them to secure the person of Stilicho: but, as soon as the unfortunate minister had been tempted beyond the holy threshold, Heraclian produced the warrant for his instant execution. Stilicho supported with calm resignation the injurious names of traitor and parricide; repressed the unseasonable zeal of his followers, who were ready to attempt an ineffectual rescue; and, with a firmness not unworthy of the last of the Roman generals, submitted his neck to the sword of Heraclian (A.D. 408, August 23).

§ 12. The death of Stilicho was followed by the siege of Rome by the Goths. The folly and weakness of the ministers of Honorius gave the Gothic king a fair and reasonable pretext for renewing the war; while their cruelty handed over to Alaric the only army that was able to resist the Goths. The foreign auxiliaries who had been attached to the person of Stilicho lamented his death; but the desire of revenge was checked by a natural apprehension for the safety of their wives and children, who were detained as hostages in the strong cities of Italy, where they had likewise deposited their most valuable effects. At the same hour, and as if by a common signal, the cities of Italy were polluted by the same horrid scenes of universal massacre and pillage, which involved in promiscuous de-

struction the families and fortunes of the barbarians. Exasperated by such an injury, which might have awakened the tamest and most servile spirit, they cast a look of indignation and hope towards the camp of Alaric, and unanimously swore to pursue with just and implacable war the perfidious nation that had so basely violated the laws of hospitality. The pressing invitation of the malcontents, who urged the king of the Goths to invade Italy, was enforced by a lively sense of his personal injuries; and he might speciously complain that the Imperial ministers still delayed and eluded the payment of the 4000 pounds of gold which had been promised to him. His decent firmness was supported by an artful moderation, which contributed to the success of his designs. He required a fair and reasonable satisfaction; but he gave the strongest assurances that, as soon as he had obtained it, he would immediately retire. He refused to trust the faith of the Romans, unless the sons of two great officers of state were sent as hostages to his camp; but he offered to deliver in exchange several of the noblest youths of the Gothic nation. The modesty of Alaric was interpreted by the ministers of Ravenna as a sure evidence of his weakness and fear. They disdained either to negotiate a treaty or to assemble an army; and with a rash confidence, derived only from their ignorance of the extreme danger, irretrievably wasted the decisive moments of peace and war. While they expected, in sullen silence, that the barbarians should evacuate the confines of Italy, Alaric, with bold and rapid marches, passed the Alps and the Po; hastily pillaged many of the chief cities of Italy, and at length pitched his camp under the walls of Rome. By a skilful disposition of his numerous forces, Alaric encompassed the walls, intercepted all communication with the adjacent country, and vigilantly guarded the navigation of the Tiber, from which the Romans derived the surest and most plentiful supply of provisions. The unfortunate city gradually experienced the distress of scarcity, and at length the horrid calamities of famine. The daily allowance of three pounds of bread was reduced to one-half, to one-third, to nothing; and the price of corn still continued to rise in a rapid and extravagant proportion. The food the most repugnant to sense or imagination, the aliments the most unwholesome and pernicious to the constitution, were eagerly devoured, and fiercely disputed, by the rage of hunger. Many thousands of the inhabitants of Rome expired in their houses, or in the streets, for want of sustenance; and as the public sepulchres without the walls were in the power of the enemy, the stench which arose from so many putrid and unburied carcasses infected the air; and the miseries of famine were succeeded and aggravated by the contagion of a pestilential disease. The relief which was repeatedly promised by the court of Ravenna never appeared; and the last resource of the Romans was in the

clemency, or at least in the moderation, of the king of the Goths. The senate, who in this emergency assumed the supreme powers of government, appointed two ambassadors to negotiate with the enemy. When they were introduced into the presence of the Gothic king, they declared, perhaps in a more lofty style than became their abject condition, that the Romans were resolved to maintain their dignity either in peace or war; and that if Alaric refused them a fair and honourable capitulation, he might prepare to give battle to an innumerable people, exercised in arms and animated by despair. "The thicker the hay, the easier it is mowed," was the concise reply of the barbarian; and this rustic metaphor was accompanied by a loud and insulting laugh, expressive of his contempt for the menaces of an unwarlike populace, enervated by luxury before they were emaciated by famine. He then condescended to fix the ransom which he would accept as the price of his retreat from the walls of Rome: *all* the gold and silver in the city whether it were the property of the state, or of individuals; *all* the rich and precious moveables; and *all* the slaves who could prove their title to the name of *barbarians*. The ministers of the senate presumed to ask, in a modest and suppliant tone, "If such, O king! are your demands, what do you intend to leave us?" "YOUR LIVES," replied the haughty conqueror: they trembled and retired. Yet before they retired, a short suspension of arms was granted, which allowed some time for a more temperate negotiation. The stern features of Alaric were insensibly relaxed; he abated much of the rigour of his terms; and at length consented to raise the siege, on the immediate payment of 5000 pounds of gold, of 30,000 pounds of silver, of 4000 robes of silk, of 3000 pieces of fine scarlet cloth, and of 3000 pounds weight of pepper. As soon as the Romans had satisfied the rapacious demands of Alaric, he slowly retired into the fair and fruitful province of Tuscany, where he proposed to establish his winter-quarters (December, A.D. 408).

§ 13. The winter was employed in negotiations for peace, which Alaric, who still aspired to the rank of master-general of the armies of the West, was willing to grant. But the hopes of peace were disappointed by the weak obstinacy of the ministers of Honorius, who sternly refused to prostitute the military honours of Rome to the proud demands of a barbarian. Alaric, who in the whole transaction had behaved with temper and decency, expressed in the most outrageous language his lively sense of the insult so wantonly offered to his person and to his nation. He straightway advanced against Rome, but instead of assaulting the city, he successfully directed his efforts against the *Port of* Ostia, where the corn of Africa was deposited in spacious granaries for the use of the capital. As soon as Alaric was in possession of that important place he summoned

the city to surrender at discretion; and his demands were enforced by the positive declaration that a refusal, or even a delay, should be instantly followed by the destruction of the magazines on which the life of the Roman people depended. The clamours of that people and the terror of famine subdued the pride of the senate; they listened without reluctance to the proposal of placing a new emperor on the throne of the unworthy Honorius; and the suffrage of the Gothic conqueror bestowed the purple on Attalus, præfect of the city. The grateful monarch immediately acknowledged his protector as master-general of the armies of the West; and the two hostile nations seemed to be united in the closest bands of friendship and alliance (A.D. 409).

Attalus, however, did not long enjoy his nominal sovereignty. Heraclian, the count of Africa, remained faithful to Honorius, and his vigilance in preventing the exportation of corn and oil introduced famine, tumult, and discontent into the walls of Rome. Attalus attempted to make himself independent of Alaric; and the most imprudent measures were adopted, without the knowledge or against the advice of the king of the Goths. As Attalus had ceased to be of service to the designs of Alaric, he was publicly despoiled of the diadem and purple; and those ensigns of royalty were sent by Alaric as the pledge of peace and friendship to the son of Theodosius. The degraded emperor of the Romans, desirous of life and insensible of disgrace, implored the permission of following the Gothic camp in the train of a haughty and capricious barbarian.

§ 14. The degradation of Attalus removed the only real obstacle to the conclusion of the peace, and Alaric advanced within three miles of Ravenna to press the irresolution of the Imperial ministers, whose insolence soon returned with the return of fortune. His indignation was kindled by the report that Sarus, a rival chieftain, and the hereditary foe of his house, had been received into the palace. At the head of 300 followers that fearless barbarian immediately sallied from the gates of Ravenna, surprised and cut in pieces a considerable body of Goths, re-entered the city in triumph, and was permitted to insult his adversary by the voice of a herald, who publicly declared that the guilt of Alaric had forever excluded him from the friendship and alliance of the emperor. The crime and folly of the court of Ravenna was expiated a third time by the calamities of Rome. The king of the Goths, who no longer dissembled his appetite for plunder and revenge, appeared in arms under the walls of the capital; and the trembling senate, without any hopes of relief, prepared by a desperate resistance to delay the ruin of their country. But they were unable to guard against the secret conspiracy of their slaves and domestics, who either from birth or interest were attached to the cause of the enemy. At the hour of midnight the Salarian

gate was silently opened, and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet. Eleven hundred and sixty-three years after the foundation of Rome, the Imperial city, which had subdued and civilized so considerable a part of mankind, was delivered to the licentious fury of the tribes of Germany and Scythia (A.D. 410, August 24).

The proclamation of Alaric, when he forced his entrance into a vanquished city, discovered, however, some regard for the laws of humanity and religion. He encouraged his troops boldly to seize the rewards of valour, and to enrich themselves with the spoils of a wealthy and effeminate people; but he exhorted them at the same time to spare the lives of the unresisting citizens, and to respect the churches of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul as holy and inviolable sanctuaries. Amidst the horrors of a nocturnal tumult several of the Christian Goths displayed the fervour of a recent conversion; but many thousand warriors, more especially of the Huns who served under the standard of Alaric, were strangers to the Christian faith, and we may suspect, without any breach of charity or candour, that in the hour of savage licence, when every passion was inflamed and every restraint was removed, the precepts of the Gospel seldom influenced the behaviour of the Gothic Christians. The writers the best disposed to exaggerate their clemency have freely confessed that a cruel slaughter was made of the Romans, and that the streets of the city were filled with dead bodies, which remained without burial during the general consternation. The despair of the citizens was sometimes converted into fury; and whenever the barbarians were provoked by opposition, they extended the promiscuous massacre to the feeble, the innocent, and the helpless. The private revenge of 40,000 slaves was exercised without pity or remorse; and the ignominious lashes which they had formerly received were washed away in the blood of the guilty or obnoxious families. In the pillage of Rome a just preference was given to gold and jewels, which contain the greatest value in the smallest compass and weight; but, after these portable riches had been removed by the more diligent robbers, the palaces of Rome were rudely stripped of their splendid and costly furniture. The sideboards of massy plate, and the variegated wardrobes of silk and purple, were irregularly piled in the waggons that always followed the march of a Gothic army. The most exquisite works of art were roughly handled or wantonly destroyed: many a statue was melted for the sake of the precious materials; and many a vase, in the division of the spoil, was shivered into fragments by the stroke of a battle-axe. The edifices of Rome, though the damage has been much exaggerated, received some injury from the violence of the Goths. At their entrance through the Salarian gate they fired the adjacent houses to guide

their march and to distract the attention of the citizens: the flames, which encountered no obstacle in the disorder of the night, consumed many private and public buildings, and the ruins of the palace of Sallust remained in the age of Justinian a stately monument of the Gothic conflagration.

§ 15. The retreat of the victorious Goths, who evacuated Rome on the sixth day, might be the result of prudence, but it was not surely the effect of fear. At the head of an army encumbered with rich and weighty spoils, their intrepid leader advanced along the Appian Way into the southern provinces of Italy, destroying whatever dared to oppose his passage, and contenting himself with the plunder of the unresisting country. About four years elapsed from the successful invasion of Italy by the arms of Alaric, to the voluntary retreat of the Goths under the conduct of his successor Adolphus (A.D. 408–412); and, during the whole time, they reigned without control over a country which, in the opinion of the ancients, had united all the various excellences of nature and art. Each soldier claimed an ample portion of the substantial plenty, the corn and cattle, oil and wine, that was daily collected, and consumed in the Gothic camp; and the principal warriors insulted the villas and gardens, once inhabited by Lucullus and Cicero, along the beauteous coast of Campania. Their trembling captives, the sons and daughters of Roman senators, presented, in goblets of gold and gems, large draughts of Falernian wine to the haughty victors, who stretched their huge limbs under the shade of plane-trees, artificially disposed to exclude the scorching rays, and to admit the genial warmth, of the sun. These delights were enhanced by the memory of past hardships: the comparison of their native soil, the bleak and barren hills of Scythia, and the frozen banks of the Elbe and Danube added new charms to the felicity of the Italian climate.

Whether fame, or conquest, or riches were the object of Alaric, he pursued that object with an indefatigable ardour which could neither be quelled by adversity nor satiated by success. No sooner had he reached the extreme land of Italy than he was attracted by the neighbouring prospect of the fertile and peaceful island of Sicily. But as soon as the first division of the Goths had embarked to cross the straits of Rhegium and Messina, a sudden tempest arose, which sunk or scattered many of the transports; their courage was daunted by the terrors of a new element; and the whole design was defeated by the premature death of Alaric, which fixed, after a short illness, the fatal term of his conquests. The ferocious character of the barbarians was displayed in the funeral of a hero whose valour and fortune they celebrated with mournful applause. By the labour of a captive multitude they forcibly diverted the course of the Basentius, a small river that washes the walls of Consentia. The royal

sepulchre, adorned with the splendid spoils and trophies of Rome, was constructed in the vacant bed; the waters were then restored to their natural channel, and the secret spot where the remains of Alaric had been deposited was for ever concealed by the inhuman massacre of the prisoners who had been employed to execute the work (A.D. 410).

§ 16. The personal animosities and hereditary feuds of the barbarians were suspended by the strong necessity of their affairs; and the brave Adolphus, the brother-in-law of the deceased monarch, was unanimously elected to succeed to his throne. The new king seriously negotiated with the Imperial court a treaty of friendship and alliance, and offered to employ the sword of the Goths against the tyrants and barbarians who infested the provinces beyond the Alps. The ministers of Honorius readily accepted his services; and Adolphus, assuming the character of a Roman general, directed his march from the extremity of Campania to the southern provinces of Gaul (A.D. 412). His troops, either by force or agreement, immediately occupied the cities of Narbonne, Toulouse, and Bordeaux; and they soon extended their quarters from the Mediterranean to the ocean. The professions of Adolphus were probably sincere, and his attachment to the cause of the republic was secured by the ascendant which a Roman princess had acquired over the heart and understanding of the barbarian king. Placidia, the daughter of the great Theodosius, had been taken prisoner by Alaric, and though she was exposed to the disgrace of following round Italy the motions of a Gothic camp, she experienced a decent and respectful treatment. The Gothic king aspired to call himself the brother of the emperor; and though the ministers of Honorius rejected with disdain the proposal of an alliance so injurious to every sentiment of Roman pride, the daughter of Theodosius submitted without reluctance to the wishes of the conqueror (A.D. 414).

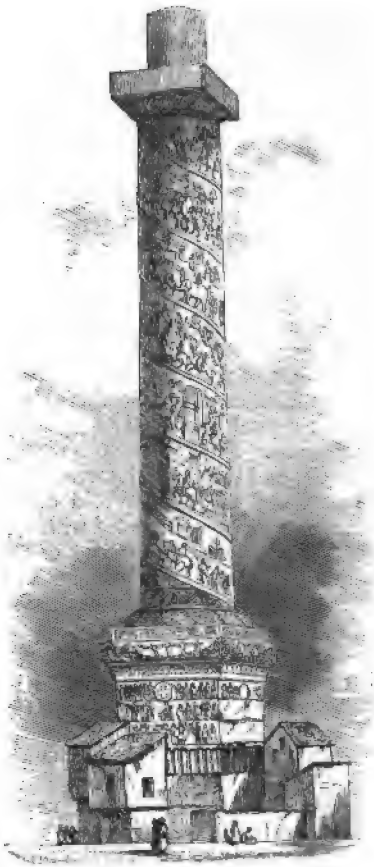
§ 17. It would be tedious to narrate the revolutions of Gaul. Constantine, as we have already seen (§ 10), had made himself master of the country in 407, and continued to hold possession of it till 411. He was succeeded by other usurpers, and the last were conquered by Adolphus, who had the satisfaction of restoring Gaul to the obedience of his brother Honorius (A.D. 414). Peace was incompatible with the situation and temper of the king of the Goths; and he readily accepted the proposal of turning his victorious arms against the barbarians of Spain. In A.D. 409, the Vandals and other barbarians, who had followed the standard of Radagaisus, invaded Spain, and revelled almost without interruption for the next five years in the riches of the unhappy country. In A.D. 414, Adolphus marched into Spain, but he was assassinated in the following year. His designs were carried out by his successor Wallia, who in the course of

three campaigns conquered the Vandals, and again annexed Spain to the empire of Honorius.

In A.D. 418, the Goths returned to Gaul, and received from Honorius the grant of the second Aquitain, a maritime province between the Garonne and the Loire, under the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Bordeaux. The Gothic limits were enlarged by the additional gift of some neighbouring dioceses; and the successors of Alaric fixed their royal residence at Toulouse, which included five populous quarters, or cities, within the spacious circuit of its walls.

§ 18. Whilst Italy was ravaged by the Goths, and a succession of feeble tyrants oppressed the provinces beyond the Alps, the British island separated itself from the body of the Roman empire. The regular forces which guarded that remote province had been gradually withdrawn; and Britain was abandoned, without defence, to the Saxon pirates and the savages of Ireland and Caledonia. The Britons, reduced to this extremity, no longer relied on the tardy and doubtful aid of a declining monarchy. They assembled in arms, repelled the invaders, and rejoiced in the important discovery of their own strength. Afflicted by similar calamities, and actuated by the same spirit, the Armorican provinces (a name which comprehended the maritime countries of Gaul between the Seine and the Loire) resolved to imitate the example of the neighbouring island. They expelled the Roman magistrates, who acted under the authority of the usurper Constantine; and a free government was established among a people who had so long been subject to the arbitrary will of a master. The independence of Britain and Armorica was soon confirmed by Honorius himself, the lawful emperor of the West. After the usurpers of Gaul had successively fallen, the maritime provinces were restored to the empire. Yet their obedience was imperfect and precarious; and Armorica, though it could not long maintain the form of a republic, was agitated by frequent and destructive revolts. Britain was irrecoverably lost. But as the emperors wisely acquiesced in the independence of a remote province, the separation was not embittered by the reproach of tyranny or rebellion; and the claims of allegiance and protection were succeeded by the mutual and voluntary offices of national friendship. This revolution dissolved the artificial fabric of civil and military government; and the independent country, during a period of forty years (A.D. 409–449), till the descent of the Saxons, was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns.

§ 19. Honorius died in A.D. 423, after an inglorious reign of 29 years; but the events which followed his death will be narrated in a subsequent chapter.



Column of Theodosius at Constantinople.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EASTERN EMPIRE DURING THE REIGNS OF ARCADIUS AND THEODOSIUS II.

§ 1. The Empire of the East. § 2. Government and death of Eutropius. § 3. Revolt and death of Gainas. § 4. Election and merit of Chrysostom. § 5. First banishment of Chrysostom. § 6. Second banishment of Chry-

sostom. § 7. Death of Arcadius: accession of Theodosius II.: character and administration of Pulcheria. § 8. Character and adventures of the empress Eudocia. § 9. Division of Armenia.

§ 1. THE division of the Roman world between the sons of Theodosius marks the final establishment of the empire of the East, which, from the reign of Arcadius to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, subsisted 1058 years in a state of premature and perpetual decay (A.D. 395–1453). The sovereign of that empire assumed and obstinately retained the vain, and at length fictitious, title of Emperor of the Romans; and the hereditary appellations of CÆSAR and AUGUSTUS continued to declare that he was the legitimate successor of the first of men, who had reigned over the first of nations. The successors of Constantine established their perpetual residence in the royal city which he had erected on the verge of Europe and Asia. Inaccessible to the menaces of their enemies, and perhaps to the complaints of their people, they received with each wind the tributary productions of every climate; while the impregnable strength of their capital continued for ages to defy the hostile attempts of the barbarians. Their dominions were bounded by the Adriatic and the Tigris; and the whole interval of twenty-five days' navigation, which separated the extreme cold of Scythia from the torrid zone of Æthiopia, was comprehended within the limits of the empire of the East. The populous countries of that empire were the seat of art and learning, of luxury and wealth; and the inhabitants, who had assumed the language and manners of Greeks, styled themselves, with some appearance of truth, the most enlightened and civilized portion of the human species. The form of government was a pure and simple monarchy; the name of the ROMAN REPUBLIC, which so long preserved a faint tradition of freedom, was confined to the Latin provinces; and the princes of Constantinople measured their greatness by the servile obedience of their people.

§ 2. The first events of the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius are so intimately connected, that the rebellion of the Goths and the fall of Rufinus have already claimed a place in the history of the West. It has already been observed that Eutropius, one of the principal eunuchs of the palace of Constantinople, succeeded the haughty minister whose ruin he had accomplished and whose vices he soon imitated. For four year (A.D. 395–399) Eutropius governed and oppressed the empire of the East. Gainas, who had so boldly contrived and executed the death of Rufinus, was irritated by the fortune of his unworthy successor; he accused his own dishonourable patience under the servile reign of an eunuch; and secretly persuaded his countryman Tribigild to raise the standard of revolt among the Ostrogoths, who had been planted by Theodosius in one of the most fertile dis-

tricts of Phrygia. Gainas, who was sent to oppose the Ostrogoths, magnified to the Imperial court the valour, the genius, the inexhaustible resources of Tribigild, confessed his own inability to prosecute the war, and extorted the permission of negotiating with his invincible adversary. The conditions of peace were dictated by the haughty rebel; and the peremptory demand of the head of Eutropius revealed the author and the design of this hostile conspiracy. The weak emperor was persuaded by his fears and by the eloquence of his wife Eudoxia to yield to the demands of the victorious barbarian. Eutropius took refuge in the sanctuary of the church, which the empress Eudoxia was restrained, by her own prejudices or by those of her subjects, from violating. Eutropius was banished to the island of Cyprus, but was shortly afterwards removed to Chalcedon, and there put to death (A.D. 399).

§ 3. While this domestic revolution was transacted, Gainas openly revolted from his allegiance, and united his forces with those of Tribigild. The confederate armies advanced without resistance to the straits of the Hellespont and the Bosporus, and Arcadius was instructed to prevent the loss of his Asiatic dominions by resigning his authority and his person to the faith of the barbarians. Gainas received the title of master-general of the Roman armies, filled Constantinople with his troops, and distributed among his dependents the honours and rewards of the empire. But during the absence of Gainas, the guards and the people of Constantinople rose in arms, and surprised and killed 7000 of the barbarians. Gainas was declared a public enemy; and his countryman Fravitta, who assumed the management of the war by sea and land, conducted it with such vigour and success, that Gainas, who could no longer aspire to govern or subdue the Romans, determined to resume the independence of a savage life. He advanced by rapid marches through the plains of Thrace towards the Danube; but his passage was barred by the Huns; and after repeatedly attempting to cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he was slain, with his desperate followers, in the field of battle. His head was sent to Constantinople (A.D. 401, January); and the public deliverance was celebrated by festivals and illuminations. The monarch, no longer oppressed by any hostile terrors, resigned himself to the mild and absolute dominion of his wife, the fair and artful Eudoxia, who has sullied her fame by the persecution of St. John Chrysostom.

§ 4. After the death of the indolent Nectarius, the successor of Gregory Nazianzen, the church of Constantinople was distracted by the ambition of rival candidates. On this occasion Eutropius seems to have deviated from his ordinary maxims; and his uncorrupted judgment was determined only by the superior merit of a stranger. In a late journey into the East he had admired the sermons of John,

a native and presbyter of Antioch, whose name has been distinguished by the epithet of Chrysostom, or the Golden Mouth. The unanimous and unsolicited consent of the court, the clergy, and the people ratified the choice of the minister; and, both as a saint and as an orator, the new archbishop surpassed the sanguine expectations of the public (A.D. 398, Feb. 26). Born of a noble and opulent family in the capital of Syria, Chrysostom had been educated under the tuition of the most skilful masters. He studied the art of rhetoric in the school of Libanius; and that celebrated sophist, who soon discovered the talents of his disciple, ingenuously confessed that John would have deserved to succeed him had he not been stolen away by the Christians. His piety soon disposed him to receive the sacrament of baptism; to renounce the lucrative and honourable profession of the law; and to bury himself in the adjacent desert, where he subdued the lusts of the flesh by an austere penance of six years. His infirmities compelled him to return to the society of mankind; but in the midst of his family, and afterwards on the archiepiscopal throne, Chrysostom still persevered in the practice of the monastic virtues. The ample revenues, which his predecessors had consumed in pomp and luxury, he diligently applied to the establishment of hospitals; and the multitudes who were supported by his charity, preferred the eloquent and edifying discourses of their archbishop to the amusements of the theatre or the circus. The monuments of that eloquence, which was admired near twenty years at Antioch and Constantinople, have been carefully preserved; and the possession of near one thousand sermons or homilies has authorised the critics of succeeding times to appreciate the genuine merit of Chrysostom.

§ 5. The pastoral labours of the archbishop of Constantinople provoked and gradually united against him two sorts of enemies: the aspiring clergy, who envied his success, and the ministers and ladies of the court, who were offended by his reproofs. The secret resentment of the court, and especially of the empress Eudoxia, encouraged the discontent of the clergy and monks of Constantinople, who were too hastily reformed by the fervent zeal of their archbishop. The ecclesiastical conspiracy was managed by Theophilus, archbishop of Alexandria, who had been exasperated by some personal disputes with Chrysostom himself. By the private invitation of the empress, Theophilus landed at Constantinople, with a stout body of Egyptian mariners, to encounter the populace; and a train of dependent bishops, to secure by their voices the majority of a synod. The synod was convened in the suburb of Chalcedon; a bishop and a deacon accused the archbishop of Constantinople; but as Chrysostom refused to trust either his person or his reputation in the hands of his implacable enemies, they condemned his contuma-

cious disobedience, and hastily pronounced a sentence of deposition. The archbishop was rudely arrested, and conducted through the city, by one of the Imperial messengers, who landed him, after a short navigation, near the entrance of the Euxine; from whence, before the expiration of two days, he was gloriously recalled (A.D. 403).

§ 6. The first astonishment of his faithful people had been mute and passive: they suddenly rose with unanimous and irresistible fury. Theophilus escaped, but the promiscuous crowd of monks and Egyptian mariners was slaughtered without pity in the streets of Constantinople. The torrent of sedition rolled forwards to the gates of the palace; and the empress, agitated by fear or remorse, threw herself at the feet of Arcadius, and confessed that the public safety could be purchased only by the restoration of Chrysostom. The Bosporus was covered with innumerable vessels; the shores of Europe and Asia were profusely illuminated; and the acclamations of a victorious people accompanied, from the port to the cathedral, the triumph of the archbishop. Ignorant, or careless, of the impending danger, Chrysostom indulged his zeal, or perhaps his resentment; declaimed with peculiar asperity against *female* vices; and condemned the profane honours which were addressed, almost in the precincts of St. Sophia, to the statue of the empress. His imprudence tempted his enemies to inflame the haughty spirit of Eudoxia, by reporting, or perhaps inventing, the famous exordium of a sermon, "Herodias is again furious; Herodias again dances; she once more requires the head of John:" an insolent allusion, which, as a woman and a sovereign, it was impossible for her to forgive. The short interval of a perfidious truce was employed to concert more effectual measures for the disgrace and ruin of the archbishop. A numerous council of the Eastern prelates, who were guided from a distance by the advice of Theophilus, confirmed the validity, without examining the justice of the former sentence; and a detachment of barbarian troops was introduced into the city, to suppress the emotions of the people. On the vigil of Easter the solemn administration of baptism was rudely interrupted by the soldiers; and the fatal day of the second and final exile of Chrysostom was marked by the conflagration of the cathedral, of the senate-house, and of the adjacent buildings (A.D. 404). Chrysostom was carried to the remote and desolate town of Cucusus, among the ridges of Mount Taurus, in the Lesser Armenia. After remaining there three years, an order was despatched for his instant removal to the extreme desert of Pityus: and his guards so faithfully obeyed their cruel instructions, that, before he reached the sea-coast of the Euxine, he expired at Comana, in Potnus, in the 60th year of his age (A.D. 407). The succeeding generation acknowledged his innocence and merit. At the pious

solicitation of the clergy and people of Constantinople, his relics, thirty years after his death, were transported from their obscure sepulchre to the royal city (A.D. 438). The emperor Theodosius advanced to receive them as far as Chalcedon; and, falling prostrate on the coffin, implored, in the name of his guilty parents, Arcadius and Eudoxia, the forgiveness of the injured saint.

§ 7. Arcadius died in A.D. 408, in the 31st year of his age, after a reign (if we may abuse that word) of 13 years. His son and successor Theodosius II., was only 7 years of age; but the government of the Eastern empire was fortunately assumed by the præfect Anthemius, who obtained, by his superior abilities, a lasting ascendant over the minds of his equals. The safety of the young emperor proved the merit and integrity of Anthemius; and his prudent firmness sustained the force and reputation of an infant reign. But the Romans had so long been accustomed to the authority of a monarch, that the first, even among the females of the Imperial family, who displayed any courage or capacity, was permitted to ascend the vacant throne of Theodosius. His sister Pulcheria, who was only two years older than himself, received at the age of sixteen the title of *Augusta;* and she continued to govern the Eastern empire near forty years (A.D. 414-453); during the long minority of her brother, and after his death in her own name, and in the name of Marcian, her nominal husband. From a motive either of prudence or religion, she embraced a life of celibacy; and her sisters Arcadia and Marina followed her example. In the presence of the clergy and people the three daughters of Arcadius dedicated their virginity to God; the palace was converted into a monastery; they renounced the vanity of dress, interrupted by frequent fasts their simple and frugal diet, and devoted several hours of the day and night to the exercises of prayer and psalmody. Yet the devotion of Pulcheria never diverted her indefatigable attention from temporal affairs; and she alone, among all the descendants of the great Theodosius, appears to have inherited any share of his manly spirit and abilities. Her deliberations were maturely weighed; her actions were prompt and decisive; and while she moved without noise or ostentation the wheel of government, she directly attributed to the genius of the emperor the long tranquillity of his reign. In the last years of his peaceful life Europe was indeed afflicted by the arms of Attila; but the more extensive provinces of Asia still continued to enjoy a profound and permanent repose. Theodosius the younger was never reduced to the disgraceful necessity of encountering and punishing a rebellious subject: and since we can not applaud the vigour, some praise may be due to the mildness and prosperity, of the administration of Pulcheria.

§ 8. Theodosius himself continued to the hour of his death to be

a cipher in the government. He was never excited to support the weight and glory of an illustrious name; and, instead of aspiring to imitate his ancestors, he degenerated (if we may presume to measure the degrees of incapacity) below the weakness of his father and his uncle. The wife chosen for him by his sister Pulcheria was the celebrated Athenais, who had been educated by her father Leontius in the religion and sciences of the Greeks. Athenais was easily persuaded to renounce the errors of Paganism, received at her baptism the Christian name of Eudocia; and the royal nuptials were celebrated amidst the acclamations of the capital and the provinces (A.D. 421). In the following year she bore to the emperor a daughter, Eudoxia, who espoused, 15 years afterwards Valentinian III. the emperor of the West. In the luxury of the palace she still cultivated those ingenuous arts which had contributed to her greatness, and composed several political works, which were applauded by a servile and superstitious age, and have not been disdained by the candour of impartial criticism. At length, unmindful of her obligations to Pulcheria, she ambitiously aspired to the government of the Eastern empire: the palace was distracted by female discord; but the victory was at last decided by the superior ascendant of the sister of Theodosius. As soon as the empress perceived that the affection of Theodosius was irretrievably lost, she requested the permission of retiring to the distant solitude of Jerusalem. She obtained her request, but the jealousy of Theodosius, or the vindictive spirit of Pulcheria, pursued her in her last retreat; and Saturninus, count of the domestics, was directed to punish with death two ecclesiastics, her most favoured servants. Eudocia instantly revenged them by the assassination of the count: the furious passions which she indulged on this suspicious occasion seemed to justify the severity of Theodosius; and the empress, ignominiously stripped of the honours of her rank, was disgraced, perhaps unjustly, in the eyes of the world. The remainder of the life of Eudocia, about 16 years, was spent in exile and devotion; and after a full experience of the vicissitudes of human life, the daughter of the philosopher Leontius expired at Jerusalem, in the 67th year of her age (A.D. 460).

§ 9. In the reign of Theodosius the kingdom of Armenia was finally divided between the Persians and the Romans. It had long been alternately oppressed by its formidable protectors; and the dissensions of the Armenian nobles in the fifth century led to a partition of their kingdom. The Persians obtained the eastern and most extensive portion of the country, the Romans the western province; and a territorial acquisition, which Augustus might have despised, reflected some lustre on the declining empire of the younger Theodosius.

Vessels of Silver of the Fourth Century.

CHAPTER XVII.

REIGN OF VALENTINIAN III.

§ 1. Death of Honorius and accession of VALENTINIAN III. to the empire of the West. § 2. Administration of Placidia: her two generals Aëtius and Boniface: revolt of Boniface. § 3. Boniface invites the Vandals: Genseric, king of the Vandals. § 4. The Vandals land in Africa: siege of Hippo: death of St. Augustin and Boniface. § 5. Conquest of Carthage and Africa by the Vandals. § 6. Attila, king of the Huns: his character and dominions. § 7. He invades the Eastern empire. § 8. Treaty of peace between Attila and the Eastern empire. § 9. Embassies from and to Attila. § 10. Death of Theodosius II.: accession of MARCIAN to the empire of the East. § 11. Character and administration of Aëtius. § 12. The Visigoths in Gaul under the reign of Theodoric. § 13. The Franks in Gaul under the Merovingian kings. § 14. The adventures of the princess Honoria. § 15. Attila invades Gaul and besieges Orleans. § 16. Battle of Châlons. § 17. Invasion of Italy by Attila. § 18. Foundation of the republic of Venice. § 19. Attila gives peace to the Romans. § 20. Death of Attila. § 21. Destruction of his empire. § 22. Murder of Aëtius. § 23. Death of Valentinian III.

§ 1. DURING a long and disgraceful reign of 28 years, Honorius, emperor of the West, was separated from the friendship of his brother, and afterwards of his nephew, who reigned over the East;

and Constantinople beheld, with apparent indifference and secret joy, the calamities of Rome. The strange adventures of Placidia gradually renewed and cemented the alliance of the two empires. The daughter of the great Theodosius had been the captive and the queen of the Goths; she lost an affectionate husband; she was dragged in chains by his insulting assassin; she tasted the pleasure of revenge, and was exchanged, in the treaty of peace, for six hundred thousand measures of wheat. After her return from Spain to Italy, she was married to the general Constantius (A.D. 417), who had vanquished the tyrants of Gaul, and she became by him the mother of Honoria and Valentinian the Third. In A.D. 421 Constantius received the title of Augustus, but died in the seventh month of his reign. After her husband's death Placidia exercised at first an almost absolute dominion over the mind of her brother; but they afterwards quarrelled; and Placidia and her children were obliged to retire to Constantinople, where they were treated by Theodosius with kindness and magnificence. Within a few months after the arrival of Placidia Honorius died; and the vacant throne was usurped by John, who filled the confidential office of *Primicerius*, or principal secretary (A.D. 423). Theodosius sent an army into Italy, which easily suppressed the rebellion, and Valentinian III. was proclaimed emperor of the West. By the agreement of the three females who governed the Roman world, the son of Placidia was betrothed to Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius and Athenais; and, as soon as the lover and his bride had attained the age of puberty, this honourable alliance was faithfully accomplished. At the same time, as a compensation, perhaps, for the expenses of the war, the Western Illyricum was detached from the Italian dominions, and yielded to the throne of Constantinople. The emperor of the East acquired the useful dominion of the rich and maritime province of Dalmatia, and the dangerous sovereignty of Pannonia and Noricum, which had been filled and ravaged above twenty years by a promiscuous crowd of barbarians. Theodosius and Valentinian continued to respect the obligations of their public and domestic alliance; but the unity of the Roman government was finally dissolved. By a positive declaration, the validity of all future laws was limited to the dominions of their peculiar author, unless he should think proper to communicate them, subscribed with his own hand, for the approbation of his independent colleague.

§ 2. Valentinian, when he received the title of Augustus, was no more than six years of age; and his long minority was intrusted to the guardian care of Placidia. The mother of Valentinian was jealous of the power which she was incapable of exercising: she reigned twenty-five years in the name of her son; and the character of that unworthy emperor gradually countenanced the suspicion

that Placidia had enervated his youth by a dissolute education, and studiously diverted his attention from every manly and honourable pursuit. Amidst the decay of military spirit, her armies were commanded by two generals, Aëtius and Boniface, who may be deservedly named as the last of the Romans. Their union might have supported a sinking empire; their discord was the fatal and immediate cause of the loss of Africa. The abilities of Aëtius and Boniface might have been usefully employed against the public enemies in separate and important commands; but the experience of their past conduct should have decided the real favour and confidence of the empress Placidia. In the melancholy season of her exile and distress, Boniface alone had maintained her cause with unshaken fidelity; and the troops and treasures of Africa had essentially contributed to extinguish the rebellion. The same rebellion had been supported by the zeal and activity of Aëtius, who brought an army of 60,000 Huns from the Danube to the confines of Italy, for the service of the usurper. But Aëtius possessed an advantage of singular moment in a female reign: he was present: he besieged with artful and assiduous flattery the palace of Ravenna: disguised his dark designs with the mask of loyalty and friendship; and at length deceived both his mistress and his absent rival, by a subtle conspiracy which a weak woman and a brave man could not easily suspect. He secretly persuaded Placidia to recall Boniface from the government of Africa; he secretly advised Boniface to disobey the Imperial summons: to the one, he represented the order as a sentence of death; to the other, he stated the refusal as a signal of revolt; and when the credulous and unsuspectful count had armed the province in his defence, Aëtius applauded his sagacity in foreseeing the rebellion which his own perfidy had excited. Boniface, fearing that he should be unable to withstand the regular forces of the West, despatched a trusty friend to the court of Gonderic, king of the Vandals, with the proposal of a strict alliance, and the offer of an advantageous and perpetual settlement.

§ 3. After the retreat of the Goths from Spain,* the Vandals soon regained possession of a considerable part of the country. They readily accepted the invitation which they received from Count Boniface, and the death of Gonderic served only to forward and animate the bold enterprise. In the room of a prince not conspicuous for any superior powers of the mind or body, they acquired his bastard brother, the terrible Genseric; a name which in the destruction of the Roman empire has deserved an equal rank with the names of Alaric and Attila. The king of the Vandals is described to have been of a middle stature, with a lameness in one leg, which he had contracted by an accidental fall from his horse.

* See pp. 237, 238.

His slow and cautious speech seldom declared the deep purposes of his soul: he disdained to imitate the luxury of the vanquished, but he indulged the sterner passions of anger and revenge. The ambition of Genseric was without bounds and without scruples, and the warrior could dexterously employ the dark engines of policy to solicit the allies who might be useful to his success, or to scatter among his enemies the seeds of hatred and contention. The vessels which transported the Vandals over the modern straits of Gibraltar, a channel only twelve miles in breadth, was furnished by the Spaniards, who anxiously wished their departure, and by the African general, who had implored their formidable assistance.

§ 4. Genseric landed in Africa in A.D. 429, with 50,000 effective men. His numbers were soon increased by the Moors, whom the Romans had driven out of their native country, and by the Donatists, whom the Catholics had persecuted with cruel severity. The friends of Boniface, who still believed that his criminal behaviour might be excused by some honourable motive, solicited, during the absence of Aëtius, a free conference with the Count of Africa; and Darius, an officer of high distinction, was named for the important embassy. In their first interview at Carthage, the imaginary provocations were mutually explained, the opposite letters of Aëtius were produced and compared, and the fraud was easily detected. Placidia and Boniface lamented their fatal error, and the count had sufficient magnanimity to confide in the forgiveness of his sovereign, or to expose his head to her future resentment. His repentance was fervent and sincere; but he soon discovered that it was no longer in his power to restore the edifice which he had shaken to its foundations. Carthage and the Roman garrisons returned with their general to the allegiance of Valentinian, but the rest of Africa was still distracted with war and faction; and the inexorable king of the Vandals, disdaining all terms of accommodation, sternly refused to relinquish the possession of his prey. The band of veterans who marched under the standard of Boniface, and his hasty levies of provincial troops, were defeated with considerable loss; the victorious barbarians laid waste the open country with fire and sword: and Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo Regius, were the only cities that appeared to rise above the general inundation. Boniface retired into Hippo Regius, where he was immediately besieged by an enemy who considered him as the real bulwark of Africa. The military labours and anxious reflections of Boniface were alleviated by the edifying conversation of his friend St. Augustin; till that bishop, the light and pillar of the catholic church, was gently released, in the third month of the siege and in the 76th year of his age, from the actual and the impending calamities of his country (A.D. 430). By the skill of Boniface, and perhaps by the ignorance

of the Vandals, the siege of Hippo was protracted above fourteen months; the sea was continually open; and when the adjacent country had been exhausted by irregular rapine, the besiegers themselves were compelled by famine to relinquish their enterprise. The importance and danger of Africa were deeply felt by the regent of the West. Placidia implored the assistance of her Eastern ally; and the Italian fleet and army were reinforced by Aspar, who sailed from Constantinople with a powerful armament. As soon as the force of the two empires was united under the command of Boniface, he boldly marched against the Vandals; and the loss of a second battle irretrievably decided the fate of Africa. He embarked with the precipitation of despair; and the people of Hippo were permitted, with their families and effects, to occupy the vacant place of the soldiers, the greatest part of whom were either slain or made prisoners by the Vandals. The count, whose fatal credulity, had wounded the vitals of the republic, might enter the palace of Ravenna with some anxiety, which was soon removed by the smiles of Placidia. Boniface accepted with gratitude the rank of patrician and the dignity of master-general of the Roman armies. The discovery of his fraud, the displeasure of the empress, and the distinguished favour of his rival, exasperated the haughty and perfidious soul of Aëtius. He hastily returned from Gaul to Italy, with a retinue, or rather with an army of barbarian followers; and such was the weakness of the government, that the two generals decided their private quarrel in a bloody battle. Boniface was successful; but he received in the conflict a mortal wound from the spear of his adversary, of which he expired within a few days (A.D. 432). Aëtius was proclaimed a rebel by the justice of Placidia, and retired into Pannonia, to the tents of his faithful Huns. The republic was deprived by their mutual discord of the service of her two most illustrious champions.

§ 5. It might naturally be expected, after the retreat of Boniface, that the Vandals would achieve without resistance or delay the conquest of Africa. Eight years however elapsed from the evacuation of Hippo to the reduction of Carthage. The throne of Genseric was encompassed with domestic enemies, who accused the baseness of his birth and asserted the legitimate claims of his nephews, the sons of Gonderic. As he advanced towards Carthage he was forced to withdraw his troops from the Western provinces; the sea-coast was exposed to the naval enterprises of the Romans of Spain and Italy; and, in the heart of Numidia, the strong inland city of Cirta still persisted in obstinate independence. These difficulties were gradually subdued by the spirit, the perseverance, and the cruelty of Genseric; who alternately applied the arts of peace and war to the establishment of his African kingdom. He subscribed a solemn treaty,

with the hope of deriving some advantage from the term of its continuance and the moment of its violation. The vigilance of his enemies was relaxed by the protestations of friendship which concealed his hostile approach; and Carthage was at length surprised by the Vandals, 585 years after the destruction of the city and republic by the younger Scipio (A.D. 439).

§ 6. The Western world was oppressed by the Goths and Vandals, who fled before the Huns; but the achievements of the Huns themselves were not adequate to their power and prosperity. Their victorious hordes had spread from the Volga to the Danube; but the public force was exhausted by the discord of independent chieftains; their valour was idly consumed in obscure and predatory excursions; and they often degraded their national dignity, by condescending, for the hopes of spoil, to enlist under the banners of their fugitive enemies. In the reign of ATTILA the Huns again became the terror of the world; and I shall now describe the character and actions of that formidable barbarian, who alternately insulted and invaded the East and the West, and urged the rapid downfall of the Roman empire.

Attila, the son of Mundzuk, deduced his noble descent from the ancient Huns, who had formerly contended with the monarchs of China. His features bore the stamp of his national origin; and the portrait of Attila exhibits the genuine deformity of a modern Calmuck; a large head, a swarthy complexion, small deep-seated eyes, a flat nose, a few hairs in the place of a beard, broad shoulders, and a short square body, of nervous strength, though of a disproportioned form. The haughty step and demeanour of the king of the Huns expressed the consciousness of his superiority above the rest of mankind; and he had a custom of fiercely rolling his eyes, as if he wished to enjoy the terror which he inspired. He gradually concentrated upon himself the awe and fear of the whole ancient world, which ultimately expressed itself by affixing to his name the well-known epithet of the SCOURGE OF GOD. Yet this savage hero was not inaccessible to pity; his suppliant enemies might confide in the assurance of peace or pardon; and Attila was considered by his subjects as a just and indulgent master. The religious arts of Attila were skillfully adapted to the character of his age and country. The Scythians worshipped the god of war under the symbol of an iron cimeter. One of the shepherds of the Huns perceived that a heifer, who was grazing, had wounded herself in the foot, and curiously followed the track of the blood, till he discovered, among the long grass, the point of an ancient sword, which he dug out of the ground and presented to Attila. That prince accepted, with pious gratitude, this celestial favour; and, as the rightful possessor of the *sword of Mars*, asserted his divine and indefeasible claim to

the dominion of the earth. His brother Bleda, who reigned over a considerable part of the nation, was compelled to resign his sceptre and his life. Yet even this cruel act was attributed to a supernatural impulse; and the vigour with which Attila wielded the sword of Mars convinced the world that it had been reserved alone for his invincible arm.

The dominions of Attila included the two mighty kingdoms of Germany and Scythia; and he might aspire to the title of supreme and sole monarch of the barbarians. His empire extended from the Baltic on the north to the Danube on the south; and from the Rhine on the west to the Volga on the east. In the proud review of the nations who acknowledged the sovereignty of Attila, and who never entertained, during his lifetime, the thought of a revolt, the Gepidæ and the Ostrogoths were distinguished by their numbers, their bravery, and the personal merits of their chiefs. The crowd of vulgar kings, the leaders of so many martial tribes, who served under the standard of Attila, were ranged in the submissive order of guards and domestics round the person of their master. In time of peace, the dependent princes, with their national troops, attended the royal camp in regular succession; but when Attila collected his military force, he was able to bring into the field an army of five, or, according to another account, of seven hundred thousand barbarians.

§ 7. The career of Attila divides itself into two parts. The first (A.D. 441—450) consists of the ravage of the Eastern empire between the Euxine and the Adriatic, and of the negotiations with Theodosius. The second (A.D. 450—453) consists of the invasion of the Western empire.

When Attila crossed the Danube the Illyrian frontier was covered by a line of castles and fortresses; but these light obstacles were instantly swept away by the inundation of the Huns. The whole breadth of Europe, as it extends above 500 miles from the Euxine to the Adriatic, was at once invaded, and occupied, and desolated, by the myriads of barbarians whom Attila led into the field. The public danger and distress could not, however, provoke Theodosius to appear in person at the head of the Roman legions. But the troops which had been sent against Genseric were hastily recalled from Sicily; the garrisons, on the side of Persia, were exhausted; and a military force was collected in Europe, formidable by their arms and numbers, if the generals had understood the science of command, and their soldiers the duty of obedience. The armies of the Eastern empire were vanquished in three successive engagements; and the progress of Attila may be traced by the fields of battle. The two former, on the banks of the Utus, and under the walls of Marcianopolis, were fought in the extensive plains between

the Danube and Mount Hæmus. As the Romans were pressed by a victorious enemy, they gradually, and unskilfully, retired towards the Chersonesus of Thrace; and that narrow peninsula, the last extremity of the land, was marked by their third, and irreparable defeat. By the destruction of this army, Attila acquired the indisputable possession of the field. From the Hellespont to Thermopylæ and the suburbs of Constantinople, he ravaged, without resistance and without mercy, the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia. Theodosius, his court, and the unwarlike people, were protected by the walls of Constantinople; but the words the most expressive of total extirpation and erasure are applied to the calamities which he inflicted on 70 cities of the empire.

§ 8. Theodosius was induced to solicit the clemency of Attila, who imperiously dictated these harsh and humiliating conditions of peace. I. The emperor of the East resigned, by an express or tacit convention, an extensive and important territory which stretched along the southern banks of the Danube, from Singidunum, or Belgrade, as far as Novæ, in the diocese of Thrace. II. The king of the Huns required and obtained that his tribute or subsidy should be augmented from 700 pounds of gold to the annual sum of 2100; and he stipulated the immediate payment of 6000 pounds of gold to defray the expenses, or to expiate the guilt of the war. III. He further required that the Huns who had been taken prisoners in war should be released without delay and without ransom; that every Roman captive who had presumed to escape should purchase his right of freedom at the price of 12 pieces of gold; and that all the barbarians who had deserted the standard of Attila should be restored without any promise or stipulation of pardon. In the execution of this cruel and ignominious treaty the Imperial officers were forced to massacre several loyal and noble deserters who refused to devote themselves to certain death; and the Romans forfeited all reasonable claims to the friendship of any Scythian people by this public confession that they were destitute either of faith or power to protect the suppliant who had embraced the throne of Theodosius.

§ 9. It would have been strange, indeed, if Theodosius had purchased, by the loss of honour, a secure and solid tranquillity, or if his tameness had not invited the repetition of injuries. The Byzantine court was insulted by five or six successive embassies; and the ministers of Attila were uniformly instructed to press the tardy or imperfect execution of the last treaty; to produce the names of fugitives and deserters who were still protected by the empire; and to declare that, unless their sovereign obtained complete and immediate satisfaction, it would be impossible for him, were it even his wish, to check the resentment of his warlike tribes. The Byzantine court

determined to send an embassy for the purpose of reconciling the angry spirit of the king of the Huns. Maximin, a respectable courtier, whose abilities had been long exercised in civil and military employments, accepted with reluctance this troublesome, and perhaps dangerous commission; but the secret of the embassy, a fatal and guilty secret, was intrusted only to the interpreter Vigilius. The two last ambassadors of the Huns, Orestes, a noble subject of the Pannonian province, and Edecon, a valiant chieftain of the tribe of the Scirri, returned at the same time from Constantinople to the royal camp. Their obscure names were afterwards illustrated by the extraordinary fortune and the contrast of their sons: the two servants of Attila became the fathers of the last Roman emperor of the West, and of the first barbarian king of Italy.

When Attila first gave audience to the Roman ambassadors on the banks of the Danube, his tent was encompassed with a formidable guard. The monarch himself was seated in a wooden chair. His stern countenance, angry gestures, and impatient tone, astonished the firmness of Maximin; but Vigilius had more reason to tremble, since he distinctly understood the menace, that if the Romans did not respect the law of nations, he would nail the deceitful interpreter to a cross, and leave his body to the vultures. The barbarian condescended, by producing an accurate list, to expose the bold falsehood of Vigilius, who had affirmed that no more than 17 deserters could be found. He dismissed, however, Maximin and the interpreter, who returned to Constantinople with his peremptory demand of more complete restitution, and a more splendid embassy.

When Edecon visited Constantinople, the surprise and satisfaction with which he contemplated the splendour of the city encouraged the interpreter Vigilius to procure for him a secret interview with the eunuch Chrysaphius, who governed the emperor and the empire. After some previous conversation, and a mutual oath of secrecy, the eunuch ventured to propose the death of Attila, as an important service, by which Edecon might deserve a liberal share of the wealth and luxury which he admired. The ambassador of the Huns listened to the tempting offer; and professed, with apparent zeal, his ability, as well as readiness, to execute the bloody deed: the design was communicated to the master of the offices, and the devout Theodosius consented to the assassination of his invincible enemy. But this perfidious conspiracy was defeated by the dissimulation, or the repentance, of Edecon, who assumed the merit of an early and voluntary confession. If we *now* review the embassy of Maximin and the behaviour of Attila, we must applaud the barbarian, who respected the laws of hospitality, and generously entertained and dismissed the minister of a prince who had conspired against his

life. But the rashness of Vigilius will appear still more extraordinary, since he returned, conscious of his guilt and danger, to the royal camp, accompanied by his son, and carrying with him a weighty purse of gold, which the favourite eunuch had furnished, to satisfy the demands of Edecon and to corrupt the fidelity of the guards. The interpreter was instantly seized and dragged before the tribunal of Attila, where he asserted his innocence with specious firmness, till the threat of inflicting instant death on his son extorted from him a sincere discovery of the criminal transaction. Under the name of ransom, or confiscation, the rapacious king of the Huns accepted 200 pounds of gold for the life of a traitor whom he disdained to punish. He pointed his just indignation against a nobler object. His ambassadors, Eslaw and Orestes, were immediately despatched to Constantinople with instructions to demand the head of Crysaphius, and boldly to reprove the emperor for conspiring against the life of his master. A solemn embassy, armed with full powers and magnificent gifts, was hastily sent by Theodosius to deprecate the wrath of Attila. He condescended to meet the ambassadors on the banks of the river Drenco; and though he at first affected a stern and haughty demeanour, his anger was insensibly mollified by their eloquence and liberality. He condescended to pardon the emperor, the eunuch, and the interpreter; and resigned a large territory, to the south of the Danube, which he had already exhausted of its wealth and inhabitants. But this treaty was purchased at an expense which might have supported a vigorous and successful war; and the subjects of Theodosius were compelled to redeem the safety of a worthless favourite by oppressive taxes which they would more cheerfully have paid for his destruction.

§ 10. The emperor Theodosius did not long survive the most humiliating circumstance of an inglorious life. As he was riding or hunting in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, he was thrown from his horse into the river Lycus, and he expired some days afterwards, in the 50th year of his age, and the 43rd of his reign (A.D. 450, July 28). His sister Pulcheria was unanimously proclaimed empress of the East; and the Romans, for the first time, submitted to a female reign. Amidst the general acclamations of the clergy and people, the empress did not forget the prejudice and disadvantage to which her sex was exposed; and she wisely resolved to prevent their murmurs by the choice of a colleague who would always respect the superior rank and virgin chastity of his wife. She gave her hand to Marcian, a senator, about 60 years of age; and the nominal husband of Pulcheria was solemnly invested with the Imperial purple.

§ 11. In A.D. 450 the king of the Huns prepared to invade Gaul;

but the particular motives and provocations of Attila can only be explained by the state of the Western empire under the reign of Valentinian, or, to speak more correctly, under the administration of Aëtius.

After the death of his rival Boniface, Aëtius had prudently retired to the tents of the Huns; and he was indebted to their alliance for his safety and his restoration. Instead of the suppliant language of a guilty exile, he solicited his pardon at the head of 60,000 barbarians; and the empress Placidia confessed, by a feeble resistance, that the condescension which might have been ascribed to clemency was the effect of weakness or fear. She delivered herself, her son Valentinian, and the Western empire, into the hands of an insolent subject, who assumed, with the title of master of the cavalry and infantry, the whole military power of the state. His prudence, rather than his virtue, engaged him to leave the grandson of Theodosius in the possession of the purple; and Valentinian was permitted to enjoy the peace and luxury of Italy, while the patrician appeared in the glorious light of a hero and a patriot, who supported near twenty years the ruins of the Western empire. The barbarians, who had seated themselves in the Western provinces, were insensibly taught to respect the faith and valour of the patrician Aëtius. A seasonable treaty which he concluded with Genseric protected Italy from the depredations of the Vandals; the independent Britons implored and acknowledged his salutary aid; the Imperial authority was restored and maintained in Gaul and Spain; and he compelled the Franks and the Suevi, whom he had vanquished in the field, to become the useful confederates of the republic. From a principle of interest, as well as gratitude, Aëtius assiduously cultivated the alliance of the Huns. While he resided in their tents as a hostage or an exile, he had familiarly conversed with Attila himself: and the two famous antagonists appear to have been connected by a personal and military friendship, which they afterwards confirmed by mutual gifts, frequent embassies, and the education of Carpilio, the son of Aëtius, in the camp of Attila. The valour and prudence of Aëtius had not, however, saved the Western Romans from the common ignominy of tribute. Yet his dexterous policy prolonged the advantages of a salutary peace; and a numerous army of Huns and Alani, whom he had attached to his person, was employed in the defence of Gaul.

§. 12. The kingdom established by the Visigoths in the southern provinces of Gaul had gradually acquired strength and maturity; and the conduct of those ambitious barbarians, either in peace or war, engaged the perpetual vigilance of Aëtius. After the death of Wallia, the Gothic sceptre devolved to Theodoric, the son of the great Alaric; and his prosperous reign of more than 30 years

(A.D. 419–451) over a turbulent people may be allowed to prove that his prudence was supported by uncommon vigour, both of mind and body. Theodoric appears to have deserved the love of his subjects, the confidence of his allies, and the esteem of mankind. His throne was surrounded by six valiant sons, who were educated with equal care in the exercises of the barbarian camp and in those of the Gallic schools: from the study of the Roman jurisprudence they acquired the theory, at least, of law and justice; and the harmonious sense of Virgil contributed to soften the asperity of their native manners. The two daughters of the Gothic king were given in marriage to the eldest sons of the kings of the Suevi and of the Vandals, who reigned in Spain and Africa: but these illustrious alliances were pregnant with guilt and discord. The queen of the Suevi bewailed the death of an husband, inhumanly massacred by her brother. The princess of the Vandals was the victim of a jealous tyrant, whom she called her father. The cruel Genseric suspected that his son's wife had conspired to poison him; the supposed crime was punished by the amputation of her nose and ears; and the unhappy daughter of Theodoric was ignominiously returned to the court of Toulouse in that deformed and mutilated condition. Theodoric resolved to take revenge; Aëtius would have supplied the Goths with arms, and ships, and treasures, for the African war; and the cruelty of Genseric might have been fatal to himself, if the artful Vandal had not armed, in his cause, the formidable power of the Huns. His rich gifts and pressing solicitations inflamed the ambition of Attila; and the designs of Aëtius and Theodoric were prevented by the invasion of Gaul.

§ 13. The Franks, whose monarchy was still confined to the neighbourhood of the Lower Rhine, had wisely established the right of hereditary succession in the noble family of the Merovingians (A.D. 420–451). These princes were elevated on a buckler, the symbol of military command; and the royal fashion of long hair was the ensign of their birth and dignity. Clodion, the first of their long-haired kings whose name and actions are mentioned in authentic history, held his residence at Dispargum, a village or fortress, whose place may be assigned between Louvain and Brussels. He conquered the second Belgic province, and though defeated by Aëtius, he extended his dominions from the Rhine to the Somme. His death, after the reign of 20 years, exposed his kingdom to the discord and ambition of his two sons. Meroveus, the younger, was persuaded to implore the protection of Rome; his elder brother solicited, with equal ardour, the formidable aid of Attila; and the king of the Huns embraced an alliance which facilitated the passage of the Rhine, and justified by a specious and honourable pretence the invasion of Gaul.

that Placidia had enervated his youth by a dissolute education, and studiously diverted his attention from every manly and honourable pursuit. Amidst the decay of military spirit, her armies were commanded by two generals, Aëtius and Boniface, who may be deservedly named as the last of the Romans. Their union might have supported a sinking empire; their discord was the fatal and immediate cause of the loss of Africa. The abilities of Aëtius and Boniface might have been usefully employed against the public enemies in separate and important commands; but the experience of their past conduct should have decided the real favour and confidence of the empress Placidia. In the melancholy season of her exile and distress, Boniface alone had maintained her cause with unshaken fidelity; and the troops and treasures of Africa had essentially contributed to extinguish the rebellion. The same rebellion had been supported by the zeal and activity of Aëtius, who brought an army of 60,000 Huns from the Danube to the confines of Italy, for the service of the usurper. But Aëtius possessed an advantage of singular moment in a female reign: he was present: he besieged with artful and assiduous flattery the palace of Ravenna: disguised his dark designs with the mask of loyalty and friendship; and at length deceived both his mistress and his absent rival, by a subtle conspiracy which a weak woman and a brave man could not easily suspect. He secretly persuaded Placidia to recall Boniface from the government of Africa; he secretly advised Boniface to disobey the Imperial summons: to the one, he represented the order as a sentence of death; to the other, he stated the refusal as a signal of revolt; and when the credulous and unsuspectful count had armed the province in his defence, Aëtius applauded his sagacity in foreseeing the rebellion which his own perfidy had excited. Boniface, fearing that he should be unable to withstand the regular forces of the West, despatched a trusty friend to the court of Gonderic, king of the Vandals, with the proposal of a strict alliance, and the offer of an advantageous and perpetual settlement.

§ 3. After the retreat of the Goths from Spain,* the Vandals soon regained possession of a considerable part of the country. They readily accepted the invitation which they received from Count Boniface, and the death of Gonderic served only to forward and animate the bold enterprise. In the room of a prince not conspicuous for any superior powers of the mind or body, they acquired his bastard brother, the terrible Genseric; a name which in the destruction of the Roman empire has deserved an equal rank with the names of Alaric and Attila. The king of the Vandals is described to have been of a middle stature, with a lameness in one leg, which he had contracted by an accidental fall from his horse.

* See pp. 237, 238.

His slow and cautious speech seldom declared the deep purposes of his soul: he disdained to imitate the luxury of the vanquished, but he indulged the sterner passions of anger and revenge. The ambition of Genseric was without bounds and without scruples, and the warrior could dexterously employ the dark engines of policy to solicit the allies who might be useful to his success, or to scatter among his enemies the seeds of hatred and contention. The vessels which transported the Vandals over the modern straits of Gibraltar, a channel only twelve miles in breadth, was furnished by the Spaniards, who anxiously wished their departure, and by the African general, who had implored their formidable assistance.

§ 4. Genseric landed in Africa in A.D. 429, with 50,000 effective men. His numbers were soon increased by the Moors, whom the Romans had driven out of their native country, and by the Donatists, whom the Catholics had persecuted with cruel severity. The friends of Boniface, who still believed that his criminal behaviour might be excused by some honourable motive, solicited, during the absence of Aëtius, a free conference with the Count of Africa; and Darius, an officer of high distinction, was named for the important embassy. In their first interview at Carthage, the imaginary provocations were mutually explained, the opposite letters of Aëtius were produced and compared, and the fraud was easily detected. Placidia and Boniface lamented their fatal error, and the count had sufficient magnanimity to confide in the forgiveness of his sovereign, or to expose his head to her future resentment. His repentance was fervent and sincere; but he soon discovered that it was no longer in his power to restore the edifice which he had shaken to its foundations. Carthage and the Roman garrisons returned with their general to the allegiance of Valentinian, but the rest of Africa was still distracted with war and faction; and the inexorable king of the Vandals, disdaining all terms of accommodation, sternly refused to relinquish the possession of his prey. The band of veterans who marched under the standard of Boniface, and his hasty levies of provincial troops, were defeated with considerable loss; the victorious barbarians laid waste the open country with fire and sword: and Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo Regius, were the only cities that appeared to rise above the general inundation. Boniface retired into Hippo Regius, where he was immediately besieged by an enemy who considered him as the real bulwark of Africa. The military labours and anxious reflections of Boniface were alleviated by the edifying conversation of his friend St. Augustin; till that bishop, the light and pillar of the catholic church, was gently released, in the third month of the siege and in the 76th year of his age, from the actual and the impending calamities of his country (A.D. 430). By the skill of Boniface, and perhaps by the ignorance

Attila were impaired by the failure of the Gallic expedition. In the ensuing spring (A.D. 452) he repeated his demand of the princess Honoria and her patrimonial treasures. The demand was again rejected or eluded; and the indignant lover immediately took the field, passed the Alps, invaded Italy, and besieged Aquileia with an innumerable host of barbarians. Aquileia was at that period one of the richest, the most populous, and the strongest of the maritime cities of the Adriatic coast. It was defended for three months with the utmost bravery; but the Huns at length took the city by assault; and the succeeding generation could scarcely discover the ruins of Aquileia. After this dreadful chastisement, Attila pursued his march; and as he passed, the cities of Altinum, Concordia, and Padua were reduced into heaps of stones and ashes. The inland towns, Vicenza, Verona, and Bergamo, were exposed to the rapacious cruelty of the Huns. Milan and Pavia submitted, without resistance, to the loss of their wealth; and applauded the unusual clemency which preserved from the flames the public as well as private buildings, and spared the lives of the captive multitude.

§ 18. It is a saying worthy of the ferocious pride of Attila, that the grass never grew on the spot where his horse had trod. Yet the savage destroyer undesignedly laid the foundations of a republic which revived, in the feudal state of Europe, the art and spirit of commercial industry. The celebrated name of Venice, or Venetia, was formerly diffused over a large and fertile province of Italy, from the confines of Pannonia to the river Addua, and from the Po to the Rhætian and Julian Alps. Many families of Aquileia, Padua, and the adjacent towns, who fled from the sword of the Huns, found a safe, though obscure, refuge in the neighbouring islands. At the extremity of the gulf, where the Adriatic feebly imitates the tides of the ocean, near an hundred small islands are separated by shallow water from the continent, and protected from the waves by several long slips of land, which admit the entrance of vessels through some secret and narrow channels. Till the middle of the fifth century these remote and sequestered spots remained without cultivation, with few inhabitants, and almost without a name. But the manners of the Venetian fugitives, their arts and their government, were gradually formed by their new situation. A people whose habitations might be doubtfully assigned to the earth or water soon became alike familiar with the two elements; and the demands of avarice succeeded to those of necessity. The islanders, who from Grado to Chiozza, were intimately connected with each other, penetrated into the heart of Italy, by the secure, though laborious, navigation of the rivers and inland canals. Their vessels, which were continually increasing in size and number,

visited all the harbours of the gulf; and the marriage which Venice annually celebrates with the Adriatic was contracted in her early infancy. The epistle of Cassiodorus, the Prætorian præfect, is addressed to the maritime tribunes; and the ambiguous office of these magistrates is explained by the tradition, that, in the twelve principal islands, twelve tribunes, or judges, were created by an annual and popular election.

§ 19. The Italians, who had long since renounced the exercise of arms, were surprised, after forty years' peace, by the approach of a formidable barbarian, whom they abhorred as the enemy of their religion as well as of their republic. Amidst the general consternation, Aëtius alone was incapable of fear; but it was impossible that he should achieve alone and unassisted any military exploits worthy of his former renown. The Western emperor embraced the resolution of deprecating, by a solemn and suppliant embassy, the wrath of Attila. This important commission was accepted by Avienus; and Leo, Bishop of Rome, consented to expose his life for the safety of his flock. The genius of Leo was exercised and displayed in the public misfortunes; and he has deserved the appellation of *Great* by the successful zeal with which he laboured to establish his opinions and his authority, under the venerable names of orthodox faith and ecclesiastical discipline The Roman ambassadors were introduced to the tent of Attila, as he lay encamped at the place where the slow-winding Mincius is lost in the foaming waves of the lake Benacus, and trampled, with his Scythian cavalry, the farms of Catullus and Virgil. The barbarian monarch listened with favourable attention, and the deliverance of Italy was purchased by the immense ransom or dowry of the princess Honoria. The state of his army might facilitate the treaty and hasten his retreat. Their martial spirit was relaxed by the wealth and indolence of a warm climate; and the progress of disease revenged in some measure the injuries of the Italians. When Attila declared his resolution of carrying his victorious arms to the gates of Rome, he was admonished by his friends, as well as by his enemies, that Alaric had not long survived the conquest of the eternal city. His mind, superior to real danger, was assaulted by imaginary terrors; nor could he escape the influence of superstition, which had so often been subservient to his designs. The pressing eloquence of Leo, his majestic aspect and sacerdotal robes, excited the veneration of Attila for the spiritual father of the Christians. The apparition of the two apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, who menaced the barbarian with instant death if he rejected the prayer of their successor, is one of the noblest legends of ecclesiastical tradition. The safety of Rome might deserve the interposition of celestial beings; and some indulgence is due to a fable

which has been represented by the pencil of Raphael and the chisel of Algardi.*

§ 20. Before the king of the Huns evacuated Italy, he threatened to return more dreadful, and more implacable, if his bride, the princess Honoria, were not delivered to his ambassadors within the term stipulated by the treaty. Yet, in the mean while, Attila relieved his tender anxiety by adding a beautiful maid, whose name was Ildico, to the list of his innumerable wives. Their marriage was celebrated with barbaric pomp and festivity, at his wooden palace beyond the Danube; and the monarch retired at a late hour from the banquet. His attendants continued to respect his repose the greatest part of the ensuing day, till the unusual silence alarmed their fears and suspicions; and, after attempting to awaken Attila by loud and repeated cries, they at length broke into the royal apartment. They found the trembling bride sitting by the bedside, hiding her face with a veil, and lamenting her own danger, as well as the death of the king, who had expired during the night (A.D. 453). An artery had suddenly burst: and as Attila lay in a supine posture, he was suffocated by a torrent of blood, which, instead of finding a passage through the nostrils, regurgitated into the lungs and stomach. It was reported at Constantinople that, on the fortunate night in which he expired, Marcian beheld in a dream the bow of Attila broken asunder; and the report may be allowed to prove how seldom the image of that formidable barbarian was absent from the mind of a Roman emperor.

§ 21. The revolution which subverted the empire of the Huns established the fame of Attila, whose genius alone had sustained the huge and disjointed fabric. After his death the boldest chieftains aspired to the rank of kings; the most powerful kings refused to acknowledge a superior; and the numerous sons whom so many various mothers bore to the deceased monarch divided and disputed like a private inheritance the sovereign command of the nations of Germany and Scythia. Ellac, the eldest son of Attila, lost his life and crown in the memorable battle of Netad, in which Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ, defeated his rivals. Dengisich, the brother of Ellac, with an army of Huns still formidable in their flight and ruin, maintained his ground above fifteen years on the banks of the Danube. The palace of Attila, with the old country of Dacia, from the Carpathian hills to the Euxine, became the seat of a new power which was erected by Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ. The Pannonian conquests, from Vienna to Sirmium, were occupied by the Ostrogoths; and the settlements of the tribes who had so bravely asserted their native freedom were irregularly distributed

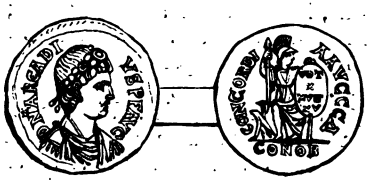
* The picture of Raphael is in the Vatican; the basso (or perhaps the alto) relievo of Algardi on one of the altars of St. Peter's.

according to the measure of their respective strength. Surrounded and oppressed by the multitude of his father's slaves, the kingdom of Dengisich was confined to the circle of his waggons; his desperate courage urged him to invade the Eastern empire: he fell in battle, and his head, ignominiously exposed in the Hippodrome, exhibited a grateful spectacle to the people of Constantinople. Irnac, the youngest of the sons of Attila, retired with his subject hordes into the heart of the Lesser Scythia. They were soon overwhelmed by a torrent of new barbarians, who followed the same road which their own ancestors had formerly discovered. The Avars, whose residence is assigned by the Greek writers to the shores of the ocean, impelled the adjacent tribes; till at length the Igours of the North spread themselves over the desert as far as the Borysthenes and the Caspian gates, and finally extinguished the empire of the Huns.

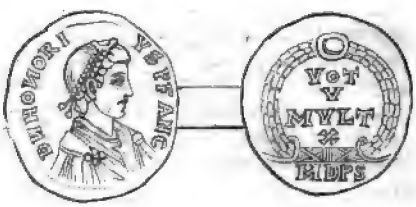
§ 22. The death of Attila was followed by the murder of Aëtius. Valentinian, from the instinct of a base and jealous mind, hated the man who was universally celebrated as the terror of the barbarians and the support of the republic. The fame of Aëtius, his wealth and dignity, the numerous and martial train of barbarian followers, and the hopes of his son Gaudentius, who was already contracted to Eudoxia, the emperor's daughter, had raised him above the rank of a subject. Aëtius himself, supported by the consciousness of his merit, his services, and perhaps his innocence, seems to have maintained a haughty and indiscreet behaviour. From a vain confidence that the enemy whom he despised was incapable even of a manly crime, he rashly ventured his person in the palace of the emperor. Whilst he urged, perhaps with intemperate vehemence, the marriage of his son, Valentinian, drawing his sword—the first sword he had ever drawn—plunged it in the breast of a general who had saved his empire: his courtiers and eunuchs ambitiously struggled to imitate their master; and Aëtus, pierced with an hundred wounds, fell dead in the royal presence (A.D. 454).

§ 23. The public contempt which had been so long entertained for Valentinian was at once converted into deep and universal abhorrence; and in the following year an outrage which he offered to one of his subjects was avenged by the emperor's death. Valentinian, whose dissolute amours had brought disgrace upon one of the noblest families of Rome, had ravished the wife of Petronius Maximus, a wealthy senator of the Anician family. The emperor had imprudently admitted among his guards several domestics and followers of Aëtius. Two of these, of barbarian race, were persuaded by Maximus to execute a sacred and honourable duty by punishing with death the assassin of their patron. Whilst Valentinian amused himself in the field of Mars with the spectacle of

some military sports, they suddenly rushed upon him with drawn weapons and stabbed the emperor to the heart, without the least opposition from his numerous train, who seemed to rejoice in the tyrant's death (A.D. 455, March 16). Such was the fate of Valentinian the Third, the last Roman emperor of the family of Theodosius. He faithfully imitated the hereditary weakness of his cousin and his two uncles, without inheriting the gentleness, the purity, the innocence, which alleviate in their characters the want of spirit and ability.



Coin of Arcadius.



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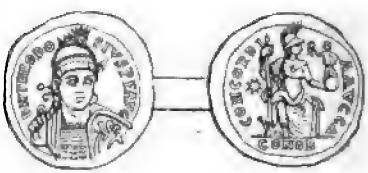

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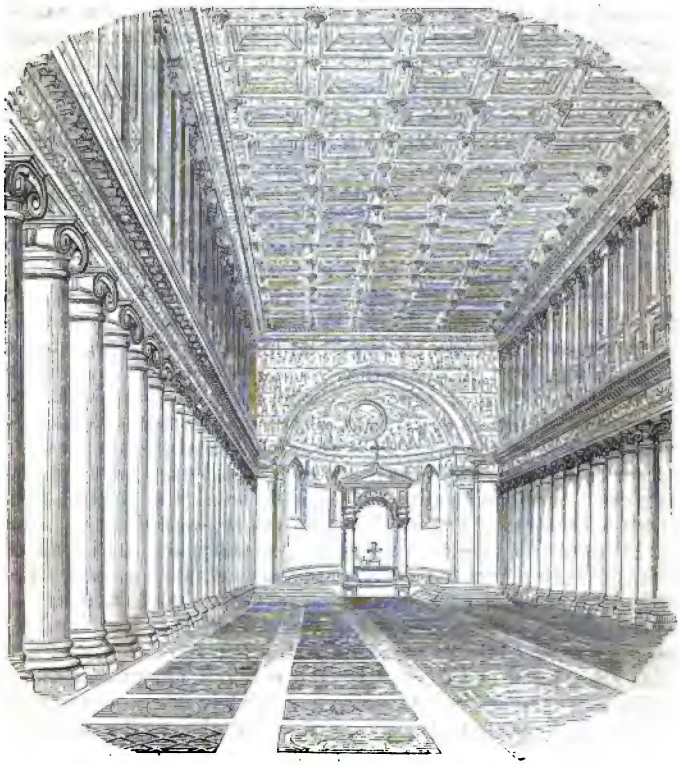


Basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore at Rome, erected about A.D. 432.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM THE DEATH OF VALENTINIAN III. TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

§ 1. Naval power of the Vandals: accession and death of MAXIMUS, emperor of the West. § 2. Sack of Rome by the Vandals. § 3. Reign of AVITUS. § 4. Reign of MAJORIAN. § 5. Ricimer reigns under the name of SEVERUS. § 6. ANTHEMIUS emperor of the West: failure of the expedition against the Vandals. § 7. OLYBRIUS, emperor of the West; sack of Rome and death of Anthemius. § 8. Reigns of GLYCERIUS and JULIUS NEPOS: AUGUSTULUS, last emperor of the West. § 9. Odoacer, king of Italy. § 10. Deposition of Augustulus. § 11. Reign of Odoacer. § 12. Euric, king of

the Visigoths. § 13. Clovis, king of the Franks. § 14. His conquests. § 15. Consulship of Clovis and final establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul. § 16. The Visigoths of Spain. § 17. Conquest of Britain by the Saxons.

§ 1. THE loss or desolation of the provinces from the Ocean to the Alps impaired the glory and greatness of Rome: her internal prosperity was irretrievably destroyed by the separation of Africa. The rapacious Vandals confiscated the patrimonial estates of the senators, and intercepted the regular subsidies which relieved the poverty and encouraged the idleness of the plebeians. The distress of the Romans was soon aggravated by an unexpected attack; and the province, so long cultivated for their use by industrious and obedient subjects, was armed against them by an ambitious barbarian. Genseric resolved to create a naval power; and, after an interval of six centuries, the fleets that issued from the ports of Carthage again claimed the empire of the Mediterranean. The success of the Vandals, the conquest of Sicily, the sack of Palermo, and the frequent descents on the coast of Lucania, awakened and alarmed the mother of Valentinian. The death of this emperor was the immediate occasion of the invasion of Italy and the sack of Rome. Maximus, who succeeded Valentinian upon the imperial throne, having lost his own wife soon after his accession, compelled the widow of Valentinian to marry the assassin of her deceased husband. Eudoxia, who was still conscious that she descended from a line of emperors, secretly implored the aid of the king of the Vandals; and persuaded Genseric to improve the fair opportunity of disguising his rapacious designs by the specious names of honour, justice and compassion. Genseric immediately equipped a numerous fleet of Vandals and Moors, and cast anchor at the mouth of the Tiber, about three months after the death of Valentinian. Whatever abilities Maximus might have shown in a subordinate station, he was found incapable of administering an empire; and when the Vandals disembarked at the mouth of the Tiber, the only hope which presented itself to his astonished mind was that of a precipitate flight. But no sooner did he appear in the streets than he was destroyed by the populace, and his mangled body was ignominiously cast into the Tiber.

§ 2. On the third day after the tumult, Genseric boldly advanced from the port of Ostia to the gates of the defenceless city. Instead of a sally of the Roman youth, there issued from the gates an unarmed and venerable procession of the bishop at the head of his clergy. The fearless spirit of Leo, his authority and eloquence, *again* mitigated the fierceness of a barbarian conqueror: the king of the Vandals promised to spare the unresisting multitude, to protect the buildings from fire, and to exempt the captives from torture;

and although such orders were neither seriously given, nor strictly obeyed, the mediation of Leo was glorious to himself, and in some degree beneficial to his country. Rome and its inhabitants were delivered to the licentiousness of the Vandals and Moors, whose blind passions revenged the injuries of Carthage. The pillage lasted fourteen days and nights (A.D. 455, June 15–29); and all that yet remained of public or private wealth was diligently transported to the vessels of Genseric. In the 45 years that had elapsed since the Gothic invasion, the pomp and luxury of Rome were in some measure restored; and it was difficult either to escape, or to satisfy, the avarice of a conqueror who possessed leisure to collect, and ships to transport, the wealth of the capital. Eudoxia herself, who advanced to meet her friend and deliverer, soon bewailed the imprudence of her own conduct. She was rudely stripped of her jewels; and the unfortunate empress, with her two daughters, the only surviving remains of the great Theodosius, was compelled, as a captive, to follow the haughty Vandal, who immediately hoisted sail, and returned with a prosperous navigation to the port of Carthage.

§ 3. The next Roman emperor was appointed by the Visigoths. Avitus, who was descended from a noble family in the diocese of Auvergne, had been promoted by Maximus to the general command of the forces in Gaul, and cultivated the friendship of Theodoric II., who had acquired the Gothic sceptre by the murder of his elder brother Torismond. Upon receiving intelligence of the death of Maximus, the Goths were easily persuaded to support the claims of Avitus to the vacant throne (A.D. 455, August 15). The formal consent of Marcian, emperor of the East, was solicited and obtained; but the senate, Rome, and Italy, though humbled by their recent calamities, submitted with a secret murmur to the presumption of the Gallic usurper.

The short reign of Avitus was signalised by the exploits of Theodoric in Spain. After the passage of the Vandals into Africa, the Suevi, who had fixed their kingdom in Gallicia, aspired to the conquest of Spain, and threatened to extinguish the feeble remains of the Roman dominion The Gothic king marched into Spain as the general of the republic, and defeated and slew Rechiarius, king of the Suevi. But whilst Theodoric fought and vanquished in the name of Avitus, the reign of Avitus had expired. Count Ricimer, whose mother was the daughter of Wallia, king of the Visigoths, and who was descended on the father's side from the nation of the Suevi, was exasperated by the misfortunes of his countrymen, whom Theodoric was subduing, and he obeyed with reluctance an emperor in whose elevation he had not been consulted. His faithful and important services against the common enemy rendered him still more formidable;

and, after destroying on the coast of Corsica a fleet of Vandals, which consisted of sixty galleys, Ricimer returned in triumph with the appellation of the Deliverer of Italy. He chose that moment to signify to Avitus that his reign was at an end: and the feeble emperor, who had been persuaded to fix his residence at Rome, at a distance from his Gothic allies, was compelled to abdicate the purple (A.D. 456, October 16). By the clemency of Ricimer, he was permitted to descend from the throne to the bishopric of Placentia; but the resentment of the senate was still unsatisfied; and they pronounced the sentence of his death. He fled towards the Alps, with the hope of securing his person in the sanctuary of Julian, one of the tutelar saints of Auvergne; but disease, or the hand of the executioner, arrested him on the road. Avitus left only one daughter, the wife of the poet Sidonius Apollinaris, whose extant poems celebrate the praises of his father-in-law.

§ 4. The successor of Avitus presents the welcome discovery of a great and heroic character, such as sometimes arises, in a degenerate age, to vindicate the honour of the human species. Majorian, whom Ricimer elevated to the purple (A.D. 457) four months after the death of Avitus, at the unanimous wish of the Romans, had followed the standard of Aëtius, contributed to his success, shared and sometimes eclipsed his glory. The laws of Majorian discover a desire to supply judicious and effectual remedies to the public disorders; and his military exploits shed a last halo of glory upon the falling fortunes of Rome. Majorian crossed the Alps, vanquished Theodoric in the field, and admitted to his friendship and alliance a king whom he had found not unworthy of his arms (A.D. 458). He formed the design of attacking the Vandals in their new settlements, and collected a powerful fleet in the secure and capacious harbour of Carthagena in Spain. But Genseric was saved from impending and inevitable ruin by the treachery of some powerful subjects, envious or apprehensive of their master's success. Guided by their secret intelligence, he surprised the unguarded fleet in the bay of Carthagena: many of the ships were sunk, or taken, or burnt; and the preparations of three years were destroyed in a single day (A.D. 460). This misfortune sullied the glory of Majorian, which had dazzled the eyes of the multitude: almost every description of civil and military officers who were interested in the abuses which he attempted to suppress were exasperated against him, and the patrician Ricimer impelled the inconstant passions of the barbarians against a prince whom he esteemed and hated. Majorian was compelled to abdicate the Imperial purple, and five days after his abdication it was reported that he had died of a dysentery (A.D. 461, August 7).

§ 5. It was not perhaps without some regret that Ricimer sacri-

ficed his friend to the interests of his ambition: but he resolved in a second choice to avoid the imprudent preference of superior virtue and merit. At his command the obsequious senate of Rome bestowed the Imperial title on Libius Severus, who ascended the throne of the West without emerging from the obscurity of a private condition. History has scarcely deigned to notice his birth, his elevation, his character, or his death. Severus expired as soon as his life became inconvenient to his patron, and it would be useless to discriminate his nominal reign in the vacant interval of six years between the death of Majorian and the elevation of Anthemius (A.D. 461–467). During that period the government was in the hands of Ricimer alone; and although the modest barbarian disclaimed the name of king, he ruled Italy with the same independent and despotic authority which was afterwards exercised by Odoacer and Theodoric. But his dominions were bounded by the Alps; and two Roman generals, Marcellinus and Ægidius, maintained their allegiance to the republic, by rejecting with disdain the phantom which he styled an emperor. Marcellinus occupied the province of Dalmatia, under the title of patrician of the West; and Ægidius, under the name of the master-general of Gaul, maintained an independent sovereignty in that country. The kingdom of Italy was afflicted, under the reign of Ricimer, by the incessant depredations of the Vandal pirates. They repeatedly visited the coasts of Spain, Liguria, Tuscany, Campania, Lucania, Bruttium, Apulia, Calabria, Venetia, Dalmatia, Epirus, Greece, and Sicily: they were tempted to subdue the island of Sardinia, so advantageously placed in the centre of the Mediterranean; and their arms spread desolation or terror from the columns of Hercules to the mouths of the Nile. The war which the king of the Vandals prosecuted against the Roman empire was justified by a specious and reasonable motive. The widow of Valentinian, Eudoxia, whom he had led captive from Rome to Carthage, was the sole heiress of the Theodosian house; her elder daughter, Eudocia, became the reluctant wife of Hunmeric, his eldest son; and the stern father, asserting a legal claim which could not easily be refuted or satisfied, demanded a just proportion of the Imperial patrimony. An adequate, or at least a valuable compensation, was offered by the Eastern emperor to purchase a necessary peace. Eudoxia, and her younger daughter Placidia, were honourably restored, and the fury of the Vandals was confined to the limits of the Western empire. Ricimer, unable to protect the coasts of Italy, was at length reduced to address the throne of Constantinople in the humble language of a subject; and Italy submitted, as the price and security of the alliance, to accept a master from the choice of the emperor of the East. It is not the purpose of the present chapter to continue the distinct series of the

Byzantine history; but a concise view of the reign and character of the emperor Leo may explain the last efforts that were attempted to save the falling empire of the West.

§ 6. Pulcheria, who had bestowed her hand, and the sceptre of the East, on Marcian, died in A.D. 453; but her husband continued upon the throne till his own death in 457. He was succeeded by Leo of Thrace, a military tribune, whom the patrician Aspar, the most powerful subject in the East, placed upon the throne. Aspar, who was an Arian, and favoured the cause of Genseric, turned a deaf ear to the complaints of the Western empire; but after the fall of this powerful subject, Leo listened to the entreaties of Ricimer, nominated Anthemius emperor of the West, and expressed his determination to extirpate the tyrant of the Vandals. The solemn inauguration of Anthemius was followed by the nuptials of his daughter and the patrician Ricimer; a fortunate event, which was considered as the firmest security of the union and happiness of the state. The powers of the Eastern empire were strenuously exerted to deliver Italy and the Mediterranean from the Vandals. The fleet that sailed from Constantinople to Carthage consisted of 1113 ships, and the number of soldiers and mariners exceeded 100,000 men. Basiliscus, the brother of the empress Verina, was intrusted with this important command. He landed his troops at Cape Bona, or the promontory of Mercury, about 40 miles from Carthage; the Vandals who opposed his progress by sea or land were successively vanquished: and if Basiliscus had seized the moment of consternation and boldly advanced to the capital, Carthage must have surrendered, and the kingdom of the Vandals been extinguished. But he consented to a fatal truce for five days; and Genseric availed himself of this short respite to destroy the Roman fleet by means of fire-ships. Basiliscus returned to Constantinople with the loss of more than half of his fleet and army, and sheltered his guilty head in the sanctuary of St. Sophia, till his sister, by her tears and entreaties, could obtain his pardon from the indignant emperor. After the failure of this great expedition (A.D. 468), Genseric again became the tyrant of the sea: the coasts of Italy, Greece, and Asia, were again exposed to his revenge and avarice; Tripoli and Sardinia returned to his obedience; he added Sicily to the number of his provinces; and, before he died (A.D. 477), in the fulness of years and glory, he beheld the final extinction of the empire of the West.

§ 7. The peaceful and prosperous reign which Anthemius had promised to the West was soon clouded by misfortune and discord. Ricimer, apprehensive or impatient of a superior, retired from Rome and fixed his residence at Milan. Italy was gradually divided into two independent and hostile kingdoms. When Ricimer had col-

lected a powerful army of barbarians, he marched from Milan to the gates of Rome, and declared Olybrius emperor of the West.

Olybrius had married Placidia, the younger daughter of Valentinian, after she was restored by Genseric, and might esteem himself the lawful heir of the Western empire. But the body of the senate and people firmly adhered to the cause of Anthemius; and the more effectual support of a Gothic army enabled him to prolong his reign by a resistance of three months. The unfortunate Anthemius was dragged from his concealment and inhumanly massacred by the command of his son-in-law, who thus added a third, or perhaps a fourth, emperor to the number of his victims (A.D. 472). The soldiers were indulged without control in the licence of rapine and murder, and Rome experienced the horrors of a city taken by assault. Forty days after this calamitous event, Italy was delivered, by a painful disease, from the tyrant Ricimer, who bequeathed the command of his army to his nephew Gundobald, one of the princes of the Burgundians. In the same year all the principal actors in this great revolution were removed from the stage; and the whole reign of Olybrius, whose death does not betray any symptoms of violence, is included within the term of seven months.

§ 8. Whilst the vacant throne of Italy was abandoned to lawless barbarians, the election of a new colleague was seriously agitated in the council of Leo. The empress Verina had married one of her nieces to Julius Nepos, who succeeded his uncle Marcellinus in the sovereignty of Dalmatia, a more solid possession than the title which he was persuaded to accept of Emperor of the West. But the measures of the Byzantine court were so languid and irresolute, that many months elapsed after the death of Anthemius, and even of Olybrius, before their destined successor could show himself, with a respectable force, to his Italian subjects. During that interval, Glycerius, an obscure soldier, was invested with the purple by his patron Gundobald; but the Burgundian prince was unable or unwilling to support his nomination by a civil war: and his client was permitted to exchange the Roman sceptre for the bishopric at Salona. After extinguishing such a competitor, the emperor Nepos was acknowledged by the senate, by the Italians, and by the provinces of Gaul (A.D. 473); but his repose was soon invaded by a furious sedition of the barbarian confederates, who, under the command of Orestes, their general, were in full march from Rome to Ravenna. Nepos trembled at their approach; and retired to his Dalmatian principality, on the opposite coast of the Adriatic (A.D. 475).

Orestes was a native of Pannonia, and when that province was ceded to the Huns, he entered into the service of Attila, his lawful

sovereign, obtained the office of his secretary, and was repeatedly sent ambassador to Constantinople. After the death of Attila, he transferred his allegiance to the emperors of the West; and was elevated, by the favour of Nepos himself, to the dignities of patrician and master-general of the troops. These troops had been long accustomed to reverence the character and authority of Orestes; at his solicitation they rose in arms against the obscure Greek who presumed to claim their obedience; and when Orestes, from some secret motive, declined the purple, they consented, with the same facility, to acknowledge his son Augustulus as the emperor of the West (A.D. 475). By the application of Nepos, Orestes had now attained the summit of his ambitious hopes; but he soon discovered, before the end of the first year, that the lessons of perjury and ingratitude which a rebel must inculcate will be retorted against himself, and that the precarious sovereign of Italy was only permitted to choose whether he would be the slave or the victim of his barbarian mercenaries. The dangerous alliance of these strangers had oppressed and insulted the last remains of Roman freedom and dignity. They even insisted that a *third* part of the lands of Italy should be immediately divided among them. Orestes rejected the audacious demand; and his refusal was favourable to the ambition of Odoacer, a bold barbarian, who assured his fellow-soldiers that, if they dared to associate under his command, they might soon extort the justice which had been denied to their dutiful petitions. From all the camps and garrisons of Italy the confederates impatiently flocked to the standard of this popular leader; and the unfortunate Orestes, overwhelmed by the torrent, hastily retreated to Pavia. The city was immediately besieged, the fortifications were stormed, and Orestes was slain. The helpless Augustulus, who could no longer command the respect, was reduced to implore the clemency, of Odoacer (A.D. 476).

§ 9. That successful barbarian was the son of Edecon, who, in some remarkable transactions, described in a preceding chapter,* had been the colleague of Orestes himself. Edecon was the hereditary leader of the Sciri, and fell in battle against the Ostrogoths, after the death of Attila. His son, Odoacer, for some time led a wandering life among the barbarians of Noricum, and was afterwards admitted into the service of the Western empire, and soon obtained an honourable rank in the guards. His manners were gradually polished, his military skill was improved, and the confederates of Italy would not have elected him for their general unless the exploits of Odoacer had established a high opinion of his courage and capacity. After the death of Orestes, Odoacer was saluted by his confederates with the title of king, but he abstained

* See p. 254.

during his whole reign from the use of the purple and the diadem. He resolved, however, to abolish the useless and expensive office of emperor of the West; and such is the weight of antique prejudice, that it required some boldness and penetration to discover the extreme facility of the enterprise. The unfortunate Augustulus was made the instrument of his own disgrace; he signified his resignation to the senate; and that assembly, in their last act of obedience to a Roman prince, still affected the spirit of freedom and the forms of the constitution. An epistle was addressed, by their unanimous decree, to the emperor Zeno, the son-in-law and successor of Leo. They solemnly disclaimed the necessity, or even the wish, of continuing any longer the Imperial succession in Italy; since, in their opinion, the majesty of a sole monarch is sufficient to pervade and protect, at the same time, both the East and the West. In their own name, and in the name of the people, they consented that the seat of universal empire should be transferred from Rome to Constantinople. The republic (they repeat that name without a blush) might safely confide in the civil and military virtues of Odoacer; and they humbly request that the emperor would invest him with the title of Patrician, and the administration of the *diocese* of Italy. Zeno acceded to their request; and he gratefully accepted the Imperial ensigns, the sacred ornaments of the throne and palace, which the barbarian was not unwilling to remove from the sight of the people.

§ 10. In the space of twenty years since the death of Valentinian, nine emperors had successively disappeared; and the son of Orestes, a youth recommended only by his beauty, would be the least entitled to the notice of posterity, if his reign, which was marked by the extinction of the Roman empire in the West, did not leave a memorable æra in the history of mankind. The patrician Orestes had married the daughter of Count *Romulus*, of Petovio in Noricum; the name of *Augustus*, notwithstanding the jealousy of power, was known at Aquileia as a familiar surname; and the appellations of the two great founders, of the city and of the monarchy, were thus strangely united in the last of their successors. The son of Orestes assumed and disgraced the names of Romulus Augustus; but the first was corrupted into Momyllus by the Greeks, and the second has been changed by the Latins into the contemptible diminutive Augustulus. The life of this inoffensive youth was spared by the generous clemency of Odoacer; who dismissed him, with the whole family, from the Imperial palace, fixed his annual allowance at 6000 pieces of gold, and assigned the castle of Lucullus, in Campania, for the place of his exile or retirement.

§ 11. Odoacer was the first barbarian who reigned in Italy, over a people who had once asserted their just superiority above the rest

of mankind. He was not unworthy of the high station to which his valour and fortune had exalted him. After an interval of seven years, he restored the consulship of the West. Italy was protected by the arms of its conqueror; and its frontiers were respected by the barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had so long insulted the feeble race of Theodosius. But, notwithstanding the success of Odoacer, his kingdom exhibited the sad prospect of misery and desolation. In the division and decline of the empire, the tributary harvests of Egypt and Africa were withdrawn; the numbers of the inhabitants continually diminished with the means of subsistence; and the country was exhausted by the irretrievable losses of war, famine, and pestilence. After a reign of 14 years (A.D. 476-490) Odoacer was oppressed by the superior genius of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths; a hero alike excellent in the arts of war and of government, who restored an age of peace and prosperity, and whose name still excites and deserves the attention of mankind.

§ 12. In closing the history of the Western empire, the fortunes of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, must briefly claim our attention.

Theodoric II., king of the Visigoths in Gaul, was assassinated by his brother Euric (A.D. 466), who displayed, with a more savage temper, superior abilities both in peace and war. He passed the Pyrenees at the head of a numerous army, subdued the greater part of Spain, and permitted the Suevi to hold the kingdom of Gallicia under the Gothic monarchy. The efforts of Euric were not less vigorous or less successful in Gaul; and throughout the country that extends from the Pyrenees to the Rhône and the Loire, Berry and Auvergne were the only cities or dioceses which refused to acknowledge him as their master. As soon as Odoacer had extinguished the Western empire, he sought the friendship of Euric, and resigned to him all the Roman conquests beyond the Alps, as far as the Rhine and the Ocean. The lawful pretensions of Euric were justified by ambition and success, and the Gothic nation might aspire under his command to the monarchy of Spain and Gaul. But the fortune of nations has often depended on accidents; and France may ascribe her greatness to the premature death of the Gothic king at a time when his son Alaric was an helpless infant, and his adversary Clovis an ambitious and valiant youth.

§ 13. Clovis succeeded his father Childeric at the early age of 15 years to the command of the Salian tribe. The narrow limits of his kingdom were confined to the island of the Batavians, with the ancient dioceses of Tournay and Arras; and at the baptism of Clovis the number of his warriors could not exceed 5000. The kindred tribes of the Franks who had seated themselves along the Belgic rivers, the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Rhine, were governed by their independent kings of the Merovingian race—the

equals, the allies, and sometimes the enemies, of the Salic prince. But the Germans, who obeyed in peace the hereditary jurisdiction of their chiefs, were free to follow the standard of a popular and victorious general; and the superior merit of Clovis attracted the respect and allegiance of the national confederacy. He was intercepted in the career of victory, since he died in the 45th year of his age: but he had already accomplished, in a reign of 30 years (A.D. 481-511), the establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul.

§ 14. The first exploit of Clovis was the defeat of Syagrius, the son of Ægidius, who exercised an independent authority over the second Belgic and the adjoining districts. After annexing these provinces to the kingdom of the Franks, Clovis turned his victorious arms against the Alemanni, who commanded either side of the Rhine from its source to its conflux with the Main and the Moselle, and who had spread themselves into Gaul over the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. They were utterly defeated by the king of the Franks, their king was slain in battle, and their territories became the prize of their conqueror (A.D. 496). The conquest of the Alemanni was followed almost immediately by the baptism of Clovis, who had up to this time continued to worship the gods of his ancestors. The Merovingian prince had contracted a fortunate alliance with the fair Clotilda, the niece of the king of Burgundy, who in the midst of an Arian court was educated in the profession of the catholic faith. It was her duty to achieve the conversion of a Pagan husband; the king declared himself satisfied of the truth of the catholic faith, and the political reasons which might have suspended his public profession were removed by the devout or loyal acclamations of the Franks, who showed themselves alike prepared to follow their heroic leader to the field of battle or to the baptismal font. The new Constantine was immediately baptized with 3000 of his warlike subjects in the cathedral of Rheims, and their example was imitated by the remainder of the barbarians. The baptism of Clovis did not delay his conquest of Gaul. After the subjection of the Armoricans, Clovis gained a great victory over the Burgundians (A.D. 500), whose kingdom, which was defined by the course of the Saône and the Rhône, extended from the forest of Vosges to the Alps and the sea of Marseilles. The victory of Clovis overthrew the greatness and the glory of their kingdom; but it was not finally united to the monarchy of the Franks till the next generation. The last conquest of Clovis was that of the Visigoths. At the battle of Poitiers (A.D. 507), the king of the Franks gained a decisive victory over the Visigoths; their king Alaric was slain by the hands of Clovis himself; and their power in Gaul was completely destroyed. Clovis allowed them to retain the possession

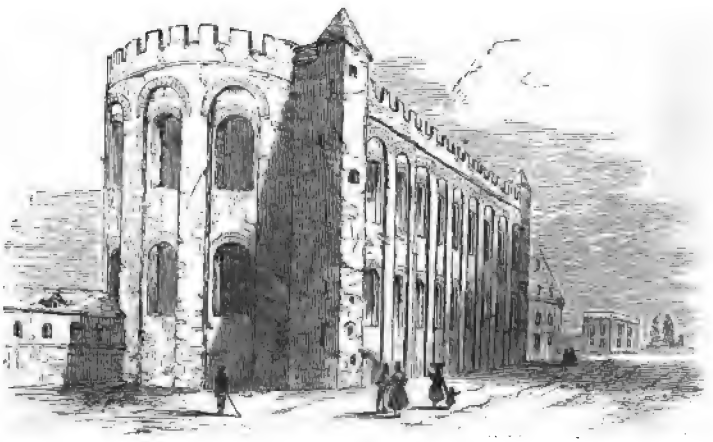
of Septimania, a narrow tract of sea-coast, from the Rhône to the Pyrenees; but the ample province of Aquitain, from those mountains to the Loire was indissolubly united to the kingdom of France.

§ 15. After the success of the Gothic war, Clovis accepted from the emperor Anastasius the honours of the Roman consulship (A.D. 510). The emperor of the East, by bestowing this honour upon the king of the Franks, seemed almost to ratify the usurpation of Gaul. Twenty-five years after the death of Clovis this important concession was more formally declared in a treaty between his sons and the emperor Justinian, who, generously yielding to the Franks the sovereignty of the countries beyond the Alps, which they already possessed, absolved the provincials from their allegiance; and established on a more lawful, though not more solid, foundation, the throne of the Merovingians (A.D. 536).

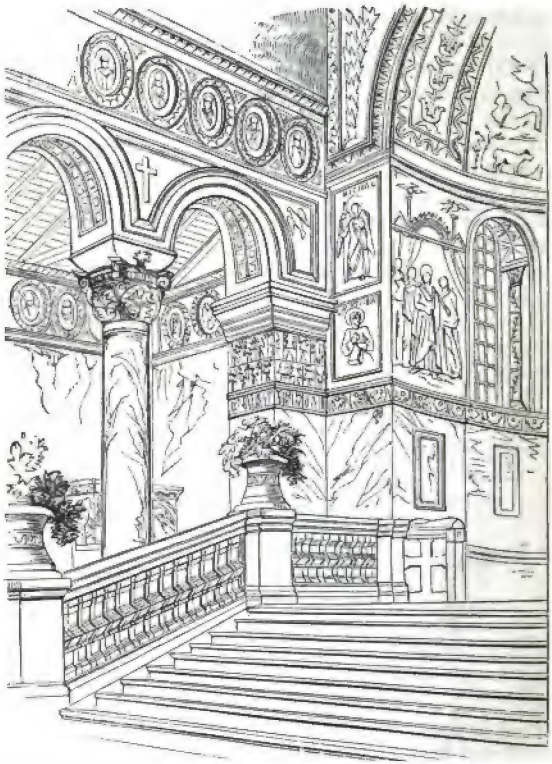
§ 16. The Visigoths had resigned to Clovis the greatest part of their Gallic possessions; but their loss was amply compensated by the easy conquest and secure enjoyment of the provinces of Spain. Here they continued to rule till the final overthrow of their monarchy by the Saracens at the beginning of the eighth century; but it is unnecessary to pursue the obscure and barren series of their annals.

§ 17. While the kingdoms of the Franks and Visigoths were established in Gaul and Spain, the Saxons achieved the conquest of Britain, the third great diocese of the præfecture of the West. The details of this conquest are not recorded by any contemporary writer, and are only traditional. The common story of Hengist and Horsa, Vortigern and Rowena, rests simply upon the authority of Bede, who lived at the beginning of the eighth century. There is evidence that there were Saxons in England before A.D. 449, the received date of the landing of Hengist and Horsa, and it is probable that these pirates had nearly two centuries previously formed settlements in our island. But after the dissolution of the Roman government their numbers were constantly increased by the arrival of fresh swarms of their countrymen; and, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the Britons, the Saxons gradually subdued the whole of the island, with the exception of the country west of the Severn, where the bravest warriors found a secure refuge in the mountains of Wales. The arts and religion, the laws and language, which the Romans had so carefully planted in Britain, were extirpated by their barbarous successors. The kings of France maintained the privileges of their Roman subjects; but the ferocious Saxons trampled on the laws of Rome and of the emperors. The proceedings of civil and criminal jurisdiction, the titles of honour, the forms of office, the ranks of society, and even the domestic rights,

of marriage, testament, and inheritance, were finally suppressed; and the indiscriminate crowd of noble and plebeian slaves was governed by the traditionary customs which had been coarsely framed for the shepherds and pirates of Germany. The language of science, of business, and of conversation, which had been introduced by the Romans, was lost in the general desolation; and the Germans preserved and established the use of their natural dialect. The example of a revolution so rapid and so complete may not easily be found; but it will excite a probable suspicion that the arts of Rome were less deeply rooted in Britain than in Gaul or Spain; and that the native rudeness of the country and its inhabitants was covered by a thin varnish of Italian manners.



The Basilica at Trèves.



Part of Apse in the Church of St. Apollinare in Ravenna, built under the dominion of the Ostrogoths.

CHAPTER XIX.

REIGN OF THEODORIC, KING OF ITALY.

§ 1. Birth and education of Theodoric. § 2. Reigns of ZENO and ANASTASIUS. § 3. Invasion of Italy by Theodoric. § 4. Defeat and death of Odoacer: Theodoric king of Italy. § 5. Partition of lands: separation of the Goths and Italians. § 6. Foreign policy of Theodoric. § 7. Civil government of Italy. § 8. Prosperity of Rome: visit of Theodoric. § 9. Flourishing state of Italy. § 10. Ecclesiastical government. § 11. Vices of the government of Theodoric. § 12. Character, studies, and honours of

Boethius. § 13. He is accused of treason. § 14. Death of Boethius and Symmachus. § 15. Death of Theodoric.

§ 1. After the fall of the Roman Empire in the West, an interval of fifty years, till the memorable reign of Justinian, is faintly marked by the obscure names and imperfect annals of Zeno, Anastasius, and Justin, who successively ascended the throne of Constantinople. During the same period Italy revived and flourished under the government of a Gothic king who might have deserved a statue among the best and bravest of the ancient Romans.

Theodoric the Ostrogoth, the fourteenth in lineal descent of the royal line of the Amali, was born in the neighbourhood of Vienna, two years after the death of Attila. A recent victory had restored the independence of the Ostrogoths; and the three brothers Walamir, Theodemir, and Widimir, who ruled that warlike nation with united counsels, had separately pitched their habitations in the fertile, though desolate, province of Pannonia. The Huns still threatened their revolted subjects, but their hasty attack was repelled by the single forces of Walamir, and the news of his victory reached the distant camp of his brother in the same auspicious moment that the favourite concubine of Theodemir was delivered of a son and heir (A.D. 455). In the eighth year of his age, Theodoric was reluctantly yielded by his father to the public interest, as the pledge of an alliance which Leo, emperor of the East, had consented to purchase by an annual subsidy of three hundred pounds of gold. The royal hostage was educated at Constantinople with care and tenderness. His body was formed to all the exercises of war, his mind was expanded by the habits of liberal conversation; he frequented the schools of the most skilful masters, but he disdained or neglected the arts of Greece; and so ignorant did he always remain of the first elements of science, that a rude mark was contrived to represent the signature of the illiterate king of Italy. As soon as he had attained the age of eighteen, he was restored to the wishes of the Ostrogoths, whom the emperor aspired to gain by liberality and confidence. Walamir had fallen in battle; the youngest of the brothers, Widimir, had led away into Italy and Gaul an army of barbarians; and the whole nation acknowledged for their king the father of Theodoric. Soon afterwards the Ostrogoths, being reduced to extreme distress by the want of clothing and food, resolved to desert their Pannonian encampments, and boldly to advance into the warm and wealthy neighbourhood of the Byzantine court. After proving, by some acts of hostility, that they could be dangerous, or at least troublesome, enemies, the Ostrogoths sold at a high price their reconciliation and fidelity, accepted a donative of lands and money, and were intrusted with the defence of the Lower Danube under the command of

Theodoric, who succeeded after his father's death (A.D. 476) to the hereditary throne of the Amali.

§ 2. An hero, descended from a race of kings, must have despised the base Isaurian who was invested with the Roman purple, without any endowments of mind or body, without any advantages of royal birth or superior qualifications. The inheritance of Leo and of the East peaceably devolved on his infant grandson, the son of his daughter Ariadne; and her Isaurian husband, the fortunate Trascalisseus, exchanged that barbarous sound for the Grecian appellation of Zeno. After the decease of the elder Leo, he humbly received as a gift the second rank in the empire, and soon excited the public suspicion on the sudden and premature death of his young colleague, whose life could no longer promote the success of his ambition. But the palace of Constantinople was ruled by female influence, and agitated by female passions; and Verina, the widow of Leo, claiming his empire as her own, pronounced a sentence of deposition against the worthless and ungrateful servant on whom she alone had bestowed the sceptre of the East. As soon as she sounded a revolt in the ears of Zeno, he fled with precipitation into the mountains of Isauria; and her brother, Basiliscus, already infamous by his African expedition, was unanimously proclaimed by the servile senate. But the reign of the usurper was short and turbulent. By the conspiracy of the malcontents, Zeno was recalled from exile; and the armies, the capital, and the person of Basiliscus, were betrayed. While the East was afflicted by the passions of Verina, her daughter Ariadne was distinguished by the female virtues of mildness and fidelity; she followed her husband in his exile, and after his restoration she implored his clemency in favour of her mother. On the decease of Zeno (reigned A.D. 474–491), Ariadne, the daughter, the mother, and the widow of an emperor, gave her hand and the Imperial title to Anastasius, an aged domestic of the palace, who survived his elevation above twenty-seven years (A.D. 491–518), and whose character is attested by the acclamation of the people, "Reign as you have lived!"

§ 3. Whatever fear or affection could bestow was profusely lavished by Zeno on the king of the Ostrogoths. As long as Theodoric condescended to serve, he supported with courage and fidelity the cause of his benefactor; but the faithful servant was suddenly converted into a formidable enemy, who spread the flames of war from Constantinople to the Adriatic. On such occasions Theodoric sustained the loud and specious reproach of disloyalty and of ingratitude, which could be only excused by the hard necessity of his situation. He reigned, not as the monarch, but as the minister of a ferocious people, whose spirit was unbroken by slavery, and impatient of real or imaginary insults. Their poverty was

incurable, since the most liberal donatives were soon dissipated in wasteful luxury, and the most fertile estates became barren in their hands; they despised, but they envied, the laborious provincials; and when their substance had failed, the Ostrogoths embraced the familiar resources of war and rapine. The Byzantine court were glad to get rid of neighbours who were equally formidable as enemies or allies, and therefore accepted with joy the proposal of Theodoric that he should march, with his national troops, against Odoacer, and restore Italy to the Roman empire. But the forms of the commission or grant appear to have been expressed with a prudent ambiguity, which might be explained by the event; and it was left doubtful whether the conqueror of Italy should reign as the lieutenant, the vassal, or the ally, of the emperor of the East.

The reputation both of the leader and of the war diffused an universal ardour; and each bold barbarian who had heard of the wealth and beauty of Italy was impatient to seek, through the most perilous adventures, the possession of such enchanting objects. The march of Theodoric must be considered as the emigration of an entire people; the wives and children of the Goths, their aged parents, and most precious effects, were carefully transported; and some idea may be formed of the heavy baggage that now followed the camp by the loss of 2000 waggons which had been sustained in a single action in the war of Epirus. After enduring numerous hardships during a march of 700 miles, which had been undertaken in the depth of a rigourous winter, Theodoric at length surmounted every obstacle by skilful conduct and persevering courage, descended from the Julian Alps, and displayed his invincible banners on the confines of Italy.

§ 4. The fate of Italy was decided in three battles (A.D. 489, 490); and after three defeats, Odoacer, despairing any longer of success in the field, shut himself up in Ravenna. This city, secure in the fortifications of art and nature, sustained a siege of almost three years, and the daring sallies of Odoacer carried slaughter and dismay into the Gothic camp. At length, destitute of provisions and hopeless of relief, that unfortunate monarch yielded to the groans of his subjects and the clamours of his soldiers. A treaty of peace was negotiated by the bishop of Ravenna; the Ostrogoths were admitted into the city; and the hostile kings consented, under the sanction of an oath, to rule with equal and undivided authority the provinces of Italy. The event of such an agreement may be easily foreseen. After some days had been devoted to the semblance of joy and friendship, Odoacer, in the midst of a solemn banquet, was stabbed by the hand, or at least by the command, of his rival (A.D. 493). Theodoric thus became master of Italy, with the tardy, reluctant, ambiguous consent of the emperor of the East. His reputation reposes on the visible peace and prosperity of a reign of 33 years

(A.D. 493–525), the unanimous esteem of his own times, and the memory of his wisdom and courage, his justice and humanity, which was deeply impressed on the minds of the Goths and Italians.

§ 5. The partition of the lands of Italy, of which Theodoric assigned the third part to his soldiers, is *honourably* arraigned as the sole injustice of his life. And even this act may be fairly justified by the example of Odoacer, the rights of conquest, the true interest of the Italians, and the sacred duty of subsisting a whole people, who, on the faith of his promises, had transported themselves into a distant land. Under the reign of Theodoric, and in the happy climate of Italy, the Goths soon multiplied to a formidable host of 200,000 men, and the whole amount of their families may be computed by the ordinary addition of women and children. Their invasion of property, a part of which must have been already vacant, was disguised by the generous but improper name of *hospitality;* these unwelcome guests were irregularly dispersed over the face of Italy, and the lot of each barbarian was adequate to his birth and office, the number of his followers, and the rustic wealth which he possessed in slaves and cattle. The distinctions of noble and plebeian were acknowledged, but every freeman enjoyed the inestimable privilege of being subject only to the laws of his country. Fashion, and even convenience, soon persuaded the conquerors to assume the more elegant dress of the natives, but they still persisted in the use of their mother tongue; and their contempt for the Latin schools was applauded by Theodoric himself, who gratified their prejudices, or his own, by declaring that the child who had trembled at a rod would never dare to look upon a sword. Distress might sometimes provoke the indigent Roman to assume the ferocious manners which were insensibly relinquished by the rich and luxurious barbarian; but these mutual conversions were not encouraged by the policy of a monarch who perpetuated the separation of the Italians and Goths, reserving the former for the arts of peace, and the latter for the service of war. To accomplish this design, he studied to protect his industrious subjects, and to moderate the violence, without enervating the valour, of his soldiers, who were maintained for the public defence. They held their lands and benefices as a military stipend: at the sound of the trumpet they were prepared to march under the conduct of their provincial officers, and the whole extent of Italy was distributed into the several quarters of a well-regulated camp. A firm though gentle discipline imposed the habits of modesty, obedience, and temperance; and the Goths were instructed to spare the people, to reverence the laws, to understand the duties of civil society, and to disclaim the barbarous licence of judicial combat and private revenge.

§ 6. Among the barbarians of the West the victory of Theodoric had spread a general alarm. But as soon as it appeared that he was

satisfied with conquest and desirous of peace, terror was changed into respect, and they submitted to a powerful mediation, which was uniformly employed for the best purposes of reconciling their quarrels and civilising their manners. The ambassadors who resorted to Ravenna from the most distant countries of Europe admired his wisdom, magnificence, and courtesy; and if he sometimes accepted either slaves or arms, white horses or strange animals, the gift of a sun-dial, a water-clock, or a musician, admonished even the princes of Gaul of the superior art and industry of his Italian subjects. His domestic alliances, a wife, two daughters, a sister, and a niece, united the family of Theodoric with the kings of the Franks, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, the Vandals, and the Thuringians, and contributed to maintain the harmony, or at least the balance, of the great republic of the West.

The life of Theodoric represents the rare and meritorious example of a barbarian who sheathed his sword in the pride of victory and the vigour of his age. A reign of 33 years was consecrated to the duties of civil government, and the hostilities, in which he was sometimes involved, were speedily terminated by the conduct of his lieutenants, the discipline of his troops, the arms of his allies, and even by the terror of his name. He reduced, under a strong and regular government, the unprofitable countries of Rhætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia, from the source of the Danube and the territory of the Bavarians to the petty kingdom erected by the Gepidæ on the ruins of Sirmium. The greatness of a servant who was named perfidious because he was successful, awakened the jealousy of the emperor Anastasius; and a war was kindled on the Dacian frontier, by the protection which the Gothic king, in the vicissitude of human affairs, had granted to one of the descendants of Attila. Sabinian, a general illustrious by his own and father's merit, advanced at the head of 10,000 Romans; and the provisions and arms, which filled a long train of waggons, were distributed to the fiercest of the Bulgarian tribes (A.D. 505). But in the fields of Margus the Eastern powers were defeated by the inferior forces of the Goths and Huns; and the flower and even the hope of the Roman armies was irretrievably destroyed. Exasperated by this disgrace, the Byzantine court despatched 200 ships and 8000 men to plunder the sea-coast of Calabria and Apulia: they assaulted the ancient city of Tarentum, interrupted the trade and agriculture of a happy country, and sailed back to the Hellespont, proud of their piratical victory over a people whom they still presumed to consider as their *Roman* brethren (A.D. 509). Their retreat was possibly hastened by the activity of Theodoric; Italy was covered by a fleet of 1000 light vessels, which he constructed with incredible despatch; and his firm moderation was soon rewarded by a solid and honourable peace. He maintained

with a powerful hand the balance of the West, till it was at length overthrown by the ambition of Clovis; and although unable to assist his rash and unfortunate kinsman, the king of the Visigoths, he saved the remains of his family and people, and checked the Franks in the midst of their victorious career. I am not desirous to prolong or repeat this narrative of military events, the least interesting of the reign of Theodoric, and shall be content to add that the Alemanni were protected, that an inroad of the Burgundians was severely chastised, and that the conquest of Arles and Marseilles opened a free communication with the Visigoths, who revered him both as their national protector, and as the guardian of his grandchild, the infant son of Alaric. Under this respectable character the king of Italy restored the Prætorian præfecture of the Gauls, reformed some abuses in the civil government of Spain, and accepted the annual tribute and apparent submission of its military governor, who wisely refused to trust his person in the palace of Ravenna. The Gothic sovereignty was established from Sicily to the Danube, from Sirmium or Belgrade to the Atlantic Ocean; and the Greeks themselves have acknowledged that Theodoric reigned over the fairest portion of the Western empire.

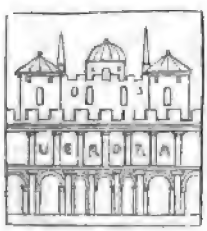
§ 7. The union of the Goths and Romans might have fixed for ages the transient happiness of Italy; and the first of nations, a new people of free subjects and enlightened soldiers, might have gradually arisen from the mutual emulation of their respective virtues. But the sublime merit of guiding or seconding such a revolution was not reserved for the reign of Theodoric; he wanted either the genius or the opportunities of a legislator; and while he indulged the Goths in the enjoyment of rude liberty, he servilely copied the institutions, and even the abuses, of the political system which had been framed by Constantine and his successors. From a tender regard to the expiring prejudices of Rome, the barbarian declined the name, the purple, and the diadem of the emperors; but he assumed, under the hereditary title of king, the whole substance and plenitude of Imperial prerogative. His addresses to the Eastern throne were respectful and ambiguous: he celebrated in pompous style the harmony of the two republics, applauded his own government as the perfect similitude of a sole and undivided empire, and claimed above the kings of the earth the same pre-eminence which he modestly allowed to the person or rank of Anastasius. The alliance of the East and West was annually declared by the unanimous choice of two consuls; but it should seem that the Italian candidate, who was named by Theodoric, accepted a formal confirmation from the sovereign of Constantinople. The Gothic palace of Ravenna reflected the image of the court of Theodosius or Valentinian. The Prætorian præfect, the præfect of Rome, the quæstor, the master of the offices, with the public and patrimonial treasures, whose functions are

painted in gaudy colours by the rhetoric of Cassiodorus, still continued to act as the ministers of state. And the subordinate care of justice and the revenue was delegated to seven consulars, three correctors, and five presidents, who governed the fifteen *regions* of Italy according to the principles, and even the forms, of Roman jurisprudence. The violence of the conquerors was abated or eluded by the slow artifice of judicial proceedings; the civil administration, with its honours and emoluments, was confined to the Italians; and the people still preserved their dress and language, their laws and customs, their personal freedom, and two-thirds of their landed property. It had been the object of Augustus to conceal the introduction of monarchy; it was the policy of Theodoric to disguise the reign of a barbarian. If his subjects were sometimes awakened from this pleasing vision of a Roman government, they derived more substantial comfort from the character of a Gothic prince who had penetration to discern, and firmness to pursue, his own and the public interest. Theodoric loved the virtues which he possessed, and the talents of which he was destitute. Liberius was promoted to the office of Prætorian præfect for his unshaken fidelity to the unfortunate cause of Odoacer. The ministers of Theodoric, Cassiodorus and Boethius, have reflected on his reign the lustre of their genius and learning. More prudent or more fortunate than his colleague, Cassiodorus preserved his own esteem without forfeiting the royal favour; and after passing 30 years in the honours of the world, he was blessed with an equal term of repose in the devout and studious solitude of Squillace.

§ 8. As the patron of the republic, it was the interest and duty of the Gothic king to cultivate the affections of the senate and people. The nobles of Rome were flattered by sonorous epithets and formal professions of respect, which had been more justly applied to the merit and authority of their ancestors. The people enjoyed, without fear or danger, the three blessings of a capital, order, plenty, and public amusements. The public games exhibited a faint and feeble copy of the magnificence of the Cæsars; yet the musical, the gymnastic, and the pantomime arts, had not totally sunk in oblivion; the wild beasts of Africa still exercised in the amphitheatre the courage and dexterity of the hunters; and the indulgent Goth either patiently tolerated or gently restrained the blue and green factions, whose contests so often filled the circus with clamour, and even with blood. In the seventh year of his peaceful reign (A.D. 500), Theodoric visited the old capital of the world; the senate and people advanced in solemn procession to salute a second Trajan, a new Valentinian; and he nobly supported that character, by the assurance of a just and legal government, in a discourse which he was not afraid to pronounce in public, and to inscribe on a tablet of brass. Rome, in this august ceremony, shot a last ray of declining glory. During a re-

sidence of six months, the fame, the person, and the courteous demeanour of the Gothic king, excited the admiration of the Romans, and he contemplated, with equal curiosity and surprise, the monuments that remained of their ancient greatness. He imprinted the footsteps of a conqueror on the Capitoline hill, and frankly confessed that each day he viewed with fresh wonder the forum of Trajan and his lofty column. The theatre of Pompey appeared, even in its decay, as a huge mountain artificially hollowed and polished, and adorned by human industry; and he vaguely computed that a river of gold must have been drained to erect the colossal amphitheatre of Titus. From the mouths of fourteen aqueducts a pure and copious stream was diffused into every part of the city. The long and spacious vaults which had been constructed for the purpose of common sewers, subsisted after twelve centuries in their pristine strength; and these subterraneous channels have been preferred to all the visible wonders of Rome. The Gothic kings, so injuriously accused of the ruin of antiquity, were anxious to preserve the monuments of the nation whom they had subdued. The royal edicts were framed to prevent the abuses, the neglect, or the depredations of the citizens themselves; and a professed architect, the annual sum of two hundred pounds of gold, twenty-five thousand tiles, and the receipt of customs from the Lucrine port, were assigned for the ordinary repairs of the walls and public edifices. A similar care was extended to the statues of metal or marble of men or animals. The spirit of the horses which have given a modern name to the Quirinal was applauded by the barbarians; the brazen elephants of the *Via sacra* were diligently restored; the famous heifer of Myron deceived the cattle, as they were driven through the forum of peace; and an officer was created to protect those works of art, which Theodoric considered as the noblest ornament of his kingdom.

§ 9. After the example of the last emperors, Theodoric preferred the residence of Ravenna. As often as the peace of his kingdom was threatened (for it was never invaded) by the barbarians, he removed his court to Verona* on the northern frontier, and the image of his palace at this place is still extant on a seal. These two capitals, as well as Pavia, Spoleto, Naples, and the rest of the Italian cities, acquired under his reign the useful or splendid decorations of churches, aqueducts, baths, porticoes, and palaces. But the happiness of the subject was more truly conspicuous in the busy scene of labour and luxury, in the rapid increase and bold enjoy-



Palace of Theodoric at Verona. From a seal.

* Theodoric of Verona, under the name of Dietrich of Bern, is celebrated in the legendary poetry of the Germans.

ment of national wealth. From the shades of Tibur and Prænestè, the Roman senators still retired in the winter season to the warm sun and salubrious springs of Baiæ; and their villas, which advanced on solid moles into the bay of Naples, commanded the various prospect of the sky, the earth, and the water. On the eastern side of the Adriatic a new Campania was formed in the fair and fruitful province of Istria, which communicated with the palace of Ravenna by an easy navigation of 100 miles. The rich productions of Lucania and the adjacent provinces were exchanged at the Marcilian fountain, in a populous fair annually dedicated to trade, intemperance, and superstition. Agriculture revived under the shadow of peace, and the number of husbandmen was multiplied by the redemption of captives. The iron-mines of Dalmatia, a gold-mine in Bruttium, were carefully explored, and the Pomptine marshes, as well as those of Spoleto, were drained and cultivated by private undertakers, whose distant reward must depend on the continuance of the public prosperity. Whenever the seasons were less propitious, the doubtful precautions of forming magazines of corn, fixing the price, and prohibiting the exportation, attested at least the benevolence of the state; but such was the extraordinary plenty which an industrious people produced from a grateful soil, that a gallon of wine was sometimes sold in Italy for less than three farthings, and a quarter of wheat at about five shillings and sixpence. A country possessed of so many valuable objects of exchange soon attracted the merchants of the world, whose beneficial traffic was encouraged and protected by the liberal spirit of Theodoric. The free intercourse of the provinces by land and water was restored and extended; the city gates were never shut either by day or by night; and the common saying, that a purse of gold might be safely left in the fields, was expressive of the conscious security of the inhabitants.

§ 10. A difference of religion is always pernicious and often fatal to the harmony of the prince and people: the Gothic conqueror had been educated in the profession of Arianism, and Italy was devoutly attached to the Nicene faith. But the persuasion of Theodoric was not infected by zeal; and satisfied with the private toleration of his Arian sectaries, he allowed the Catholics to continue in possession of the power and emoluments of the church. With the protection, Theodoric assumed the legal supremacy, of the church; and his firm administration restored or extended some useful prerogatives which had been neglected by the feeble emperors of the West. He was not ignorant of the dignity and importance of the Roman pontiff, to whom the venerable name of POPE was now appropriated. When the chair of St. Peter was disputed by Symmachus and Laurence, they appeared at his summons before the tribunal of an Arian monarch, and he confirmed the election of the most worthy or the most obsequious candidate.

§ 11. I have descanted with pleasure on the fortunate condition of Italy, but our fancy must not hastily conceive that the golden age of the poets, a race of men without vice or misery, was realized under the Gothic conquest. The fair prospect was sometimes overcast with clouds; the wisdom of Theodoric might be deceived, his power might be resisted, and the declining age of the monarch was sullied with popular hatred and patrician blood. Two hundred thousand barbarians, formidable even to their master, were seated in the heart of Italy; they indignantly supported the restraints of peace and discipline; the disorders of their march were always felt and sometimes compensated; and where it was dangerous to punish, it might be prudent to dissemble, the sallies of their native fierceness.

Even the religious toleration which Theodoric had the glory of introducing into the Christian world was painful and offensive to the orthodox zeal of the Italians. They respected the armed heresy of the Goths; but their pious rage was safely pointed against the rich and defenceless Jews, who had formed their establishments at Naples, Rome, Ravenna, Milan, and Genoa, for the benefit of trade, and under the sanction of the laws. Their persons were insulted, their effects were pillaged, and their synagogues were burnt by the mad populace of Ravenna and Rome, inflamed, as it should seem, by the most frivolous or extravagant pretences. The government which could neglect, would have deserved such an outrage. A legal inquiry was instantly directed; and, as the authors of the tumult had escaped in the crowd, the whole community was condemned to repair the damage, and the obstinate bigots, who refused their contributions, were whipped through the streets by the hand of the executioner. This simple act of justice exasperated the discontent of the catholics, who applauded the merit and patience of these holy confessors. At the close of a glorious life, the king of Italy discovered that he had excited the hatred of a people whose happiness he had so assiduously laboured to promote; and his mind was soured by indignation, jealousy, and the bitterness of unrequited love. The Gothic conqueror condescended to disarm the unwarlike natives of Italy, interdicting all weapons of offence, and excepting only a small knife for domestic use. The deliverer of Rome was accused of conspiring with the vilest informers against the lives of senators whom he suspected of a secret and treasonable correspondence with the Byzantine court. After the death of Anastasius, the diadem had been placed on the head of a feeble old man, but the powers of government were assumed by his nephew Justinian, who already meditated the extirpation of heresy and the conquest of Italy and Africa. A rigorous law, which was published at Constantinople, to reduce the Arians, by the dread of punishment, within the pale of the church, awakened the just resentment of Theodoric, who claimed for his distressed brethren of the East the same indulgence which he

had so long granted to the catholics of his dominions. At his stern command the Roman pontiff, with four *illustrious* senators, embarked on an embassy of which he must have alike dreaded the failure or the success. The singular veneration shown to the first pope who had visited Constantinople was punished as a crime by the zealous monarch; the artful or peremptory refusal of the Byzantine court might excuse an equal, and would provoke a larger, measure of retaliation; and a mandate was prepared in Italy to prohibit, after a stated day, the exercise of the catholic worship. By the bigotry of his subjects and enemies the most tolerant of princes was driven to the brink of persecution, and the life of Theodoric was too long, since he lived to condemn the virtue of Boethius and Symmachus.

§ 12. The senator Boethius is the last of the Romans whom Cato or Tully could have acknowledged for their countrymen. As a wealthy orphan, he inherited the patrimony and honours of the Anician family, a name ambitiously assumed by the kings and emperors of the age, and the appellation of Manlius asserted his genuine or fabulous descent from a race of consuls and dictators who had repulsed the Gauls from the Capitol, and sacrificed their sons to the discipline of the republic. In the youth of Boethius the studies of Rome were not totally abandoned; a Virgil is now extant corrected by the hand of a consul; and the professors of grammar, rhetoric, and jurisprudence were maintained in their privileges and pensions by the liberality of the Goths. But the erudition of the Latin language was insufficient to satiate his ardent curiosity; he studied deeply the writings of the Greek philosophers; and he imbibed the spirit, and imitated the method, of his dead and living masters, who attempted to reconcile the strong and subtle sense of Aristotle with the devout contemplation and sublime fancy of Plato. For the benefit of his Latin readers, his genius submitted to teach the first elements of the arts and sciences of Greece. The geometry of Euclid, the music of Pythagoras, the arithmetic of Nicomachus, the mechanics of Archimedes, the astronomy of Ptolemy, the theology of Plato, and the logic of Aristotle, with the commentary of Porphyry, were translated and illustrated by the indefatigable pen of the Roman senator. And he alone was esteemed capable of describing the wonders of art, a sun-dial, a water-clock, or a sphere which represented the motion of the planets. From these abstruse speculations Boethius stooped—or, to speak more truly, he rose—to the social duties of public and private life; the indigent were relieved by his liberality, and his eloquence, which flattery might compare to the voice of Demosthenes or Cicero, was uniformly exerted in the cause of innocence and humanity. Such conspicuous merit was felt and rewarded by a discerning prince: the dignity of Boethius was adorned with the titles of consul and patrician, and

his talents were usefully employed in the important station of master of the offices. Notwithstanding the equal claims of the East and West, his two sons were created, in their tender youth, the consuls of the same year. Prosperous in his fame and fortunes, in his public honours and private alliances, in the cultivation of science and the consciousness of virtue, Boethius might have been styled happy, if that precarious epithet could be safely applied before the last term of the life of man.

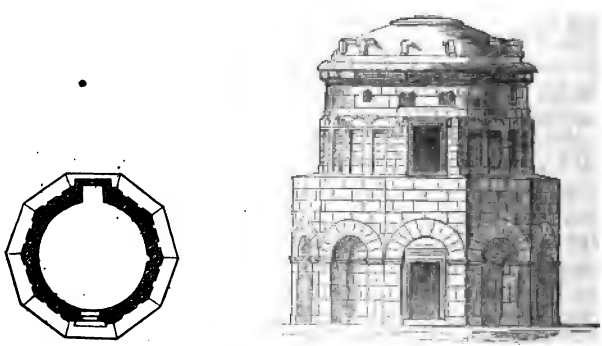
§ 13. A philosopher, liberal of his wealth and parsimonious of his time, might be insensible to the common allurements of ambition, the thirst of gold and employment. And some credit may be due to the asseverations of Boethius, that he had reluctantly obeyed the divine Plato, who enjoins every virtuous citizen to rescue the state from the usurpation of vice and ignorance. For the integrity of his public conduct he appeals to the memory of his country. He had always pitied, and often relieved, the distress of the provincials, whose fortunes were exhausted by public and private rapine; and Boethius alone had courage to oppose the tyranny of the barbarians, elated by conquest, excited by avarice, and, as he complains, encouraged by impunity. In these honourable contests his spirit soared above the consideration of danger, and perhaps of prudence; and we may learn from the example of Cato that a character of pure and inflexible virtue is the most apt to be misled by prejudice, to be heated by enthusiasm, and to confound private enmities with public justice. The favour and fidelity of Boethius declined in just proportion with the public happiness, and an unworthy colleague was imposed to divide and control the power of the master of the offices. In the last gloomy season of Theodoric he indignantly felt that he was a slave; but, as his master had only power over his life, he stood, without arms and without fear, against the face of an angry barbarian, who had been provoked to believe that the safety of the senate was incompatible with his own. The senator Albinus was accused and already convicted on the presumption of *hoping*, as it was said, the liberty of Rome. "If Albinus be criminal," exclaimed the orator, "the senate and myself are all guilty of the same crime. If we are innocent, Albinus is equally entitled to the protection of the laws." These laws might not have punished the simple and barren wish of an unattainable blessing; but they would have shown less indulgence to the rash confession of Boethius, that, had he known of a conspiracy, the tyrant never should. The advocate of Albinus was soon involved in the danger and perhaps the guilt of his client; their signature (which they denied as a forgery) was affixed to the original address inviting the emperor to deliver Italy from the Goths; and three witnesses of honourable rank, perhaps of infamous reputation, attested the treasonable designs of

the Roman patrician. Yet his innocence must be presumed, since he was deprived by Theodoric of the means of justification, and rigorously confined in the tower of Pavia, while the senate, at the distance of 500 miles, pronounced a sentence of confiscation and death against the most illustrious of its members. At the command of the barbarians, the occult science of a philosopher was stigmatised with the names of sacrilege and magic. A devout and dutiful attachment to the senate was condemned as criminal by the trembling voices of the senators themselves; and their ingratitude deserved the wish or prediction of Boethius, that, after him, none should be found guilty of the same offence.

§ 14. While Boethius, oppressed with fetters, expected each moment the sentence or the stroke of death, he composed in the tower of Pavia the *Consolation of Philosophy;* a golden volume not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully, but which claims incomparable merit from the barbarism of the times and the situation of the author. The celestial guide whom he had so long invoked now condescended to illumine his dungeon, to revive his courage, and to pour into his wounds her salutary balm. Suspense, the worst of evils, was at length determined by the ministers of death, who executed, and perhaps exceeded, the inhuman mandate of Theodoric. A strong cord was fastened round the head of Boethius, and forcibly tightened till his eyes almost started from their sockets; and some mercy may be discovered in the milder torture of beating him with clubs till he expired (A.D. 524). But his genius survived to diffuse a ray of knowledge over the darkest ages of the Latin world; the writings of the philosopher were translated by the most glorious of the English kings, and the third emperor of the name of Otho removed to a more honourable tomb the bones of a catholic saint who, from his Arian persecutors, had acquired the honours of martrydom and the fame of miracles. In the last hours of Boethius he derived some comfort from the safety of his two sons, of his wife, and of his father-in-law, the venerable Symmachus. But the grief of Symmachus was indiscreet, and perhaps disrespectful: he had presumed to lament, he might dare to revenge, the death of an injured friend. He was dragged in chains from Rome to the palace of Ravenna, and the suspicions of Theodoric could only be appeased by the blood of an innocent and aged senator (A.D. 525).

§ 15. Humanity will be disposed to encourage any report which testifies the jurisdiction of conscience and the remorse of kings. After a life of virtue and glory, Theodoric was now descending with shame and guilt into the grave: his mind was humbled by the contrast of the past, and justly alarmed by the invisible terrors of futurity. One evening, as it is related, when the head of a large fish was served on the royal table, he suddenly exclaimed that he

beheld the angry countenance of Symmachus, his eyes glaring fury and revenge, and his mouth armed with long sharp teeth, which threatened to devour him. The monarch instantly retired to his chamber, and, as he lay trembling with aguish cold under a weight of bed-clothes, he expressed in broken murmurs to his physician Elpidius his deep repentance for the murders of Boethius and Symmachus. His malady increased, and, after a dysentery which continued three days, he expired in the palace of Ravenna, in the 33rd, or, if we compute from the invasion of Italy, in the 37th year of his reign (A.D. 526). Conscious of his approaching end, he divided his treasures and provinces between his two grandsons, and fixed the Rhône as their common boundary. Amalaric was restored to the throne of Spain. Italy, with all the conquests of the Ostrogoths, was bequeathed to Athalaric, whose age did not exceed ten years, but who was cherished as the last male offspring of the line of Amali, by the short-lived marriage of his mother Amalasuntha with a royal fugitive of the same blood. The monument of Theodoric was erected by his daughter Amalasuntha in a conspicuous situation, which commanded the city of Ravenna, the harbour, and the adjacent coast. A chapel of circular form, 30 feet in diameter, is crowned by a dome of one entire piece of granite; from the centre of the dome four columns arose, which supported in a vase of porphyry the remains of the Gothic king, surrounded by the brazen statues of the twelve apostles.



Plan and Elevation of the Tomb of Theodoric.

Justinian. From a Mosaic. See p. 308.

CHAPTER XX.

REIGN OF JUSTINIAN. INTERNAL HISTORY.

§ 1. Elevation of JUSTIN: adoption and succession of JUSTINIAN. § 2. Character and histories of Procopius: division of the reign of Justinian. § 3. History and elevation of the Empress Theodora. § 4. The factions of the Circus. § 5. They distract Constantinople and the East. § 6. The "Nika" riots at Constantinople. § 7. Introduction of silk-worms into Greece. § 8. Avarice and profusion of Justinian and John of Cappadocia. § 9. Edifices of Justinian: Church of St. Sophia. § 10. Fortifications of Justinian. § 11. The Persian war in the reign of Anastasius: fortification of Dara. § 12. Justinian suppresses the schools of Athens. § 13. And the Roman Consulship.

§ 1. THE emperor Justinian was born near the ruins of Sardica (the modern Sophia) in A.D. 482 or 483, of an obscure race of barbarians, the inhabitants of a wild and desolate country, to which the names of Dardania, of Dacia, and of Bulgaria, have been successively applied. His elevation was prepared by the adventurous spirit of his uncle Justin, who, with two other peasants of the same village, deserted for the profession of arms the more useful employment of husbandmen or shepherds. On foot, with a scanty provision of biscuit in their knapsacks, the three youths followed the high road of Constantinople, and were soon enrolled, for their strength and stature, among the guards of the emperor Leo. Under the two succeeding reigns, Justin emerged to wealth and honours; and on the death of Anastasius the Dacian peasant was invested with the purple

by the unanimous consent of the soldiers (A.D. 518). The elder Justin, as he is distinguished from another emperor of the same family and name, ascended the Byzantine throne at the age of 68 years. After a reign of nine he adopted as his colleague his nephew Justinian, whom his uncle had drawn from the rustic solitude of Dacia, and educated at Constantinople as the heir of his fortune and the empire. Justin lived about four months after the diadem had been placed on the head of his nephew; but from the instant of this ceremony he was considered as dead to the empire, which acknowledged Justinian, in the 45th year of his age, for the lawful sovereign of the East.

§ 2. From his elevation to his death, Justinian governed the Roman empire 38 years, 7 months, and 13 days (A.D. 527, April 1—A.D. 565, Nov. 14). The events of his reign, which excite our curious attention by their number, variety, and importance, are diligently related by Procopius, the secretary of Belisarius, a rhetorician, whom eloquence had promoted to the rank of senator and præfect of Constantinople. According to the vicissitudes of courage or servitude, of favour or disgrace, Procopius successively composed the *history*, the *panegyric*, and the *satire* of his own times. The eight books of the Persian, Vandalic, and Gothic wars, which are continued in the five books of Agathias, deserve our esteem as a laborious and successful imitation of the Attic, or at least of the Asiatic, writers of ancient Greece. The writings of Procopius were read and applauded by his contemporaries: but, although he respectfully laid them at the foot of the throne, the pride of Justinian must have been wounded by the praise of an hero who perpetually eclipses the glory of his inactive sovereign. The conscious dignity of independence was subdued by the hopes and fears of a slave; and the secretary of Belisarius laboured for pardon and reward in the six books of the Imperial *Edifices*. He had dexterously chosen a subject of apparent splendour, in which he could loudly celebrate the genius, the magnificence, and the piety of a prince who, both as a conqueror and legislator, had surpassed the puerile virtues of Themistocles and Cyrus. Disappointment might urge the flatterer to secret revenge; and the first glance of favour might again tempt him to suspend and suppress a libel in which the Roman Cyrus is degraded into an odious and contemptible tyrant, in which both the emperor and his consort Theodora are seriously represented as two dæmons who had assumed an human form for the destruction of mankind. Such base inconsistency must doubtless sully the reputation, and detract from the credit, of Procopius: yet, after the venom of his malignity has been suffered to exhale, the residue of the *Anecdotes*, even the most disgraceful facts, some of which had been tenderly hinted in his public history, are esta-

blished by their internal evidence, or the authentic monuments of the times. From these various materials I shall now proceed to describe the reign of Justinian, which will deserve and occupy an ample space. The present chapter will explain the elevation of Theodora, the factions of the circus, and the peaceful administration of the sovereign of the East. In the two next chapters I shall relate the wars of Justinian, which achieved the conquest of Africa and Italy; and I shall follow the victories of Belisarius and Narses, without disguising the vanity of their triumphs, or the hostile virtue of the Persian and Gothic heroes. The following chapter will embrace the jurisprudence of the emperor, and the reformation of the Roman law which is obeyed or respected by the nations of modern Europe.

§ 3. In the exercise of supreme power, the first act of Justinian was to divide it with the women whom he loved, the famous Theodora, whose strange elevation cannot be applauded as the triumph of female virtue. She was the daughter of Acacius, to whom the care of the wild beasts maintained by the green faction at Constantinople was entrusted. This honourable office was given after his death to another candidate, notwithstanding the diligence of his widow, who had already provided a husband and a successor. Acacius had left three daughters, Comite, THEODORA, and Anastasia, the eldest of whom did not then exceed the age of seven years. On a solemn festival, these helpless orphans were sent by their distressed and indignant mother, in the garb of suppliants, into the midst of the theatre: the green faction received them with contempt, the blues with compassion; and this difference, which sunk deep into the mind of Theodora, was felt long afterwards in the administration of the empire. As they improved in age and beauty, the three sisters were successively devoted to the pleasures of the Byzantine people; and Theodora, after following Comito on the stage, in the dress of a slave, with a stool on her head, was at length permitted to exercise her independent talents. She neither danced, nor sung, nor played on the flute; her skill was confined to the pantomime arts; she excelled in buffoon characters; and as often as the comedian swelled her cheeks, and complained with a ridiculous tone and gesture of the blows that were inflicted, the whole theatre of Constantinople resounded with laughter and applause. The beauty of Theodora was celebrated in every part of the Eastern empire, and attracted numerous admirers, to whom she readily sold her charms. After leading a most licentious life for several years, she at length captivated and fixed Justinian, who already reigned with absolute sway under the name of his uncle. Justinian delighted to ennoble and enrich the object of his affection: the treasures of the East were poured at her feet, and the nephew of Justin was determined, perhaps by religious scruples, to bestow on his concubine the sacred and

legal character of a wife. But the laws of Rome expressly prohibited the marriage of a senator with any female who had been dishonoured by a servile origin or theatrical profession: the empress Lupicina or Euphemia, a barbarian of rustic manners, but of irreproachable virtue, refused to accept a prostitute for her niece; and even Vigilantia, the superstitious mother of Justinian, though she acknowledged the wit and beauty of Theodora, was seriously apprehensive lest the levity and arrogance of that artful paramour might corrupt the piety and happiness of her son. These obstacles were removed by the inflexible constancy of Justinian. He patiently expected the death of the empress; he despised the tears of his mother, who soon sunk under the weight of her affliction; and a law was promulgated, in the name of the emperor Justin, which permitted actresses to contract a legal union with the most illustrious of the Romans. This indulgence was speedily followed by the solemn nuptials of Justinian and Theodora; her dignity was gradually exalted with that of her lover; and as soon as Justin had invested his nephew with the purple, the patriarch of Constantinople placed the diadem on the heads of the emperor and empress of the East. But the usual honours which the severity of Roman manners had allowed to the wives of princes could not satisfy either the ambition of Theodora or the fondness of Justinian. He seated her on the throne as an equal and independent colleague in the sovereignty of the empire, and an oath of allegiance was imposed on the governors of the provinces in the joint names of Justinian and Theodora. The wishes and prayers of Theodora could never obtain the blessing of a lawful son, and she buried an infant daughter, the sole offspring of her marriage. Notwithstanding this disappointment her dominion was permanent and absolute; and she preserved, by art or merit, the affections of Justinian till her death in the 24th year of her marriage, and the 22nd of her reign (A.D. 548).

§ 4. A material difference may be observed in the games of antiquity: the most eminent of the Greeks were actors, the Romans were merely spectators. The Olympic stadium was open to wealth, merit, and ambition; and if the candidates could depend on their personal skill and activity, they might pursue the footsteps of Diomede and Menelaus, and conduct their own horses in the rapid career. But a senator, or even a citizen, conscious of his dignity, would have blushed to expose his person or his horses in the circus of Rome. The games were exhibited at the expense of the republic, the magistrates, or the emperors; but the reins were abandoned to servile hands. The race, in its first institution, was a simple contest of two chariots, whose drivers were distinguished by *white* and *red* liveries: two additional colours, a light *green* and a cærulean *blue*, were afterwards introduced; and, as the races were repeated

twenty-five times, one hundred chariots contributed in the same day to the pomp of the circus. The four *factions* soon acquired a legal establishment and a mysterious origin, and their fanciful colours were derived from the various appearances of nature in the four seasons of the year; the red dog-star of summer, the snows of winter, the deep shades of autumn, and the cheerful verdure of the spring. Another interpretation preferred the elements to the seasons, and the struggle of the green and blue was supposed to represent the conflict of the earth and sea. Their respective victories announced either a plentiful harvest or a prosperous navigation, and the hostility of the husbandmen and mariners was somewhat less absurd than the blind ardour of the Roman people, who devoted their lives and fortunes to the colour which they had espoused. Such folly was disdained and indulged by the wisest princes; but the names of Caligula, Nero, Vitellius, Verus, Commodus, Caracalla, and Elagabalus, were enrolled in the blue or green factions of the circus: they frequented their stables, applauded their favourites, chastised their antagonists, and deserved the esteem of the populace by the natural or affected imitation of their manners. The bloody and tumultuous contest continued to disturb the public festivity till the last age of the spectacles of Rome; and Theodoric, from a motive of justice or affection, interposed his authority to protect the greens against the violence of a consul and a patrician who were passionately addicted to the blue faction of the circus.

§ 5. Constantinople adopted the follies, though not the virtues, of ancient Rome; and the same factions which had agitated the circus raged with redoubled fury in the hippodrome. Under the reign of Anastasius, this popular frenzy was inflamed by religious zeal; and the greens, who had treacherously concealed stones and daggers under baskets of fruit, massacred at a solemn festival 3000 of their blue adversaries. From the capital this pestilence was diffused into the provinces and cities of the East, and the sportive distinction of two colours produced two strong and irreconcileable factions, which shook the foundations of a feeble government. The licence, without the freedom, of democracy, was revived at Antioch and Constantinople, and the support of a faction became necessary to every candidate for civil or ecclesiastical honours. A secret attachment to the family or sect of Anastasius was imputed to the greens; the blues were zealously devoted to the cause of orthodoxy and Justinian, and their grateful patron, protected, above five years, the disorders of a faction whose seasonable tumults overawed the palace, the senate, and the capitals of the East. Insolent with royal favour, the blues affected to strike terror by a peculiar and barbaric dress—the long hair of the Huns, their close sleeves and ample garments, a lofty step, and a sonorous voice. In the day they

concealed their two-edged poniards, but in the night they boldly assembled in arms and in numerous bands, prepared for every act of violence and rapine. The despair of the greens, who were persecuted by their enemies and deserted by the magistrate, assumed the privilege of defence, perhaps of retaliation; but those who survived the combat were dragged to execution, and the unhappy fugitives, escaping to woods and caverns, preyed without mercy on the society from whence they were expelled. Although the first edict of Justinian, which was often repeated and sometimes executed, announced his firm resolution to support the innocent, and to chastise the guilty, of every denomination and *colour*, yet the balance of justice was still inclined in favour of the blue faction, by the secret affection, the habits, and the fears of the emperor: his equity, after an apparent struggle, submitted without reluctance to the implacable passions of Theodora, and the empress never forgot or forgave the injuries of the comedian.

§ 6. A sedition, which almost laid Constantinople in ashes, was excited by the mutual hatred and momentary reconciliation of the two factions. In the fifth year of his reign (A.D. 532) Justinian celebrated the festival of the ides of January: the games were incessantly disturbed by the clamorous discontent of the greens; till at length the blues rose with fury from their seats, their hostile clamours thundered in the hippodrome, and their adversaries, deserting the unequal contest, spread terror and despair through the streets of Constantinople. At this dangerous moment, seven notorious assassins of both factions, who had been condemned by the præfect, were carried round the city, and afterwards transported to the place of execution in the suburb of Pera. Four were immediately beheaded; a fifth was hanged; but, when the same punishment was inflicted on the remaining two, the rope broke, they fell alive to the ground, the populace applauded their escape, and the monks of St. Conon, issuing from the neighbouring convent, conveyed them in a boat to the sanctuary of the church. As one of these criminals was of the blue, and the other of the green, livery, the two factions were equally provoked by the cruelty of their oppressor or the ingratitude of their patron, and a short truce was concluded till they had delivered their prisoners and satisfied their revenge. The palace of the præfect, who withstood the seditious torrent, was instantly burnt, his officers and guards were massacred, the prisons were forced open, and freedom was restored to those who could only use it for the public destruction. A military force which had been despatched to the aid of the civil magistrate was fiercely encountered by an armed multitude, whose numbers and boldness continually increased: and the Heruli, the wildest barbarians in the service of the empire, overturned the priests and their relics, which,

from a pious motive, had been rashly interposed to separate the bloody conflict. The tumult was exasperated by this sacrilege; the people fought with enthusiasm in the cause of God; the women, from the roofs and windows, showered stones on the heads of the soldiers, who darted firebrands against the houses; and the various flames, which had been kindled by the hands of citizens and strangers, spread without control over the face of the city. The conflagration involved the cathedral of St. Sophia, the baths of Zeuxippus, and many public and private buildings. From such scenes of horror the wise and wealthy citizens escaped over the Bosporus to the Asiatic side, and during five days Constantinople was abandoned to the factions, whose watchword, NIKA, *vanquish!* has given a name to this memorable sedition.

As long as the factions were divided, the triumphant blues and desponding greens appeared to behold with the same indifference the disorders of the state. They agreed to censure the corrupt management of justice and the finance; and the two responsible ministers, the artful Tribonian and the rapacious John of Cappadocia, were loudly arraigned as the authors of the public misery. The peaceful murmurs of the people would have been disregarded: they were heard with respect when the city was in flames; the quæstor and the præfect were instantly removed, and their offices were filled by two senators of blameless integrity. After this popular concession Justinian proceeded to the hippodrome to confess his own errors, and to accept the repentance of his grateful subjects; but they distrusted his assurances, though solemnly pronounced in the presence of the holy gospels; and the emperor, alarmed by their distrust, retreated with precipitation to the strong fortress of the palace. On the morning of the sixth day Hypatius, a nephew of the emperor Anastasius, was proclaimed emperor by the people; and if the usurper had complied with the advice of his senate, and urged the fury of the multitude, their first irresistible effort might have oppressed or expelled his trembling competitor. The Byzantine palace enjoyed a free communication with the sea, vessels lay ready at the garden stairs, and a secret resolution was already formed to convey the emperor with his family and treasures to a safe retreat at some distance from the capital. In the midst of a council where Belisarius was present, Theodora alone displayed the spirit of an hero, and persuaded the emperor to remain. The firmness of a woman restored the courage to deliberate and act, and courage soon discovers the resources of the most desperate situation. It was an easy and a decisive measure to revive the animosity of the factions; the blues were astonished at their own guilt and folly, that a trifling injury should provoke them to conspire with their implacable enemies against a gracious and liberal benefactor; they again pro-

claimed the majesty of Justinian; and the greens, with their upstart emperor, were left alone in the hippodrome. The fidelity of the guards was doubtful; but the military force of Justinian consisted in three thousand veterans, who had been trained to valour and discipline in the Persian and Illyrian wars. Under the command of Belisarius and Mundus, they silently marched in two divisions from the palace, forced their obscure way through narrow passages, expiring flames, and falling edifices, and burst open at the same moment the two opposite gates of the hippodrome. In this narrow space the disorderly and affrighted crowd was incapable of resisting on either side a firm and regular attack; the blues signalized the fury of their repentance, and it is computed that above 30,000 persons were slain in the merciless and promiscuous carnage of the day. Hypatius was dragged from his throne, and conducted with his brother Pompey to the feet of the emperor; they implored his clemency, but their crime was manifest, their innocence uncertain, and Justinian had been too much terrified to forgive. The next morning the two nephews of Anastasius, with eighteen *illustrious* accomplices, of patrician or consular rank, were privately executed by the soldiers, their bodies were thrown into the sea, their palaces razed, and their fortunes confiscated. The hippodrome itself was condemned, during several years, to a mournful silence; with the restoration of the games the same disorders revived, and the blue and green factions continued to afflict the reign of Justinian, and to disturb the tranquillity of the Eastern empire.

§ 7. Among many other memorable events which signalized the reign of Justinian, the introduction of the silkworm into Greece is one of not the least importance. I need not explain that *silk* is originally spun from the bowels of a caterpillar, and that it composes the golden tomb from whence a worm emerges in the form of a butterfly. Till the reign of Justinian the silkworm was confined to China. In the reign of Aurelian a pound of silk was sold at Rome for twelve ounces of gold; but the supply increased with the demand, and the price diminished with the supply. As silk became of indispensable use, the emperor Justinian saw with concern that the Persians had occupied by land and sea the monopoly of this important supply, and that the wealth of his subjects was continually drained by a nation of enemies and idolaters. An unexpected event rendered him and his subjects independent of their enemies. The Gospel had been preached to the Indians; a bishop already governed the Christians of St. Thomas on the pepper-coast of Malabar; a church was planted in Ceylon, and the missionaries pursued the footsteps of commerce to the extremities of Asia. Two Persian monks had long resided in China, perhaps in the royal city of Nankin, the seat of a monarch addicted to foreign superstitions,

and who actually received an embassy from the isle of Ceylon. Amidst their pious occupations they viewed with a curious eye the common dress of the Chinese, the manufactures of silk, and the myriads of silkworms, whose education (either on trees or in houses) had once been considered as the labour of queens. They soon discovered that it was impracticable to transport the short-lived insect, but that in the eggs a numerous progeny might be preserved and multiplied in a distant climate. Religion or interest had more power over the Persian monks than the love of their country: after a long journey they arrived at Constantinople, imparted their project to the emperor, and were liberally encouraged by the gifts and promises of Justinian. These missionaries of commerce again entered China, deceived a jealous people by concealing the eggs of the silkworm in a hollow cane, and returned in triumph with the spoils of the East. Under their direction the eggs were hatched at the proper season by the artificial heat of dung; the worms were fed with mulberry-leaves; they lived and laboured in a foreign climate; a sufficient number of butterflies were saved to propagate the race, and trees were planted to supply the nourishment of the rising generations. Experience and reflection corrected the errors of a new attempt, and the Sogdoite ambassadors acknowledged in the succeeding reign that the Romans were not inferior to the natives of China in the education of the insects and the manufacture of silk, in which both China and Constantinople have been surpassed by the industry of modern Europe.

§ 8. The subjects of Justinian were dissatisfied with the times and with the government. Europe was overrun by the barbarians, and Asia by the monks: the poverty of the West discouraged the trade and manufactures of the East: the produce of labour was consumed by the unprofitable servants of the church, the state, and the army; and a rapid decrease was felt in the fixed and circulating capital which constitute the national wealth. The public distress had been alleviated by the economy of Anastasius, and that prudent emperor accumulated an immense treasure while he delivered his people from the most odious or oppressive taxes. His example was neglected, and his treasure was abused, by the nephew of Justin. The riches of Justinian were speedily exhausted by alms and buildings, by ambitious wars, and ignominious treaties. His revenues were found inadequate to his expenses. Every art was tried to extort from the people the gold and silver which he scattered with a lavish hand from Persia to France: his reign was marked by the vicissitudes, or rather by the combat, of rapaciousness and avarice, of splendour and poverty; he lived with the reputation of hidden treasures, and bequeathed to his successor the payment of his debts. Although Justinian had recourse to various acts of oppression to

raise money, much of the guilt and still more of the profit was intercepted by the ministers, who were seldom promoted for their virtues, and not always selected for their talents. Among these one of the most rapacious was John of Cappadocia, who was appointed Prætorian præfect in the year 530. His abilities, perhaps his vices, recommended him to the lasting friendship of Justinian: the emperor yielded with reluctance to the fury of the people; his victory was displayed by the immediate restoration of their enemy; and they felt above ten years, under his oppressive administration, that he was stimulated by revenge rather than instructed by misfortune. Their murmurs served only to fortify the resolution of Justinian; but the præfect, in the insolence of favour, provoked the resentment of Theodora, disdained a power before which every knee was bent, and attempted to sow the seeds of discord between the emperor and his beloved consort. The favourite of Justinian was sacrificed to conjugal tenderness or domestic tranquillity, and the conversion of a præfect into a priest extinguished his ambitious hopes.

§ 9. The *edifices* of Justinian were cemented with the blood and treasure of his people; but those stately structures appeared to announce the prosperity of the empire, and actually displayed the skill of the architects. The principal church, which was dedicated by the founder of Constantinople to Saint Sophia, or the eternal wisdom, had been twice destroyed by fire; after the exile of John Chrysostom, and during the *Nika* of the blue and green factions. No sooner did the tumult subside than the Christian populace deplored their sacrilegious rashness; but they might have rejoiced in the calamity, had they foreseen the glory of the new temple, which at the end of forty days was strenuously undertaken by the piety of Justinian. The architect Anthemius, a native of Tralles in Asia, formed the design, and the new cathedral of St. Sophia was consecrated by the patriarch, 5 years, 11 months, and 10 days from the first foundation. Before 20 years had elapsed an earthquake overthrew the eastern part of the dome. Its splendour was again restored by the perseverance of the same prince; and in the 36th year of his reign Justinian celebrated the second dedication of a temple which remains, after 12 centuries, a stately monument of his fame. The architecture of St. Sophia, which is now converted into the principal mosque, has been imitated by the Turkish sultans, and that venerable pile continues to excite the fond admiration of the Greeks, and the more rational curiosity of European travellers. The eye of the spectator is disappointed by an irregular prospect of half-domes and shelving roofs: the western front, the principal approach, is destitute of simplicity and magnificence; and the scale of dimensions has been much surpassed by several of the Latin

cathedrals. But the architect who first erected an *aërial* cupola is entitled to the praise of bold design and skilful execution. The dome of St. Sophia, illuminated by 24 windows, is formed with so small a curve, that the depth is equal only to one-sixth of its diameter; the measure of that diameter is 115 feet, and the lofty centre, where a crescent has supplanted the cross, rises to the perpendicular height of 180 feet above the pavement. The circle which encompasses the dome lightly reposes on four strong arches, and their weight is firmly supported on four massy piles, whose strength is assisted on the northern and southern sides by four columns of Egyptian granite. A Greek cross, inscribed in a quadrangle, represents the form of the edifice; the exact breadth is 243 feet, and 269 may be assigned for the extreme length, from the sanctuary in the east to the nine western doors which open into the vestibule, and from thence into the *narthex* or exterior portico. That portico was the humble station of the penitents. The nave or body of the church was filled by the congregation of the faithful; but the two sexes were distinguished, and the upper and lower galleries were allotted for the more private devotion of the women. Beyond the northern and southern piles a balustrade, terminated on either side by the thrones of the emperor and the patriarch, divided the nave from the choir; and the space, as far as the steps of the altar, was occupied by the clergy and singers. The altar itself was placed in the eastern recess, artificially built in the form of a demicylinder; and this sanctuary communicated by several doors with the sacristy, the vestry, the baptistery, and the contiguous buildings, subservient either to the pomp of worship or the private use of the ecclesiastical ministers. The memory of past calamities inspired Justinian with a wise resolution that no wood, except for the doors, should be admitted into the new edifice; and the choice of the materials was applied to the strength, the lightness, or the splendour of the respective parts. The solid piles which sustained the cupola were composed of huge blocks of freestone, hewn into squares and triangles, fortified by circles of iron, and firmly cemented by the infusion of lead and quicklime; but the weight of the cupola was diminished by the levity of its substance, which consists either of pumice-stone that floats in the water, or of bricks from the isle of Rhodes, five times less ponderous than the ordinary sort. The whole frame of the edifice was constructed of brick; but those base materials were concealed by a crust of marble; and the inside of St. Sophia, the cupola, the two larger and the six smaller semidomes, the walls, the hundred columns, and the pavement, delight even the eyes of barbarians with a rich and variegated picture.

A poet, who beheld the primitive lustre of St. Sophia, enumerates the colours, the shades, and the spots of ten or twelve marbles,

jaspers, and porphyries, which nature had profusely diversified, and which were blended and contrasted as it were by a skilful painter. The triumph of Christ was adorned with the last spoils of Paganism, but the greater part of these costly stones was extracted from the quarries of Asia Minor, the isles and continent of Greece, Egypt, Africa, and Gaul. Eight columns of porphyry, which Aurelian had placed in the Temple of the Sun, were offered by the piety of a Roman matron; eight others of green marble were presented by the ambitious zeal of the magistrates of Ephesus: both are admirable by their size and beauty, but every order of architecture disclaims their fantastic capitals. The balustrade of the choir, the capitals of the pillars, the ornaments of the doors and galleries, were of gilt bronze. The spectator was dazzled by the glittering aspect of the cupola. The sanctuary contained 40,000 pounds weight of silver, and the holy vases and vestments of the altar were of the purest gold, enriched with inestimable gems. Before the structure of the church had arisen two cubits above the ground, 45,200 pounds were already consumed, and the whole expense amounted to 320,000. Each reader, according to the measure of his belief, may estimate their value either in gold or silver; but the sum of one million sterling is the result of the lowest computation. A magnificent temple is a laudable monument of national taste and religion, and the enthusiast who entered the dome of St. Sophia might be tempted to suppose that it was the residence, or even the workmanship, of the Deity. Yet how dull is the artifice, how insignificant is the labour, if it be compared with the formation of the vilest insect that crawls upon the surface of the temple!

So minute a description of an edifice which time has respected may attest the truth and excuse the relation of the innumerable works, both in the capital and provinces, which Justinian constructed on a smaller scale and less durable foundations, and of which Procopius gives a detailed account.

§ 10. The fortifications of Europe and Asia were multiplied by Justinian; but the repetition of those timid and fruitless precautions exposes, to a philosophic eye, the debility of the empire. From Belgrade to the Euxine, from the conflux of the Save to the mouth of the Danube, a chain of above fourscore fortified places was extended along the banks of the great river. The progress of the barbarians was sometimes retarded, and their hopes of rapine were disappointed, by the innumerable castles which, in the provinces of Dacia, Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, appeared to cover the whole face of the country. Yet these military works, which exhausted the public treasure, could not remove the just apprehensions of Justinian and his European subjects. The rich pastures of Thessalonica were foraged by the Scythian cavalry; the delicious vale of

Tempe, 300 miles from the Danube, was continually alarmed by the sound of war; and no unfortified spot, however distant or solitary, could securely enjoy the blessings of peace. The straits of Thermopylæ, which seemed to protect, but which had so often betrayed, the safety of Greece, were diligently strengthened by the labours of Justinian. The riches of a capital diffuse themselves over the neighbouring country, and the territory of Constantinople, a paradise of nature, was adorned with the luxurious gardens and villas of the senators and opulent citizens. But their wealth served only to attract the bold and rapacious barbarians; the noblest of the Romans, in the bosom of peaceful indolence, were led away into Scythian captivity; and their sovereign might view from his palace the hostile flames which were insolently spread to the gates of the Imperial city. At the distance only of forty miles, Anastasius was constrained to establish a last frontier: his long wall of 60 miles, from the Propontis to the Euxine, proclaimed the impotence of his arms; and as the danger became more imminent, new fortifications were added by the indefatigable prudence of Justinian.

If we extend our view from the tropic to the mouth of the Tanais, we may observe, on one hand, the precautions of Justinian to curb the savages of Æthiopia, and, on the other, the long walls which he constructed in Crimæa for the protection of his friendly Goths, a colony of 3000 shepherds and warriors. From that peninsula to Trebizond the eastern curve of the Euxine was secured by forts, by alliance, or by religion; and the possession of *Lazica*, the Colchis of ancient, the Mingrelia of modern, geography, soon became the object of an important war. Among the Roman cities beyond the Euphrates we distinguish two capitals, Amida and Edessa, which are celebrated in the history of every age, and which were strongly fortified by Justinian to resist the attacks of the great king. Westward of the Euphrates a sandy desert extends above 600 miles to the Red Sea. Nature had interposed a vacant solitude between the ambition of two rival empires: the Arabians, till Mahomet arose, were formidable only as robbers; and in the proud security of peace the fortifications of Syria were neglected on the most vulnerable side.

§ 11. But the national enmity, at least the effects of that enmity, had been suspended by a truce which continued above fourscore years. Perozes, or Firouz, the king of Persia, had been defeated in an expedition against the White Huns; and on the death of that monarch (A.D. 488), twelve years of confusion elapsed before his son Cabades or Kobad could embrace any designs of ambition or revenge. The parsimony of Anastasius was the motive or pretence of a Roman war; the Huns and Arabs marched under the Persian standard, and the fortifications of Armenia and Mesopotamia were at that time in a ruinous or imperfect condition. Amida was taken

by the Persians; and after the capture of this important city the war continued three years, and the unhappy frontier tasted the full measure of its calamities (A.D. 502–505). The resistance of Edessa and the deficiency of spoil inclined the mind of Cabades to peace; he sold his conquests for an exorbitant price; and the same line, though marked with slaughter and devastation, still separated the two empires. To avert the repetition of the same evils, Anastasius resolved to found a new colony, so strong that it should defy the power of the Persian, so far advanced towards Assyria that its stationary troops might defend the province by the menace or operation of offensive war. For this purpose the town of Dara, 14 miles from Nisibis, and 4 days' journey from the Tigris, was peopled and adorned; and the hasty works of Anastasius were improved by the perseverance of Justinian. Dara continued more than 60 years to fulfil the wishes of its founders and to provoke the jealousy of the Persians, who incessantly complained that this impregnable fortress had been constructed in manifest violation of the treaty of peace between the two empires.

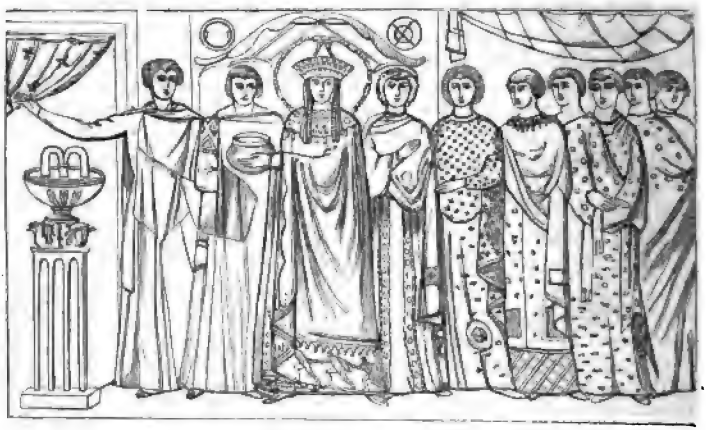
§ 12. Justinian suppressed the schools of Athens and the consulship of Rome, which had given so many sages and heroes to mankind. Both these institutions had long since degenerated from their primitive glory, yet some reproach may be justly inflicted on the avarice and jealousy of a prince by whose hand such venerable ruins were destroyed.

The establishment of a new religion proved fatal to the schools of Athens. The surviving sect of the Platonists, whom Plato would have blushed to acknowledge, extravagantly mingled a sublime theory with the practice of superstition and magic; and as they remained alone in the midst of a Christian world, they indulged a secret rancour against the government of the church and state, whose severity was still suspended over their heads. About a century after the reign of Julian, Proclus was permitted to teach in the philosophic chair of the Academy. His sagacious mind explored the deepest questions of morals and metaphysics, and he ventured to urge eighteen arguments against the Christian doctrine of the creation of the world. But in the intervals of study he *personally* conversed with Pan, Æsculapius, and Minerva, in whose mysteries he was secretly initiated, and whose prostrate statues he adored. An eclipse of the sun announced his approaching end: and his Life, with that of his scholar Isidore, compiled by two of their most learned disciples, exhibits a deplorable picture of the second childhood of human reason. Yet the golden chain, as it was fondly styled, of the Platonic succession, continued 44 years from the death of Proclus to the edict of Justinian (A.D. 485–529), which imposed a perpetual silence on the schools of Athens, and excited the grief and indigna-

tion of the few remaining votaries of Grecian science and superstition. Seven friends and philosophers, Diogenes and Hermias, Eulalius and Priscian, Damascius, Isidore, and Simplicius, who dissented from the religion of their sovereign, embraced the resolution of seeking in a foreign land the freedom which was denied in their native country; but they were equally dissatisfied with the despotism of Persia and the intolerance of the Magi. Their repentance was expressed by a precipitate return; but from this journey they derived a benefit which reflects the purest lustre on the character of Chosroes. He required that the seven sages who had visited the court of Persia should be exempted from the penal laws which Justinian enacted against his Pagan subjects; and this privilege, expressly stipulated in a treaty of peace, was guarded by the vigilance of a powerful mediator. Simplicius and his companions ended their lives in peace and obscurity; and as they left no disciples, they terminate the long list of Grecian philosophers, who may be justly praised, notwithstanding their defects, as the wisest and most virtuous of their contemporaries. The writings of Simplicius are now extant. His physical and metaphysical commentaries on Aristotle have passed away with the fashion of the times; but his moral interpretation of Epictetus is preserved in the library of nations, as a classic book, most excellently adapted to direct the will, to purify the heart, and to confirm the understanding, by a just confidence in the nature both of God and man.

§ 13. The revolutions of the consular office, which may be viewed in the successive lights of a substance, a shadow, and a name, have been occasionally mentioned in the present history. The first magistrates of the republic had been chosen by the people, to exercise, in the senate and in the camp, the powers of peace and war, which were afterwards translated to the emperors. But the tradition of ancient dignity was long revered by the Romans and barbarians. A Gothic historian applauds the consulship of Theodoric as the height of all temporal glory and greatness; and at the end of a thousand years, two consuls were created by the sovereigns of Rome and Constantinople for the sole purpose of giving a date to the year and a festival to the people. But the expenses of this festival, in which the wealthy and the vain aspired to surpass their predecessors, insensibly arose to the enormous sum of fourscore thousand pounds; and the wisest senators declined an useless honour which involved the certain ruin of their families. The succession of consuls finally ceased in the 13th year of Justinian (A.D. 541), whose despotic temper might be gratified by the silent extinction of a title which admonished the Romans of their ancient freedom. Yet the annual consulship still lived in the minds of the people; they fondly expected its speedy restoration; they applauded the gracious conde-

scension of successive princes, by whom it was assumed in the first year of their reign; and three centuries elapsed, after the death of Justinian, before that obsolete dignity, which had been suppressed by custom, could be abolished by law.* The imperfect mode of distinguishing each year by the name of a magistrate was usefully supplied by the date of a permanent æra: the creation of the world, according to the Septuagint version, was adopted by the Greeks; and the Latins, since the age of Charlemagne, have computed their time from the birth of Christ.



The Empress Theodora, from a Mosaic.†

* By the emperor Leo, the philosopher.

† This cut and the one on p. 293 are taken from a mosaic in the church of San Vitale, Ravenna. The figures are as large as life, upon a gold ground. In the former the emperor is advancing, his hands full of costly gifts. Behind him is a train of courtiers, and next his body-guard. The archbishop Maximian, with his clergy, advances to meet him. In the other drawing is the empress Theodora, surrounded by the ladies of her court, in the act of entering the church. A chamberlain before the empress draws back a richly embroidered curtain, so as to exhibit the entrance court of a church, symbolised by a cleansing fountain. Justinian and Theodora are distinguished by the nimbus. See Kugler, Handbook of Painting in Italy, p. 35; Labarte, Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages, p. xxi.

Walls of Rome. The Ostian Gate.

CHAPTER XXI.

REIGN OF JUSTINIAN. CONQUEST OF THE VANDALS AND OSTROGTHS.

§ 1. Justinian resolves to invade Africa. § 2. State of the Vandals: appointment of Belisarius to the command of the war. § 3. Belisarius lands in Africa and defeats the Vandals. § 4. Reduction of Carthage: final defeat of the Vandals. § 5. Conquest of Africa. § 6. Return and triumph of Belisarius. § 7. Neutrality of the Visigoths: conquests of the Romans in Spain. § 8. Belisarius threatens the Ostrogoths of Italy. § 9. Government and death of Amalasuntha, queen of Italy. § 10. Belisarius conquers Sicily and invades Italy: capture of Naples. § 11. Vitiges, king of Italy: Belisarius enters Rome. § 12. Siege of Rome by the Goths. § 13. Invasion of Italy by the Franks. § 14. Belisarius takes Ravenna, and subdues the Gothic kingdom of Italy.

§ 1. When Justinian ascended the throne, about fifty years after the fall of the Western Empire, the kingdoms of the Goths and Vandals had obtained a solid, and, as it might seem, a legal establishment, both in Europe and Africa. But after Rome herself had been stripped of the Imperial purple, the princes of Constantinople assumed the sole and sacred sceptre of the monarchy; demanded, as their rightful inheritance, the provinces which had been subdued by

the consuls or possessed by the Cæsars; and feebly aspired to deliver their faithful subjects of the West from the usurpation of heretics and barbarians. The execution of this splendid design was in some degree reserved for Justinian. During the five first years of his reign he reluctantly waged a costly and unprofitable war against the Persians, till his pride submitted to his ambition, and he purchased, at the price of 11,000 pounds of gold, the benefit of a precarious truce, which, in the language of both nations, was dignified with the appellation of the *endless* peace. The safety of the East enabled the emperor to employ his forces against the Vandals; and the internal state of Africa afforded an honourable motive, and promised a powerful support, to the Roman arms.

§ 2. According to the testament of the founder, the African kingdom had lineally descended to Hilderic, the eldest of the Vandal princes (A.D. 523–530). He offended the Arian clergy by granting toleration to the Catholics; and the soldiers complained that he had degenerated from the courage of his ancestors. The public discontent was exasperated by Gelimer, who assumed, with the consent of the nation, the reins of government (A.D. 530–534), and his unfortunate sovereign sunk without a struggle from the throne to a dungeon. But the indulgence which Hilderic had shown to his Catholic subjects had powerfully recommended him to the favour of Justinian, who resolved to deliver or revenge his friend. The command of the expedition was entrusted to Belisarius, one of those heroic names which are familiar to every age and to every nation. The Africanus of New Rome was born, and perhaps educated, among the Thracian peasants, without any of those advantages which had formed the virtues of the elder and younger Scipio—a noble origin, liberal studies, and the emulation of a free state. Belisarius served among the private guards of Justinian; and when his patron became emperor, the domestic was promoted to military command. Belisarius had already distinguished himself by his services in the Persian war (A.D. 529–532); and his appointment to the African war was hailed with unanimous applause. The temper of the Byzantine court may encourage a suspicion that the hero was darkly assisted by the intrigues of his wife, the fair and subtle Antonina, who alternately enjoyed the confidence, and incurred the hatred, of the empress Theodora. The birth of Antonina was ignoble; she descended from a family of charioteers; and her chastity has been stained with the foulest reproach. Yet she reigned with long and absolute power over the mind of her illustrious husband, whom she accompanied with undaunted resolution in all the hardships and dangers of a military life.

§ 3. The preparations for the African war were not unworthy of the last contest between Rome and Carthage. Five hundred trans-

ports, navigated by 20,000 mariners of Egypt, Cilicia, and Ionia, were collected in the harbour of Constantinople. The smallest of these vessels may be computed at 30, the largest at 500, tons; and the fair average will supply an allowance of about 100,000 tons for the reception of 35,000 soldiers and sailors, of 5000 horses, of arms, engines, and military stores, and of a sufficient stock of water and provisions for a voyage, perhaps, of three months. The proud galleys which in former ages swept the Mediterranean with so many hundred oars had long since disappeared; and the fleet of Justinian was escorted only by 92 light brigantines, covered from the missile weapons of the enemy, and rowed by 2000 of the brave and robust youth of Constantinople.

The fleet sailed from Constantinople in June, A.D. 533, and after a prosperous voyage of three months finally cast anchor at the promontory of Caput Vada, about five days' journey to the south of Carthage. The men and horses, the arms and military stores, were safely disembarked; and Belisarius marched without delay against the capital of the Vandal kingdom. The small town of Sullecte, one day's journey from the camp, had the honour of being foremost to open her gates and to resume her ancient allegiance; the larger cities of Leptis and Adrumetum imitated the example of loyalty as soon as Belisarius appeared; and he advanced without opposition as far as Grasse, a palace of the Vandal kings, at a distance of 50 miles from Carthage. The near approach of the Romans to the capital filled the mind of Gelimer with anxiety and terror. Not expecting the approach of the enemy, he had sent his brother with a detachment of veteran troops to conquer Sardinia, and he was now obliged to risk a battle in his absence. At the distance of 10 miles from Carthage, the Vandals were entirely defeated by Belisarius. Gelimer retired with hasty steps towards the desert of Numidia; but he had soon the consolation of learning that his private orders for the execution of Hilderic had been faithfully obeyed. The tyrant's revenge was useful only to his enemies. The death of a lawful prince excited the compassion of his people; his life might have perplexed the victorious Romans; and the lieutenant of Justinian, by a crime of which he was innocent, was relieved from the painful alternative of forfeiting his honour or relinquishing his conquests.

§ 4. On the following day Belisarius entered Carthage without opposition. The city blazed, with innumerable torches, the signals of the public joy; the chain was removed that guarded the entrance of the port, the gates were thrown open, and the people with acclamations of gratitude hailed and invited their Roman deliverers. Belisarius protected the city from pillage, and granted their lives to the suppliant Vandals. He lost no time in restoring the fortifications of Carthage, which had been suffered to decay by the thought-

less and indolent Vandals. Meantime Gelimer, after the loss of his capital, had applied himself to collect the remains of an army scattered, rather than destroyed, by the preceding battle. He encamped in the fields of Bulla, four days' journey from Carthage, where he was joined by his brother, who had returned from the conquest of Sardinia. The final battle, which decided the fate of the Vandal monarchy, was fought about 20 miles from Carthage. The Vandals were totally defeated, and Gelimer fled to the inaccessible country of the Moors. Belisarius fixed his winter-quarters at Carthage, from whence he despatched his principal lieutenant to inform the emperor that in the space of three months he had achieved the conquest of Africa.

§ 5. Belisarius spoke the language of truth. The surviving Vandals yielded, without resistance, their arms and their freedom; and the more distant provinces were successively subdued by the report of his victory. Sardinia and Corsica surrendered to an officer of Belisarius; and the isles of Majorca, Minorca, and Yviça consented to remain an humble appendage of the African kingdom. As soon as Justinian had received the messengers of victory, he proceeded without delay to the full establishment of the Catholic church. Her jurisdiction, wealth, and immunities were restored and amplified with a liberal hand; the Arian worship was suppressed, the Donatist meetings were proscribed, and the synod of Carthage, by the voice of 217 bishops, applauded the just measure of pious retaliation. While Justinian approved himself the defender of the faith, he entertained an ambitious hope that his victorious lieutenant would speedily enlarge the narrow limits of his dominion to the space which they occupied before the invasion of the Moors and Vandals; and Belisarius was instructed to establish five *dukes* or commanders in the convenient stations of Tripoli, Leptis, Cirta, Cæsarea, and Sardinia. The kingdom of the Vandals was not unworthy of the presence of a Prætorian præfect; and four consulars, three presidents, were appointed to administer the seven provinces under his civil jurisdiction. After the departure of Belisarius, who acted by a high and special commission, no ordinary provision was made for a master-general of the forces; but the office of Prætorian præfect was entrusted to a soldier; the civil and military powers were united, according to the practice of Justinian, in the chief governor; and the representative of the emperor in Africa, as well as in Italy, was soon distinguished by the appellation of Exarch.

§ 6. In the following spring (A.D. 534) Gelimer, having received assurances of safety and honourable treatment, surrendered to the lieutenant of Belisarius, and was carried to Constantinople, whither the conqueror of Africa proceeded in the course of the same year. The chiefs of the Roman army, presuming to think them-

selves the rivals of an hero, had maliciously affirmed in their private despatches that Belisarius, strong in his reputation and the public love, conspired to seat himself on the throne of the Vandals. Justinian listened with too patient an ear. An honourable alternative, of remaining in the province, or of returning to the capital, was indeed submitted to the discretion of Belisarius; but he wisely concluded, from intercepted letters and the knowledge of his sovereign's temper, that he must either resign his head, erect his standard, or confound his enemies by his presence and submission. Innocence and courage decided his choice; his guards, captives, and treasures were diligently embarked; and so prosperous was the navigation, that his arrival at Constantinople preceded any certain account of his departure from the port of Carthage. Such unsuspecting loyalty removed the apprehensions of Justinian: envy was silenced and inflamed by the public gratitude; and the third Africanus obtained the honours of a triumph, a ceremony which the city of Constantine had never seen, and which ancient Rome, since the reign of Tiberius, had reserved for the *auspicious* arms of the Cæsars. From the palace of Belisarius the procession was conducted through the principal streets to the hippodrome: and this memorable day seemed to avenge the injuries of Genseric and to expiate the shame of the Romans. The wealth of nations was displayed, the trophies of martial or effeminate luxury; the massy furniture of the royal banquet, the splendour of precious stones, the elegant forms of statues and vases, the more substantial treasure of gold, and the holy vessels of the Jewish temple, which, after their long peregrination, were respectfully deposited in the Christian church of Jerusalem. A long train of the noblest Vandals reluctantly exposed their lofty stature and manly countenance. Gelimer slowly advanced: he was clad in a purple robe, and still maintained the majesty of a king. Not a tear escaped from his eyes, not a sigh was heard; but his pride or piety derived some secret consolation from the words of Solomon, which he repeatedly pronounced, VANITY! VANITY! ALL IS VANITY! Instead of ascending a triumphal car drawn by four horses or elephants, the modest conqueror marched on foot at the head of his brave companions. The glorious procession entered the gate of the hippodrome; was saluted by the acclamations of the senate and people; and halted before the throne where Justinian and Theodora were seated to receive the homage of the captive monarch and the victorious hero. Belisarius was immediately declared consul for the ensuing year (A.D. 535), and the day of his inauguration resembled the pomp of a second triumph: his curule chair was borne aloft on the shoulders of captive Vandals; and the spoils of war, gold cups, and rich girdles, were profusely scattered among the populace.

§ 7. The experience of past faults, which may sometimes correct the mature age of an individual, is seldom profitable to the successive generations of mankind. The nations of antiquity, careless of each other's safety, were separately vanquished and enslaved by the Romans. This awful lesson might have instructed the barbarians of the West to oppose, with timely counsels and confederate arms, the unbounded ambition of Justinian. Yet the same error was repeated, the same consequences were felt, and the Goths, both of Italy and Spain, insensible of their approaching danger, beheld with indifference, and even with joy, the rapid downfall of the Vandals. After the failure of the royal line, Theudes, a valiant and powerful chief, ascended the throne of Spain, which he had formerly administered in the name of Theodoric and his infant grandson. The unfortunate Gelimer in vain implored, in his distress, the aid of the Spanish monarch. The long continuance of the Italian war delayed the punishment of the Visigoths, and the eyes of Theudes were closed before they tasted the fruits of his mistaken policy. After his death the sceptre of Spain was disputed by a civil war. The weaker candidate solicited the protection of Justinian, and ambitiously subscribed a treaty of alliance which deeply wounded the independence and happiness of his country. Several cities, both on the ocean and the Mediterranean, were ceded to the Roman troops, who afterwards refused to evacute those pledges, as it should seem, either of safety or payment; and as they were fortified by perpetual supplies from Africa, they maintained their impregnable stations for the mischievous purpose of inflaming the civil and religious factions of the barbarians. Seventy years elapsed before this painful thorn could be extirpated from the bosom of the monarchy; and as long as the emperors retained any share of these remote and useless possessions, their vanity might number Spain in the list of their provinces, and the successors of Alaric in the rank of their vassals (A.D. 550-620).

§ 8. The error of the Ostrogoths who reigned in Italy was less excusable than that of their Spanish brethren, and their punishment was still more immediate and terrible. From a motive of private revenge, they enabled their most dangerous enemy to destroy their most valuable ally. A sister of the great Theodoric had been given in marriage to Thrasimond the African king: on this occasion the fortress of Lilybæum, in Sicily, was resigned to the Vandals, and the princess Amalafrida was attended by a martial train of 1000 nobles and 5000 Gothic soldiers, who signalised their valour in the Moorish wars. Their merit was over-rated by themselves, and perhaps neglected by the Vandals: they viewed the country with envy, and the conquerors with disdain; but their real or fictitious conspiracy was prevented by a massacre; the Goths were oppressed,

and the captivity of Amalafrida was soon followed by her secret and suspicious death. The Goths joyfully saluted the approach of the Romans, entertained the fleet of Belisarius in the ports of Sicily, and were speedily delighted or alarmed by the surprising intelligence, that their revenge was executed beyond the measure of their hopes, or perhaps of their wishes. To their friendship the emperor was indebted for the kingdom of Africa, and the Goths might reasonably think that they were entitled to resume the possession of a barren rock, so recently separated as a nuptial gift from the island of Sicily. They were soon undeceived by the haughty mandate of Belisarius, who claimed the city and promontory of Lilybæum, and threatened, if the Romans took up arms, to deprive the Goths of all the provinces which they unjustly withheld from their lawful sovereign. A nation of 200,000 soldiers might have smiled at the vain menace of Justinian and his lieutenant; but a spirit of discord and disaffection prevailed in Italy, and the Goths supported with reluctance the indignity of a female reign.

§ 9. Amalasontha, the regent and queen of Italy, was the daughter of the great Theodoric, who left no male offspring. The sex of his daughter excluded her from the Gothic throne; but his vigilant tenderness for his family and his people discovered the last heir of the royal line, whose ancestors had taken refuge in Spain, and the fortunate Eutharic was suddenly exalted to the rank of a consul and a prince. He enjoyed only a short time the hopes of the succession; and his widow, after the death of her husband and father, was left the guardian of her son Athalaric, and the kingdom of Italy. She governed with prudence and wisdom, and by a faithful imitation of the virtues of her father, she revived the prosperity of his reign. Her salutary measures were directed by the wisdom and celebrated by the eloquence of Cassiodorus; she solicited and deserved the friendship of the emperor; and the kingdoms of Europe respected, both in peace and war, the majesty of the Gothic throne. The future happiness of the queen and of Italy depended on the education of her son, who was diligently instructed in the arts and sciences either useful or ornamental for a Roman prince. But the pupil who is insensible of the benefits, must abhor the restraints of education; and the solicitude of the queen, which affection rendered anxious and severe, offended the untractable nature of her son and his subjects. On a solemn festival, when the Goths were assembled in the palace of Ravenna, the royal youth escaped from his mother's apartment, and, with tears of pride and anger, complained of a blow which his stubborn disobedience had provoked her to inflict. The barbarians resented the indignity which had been offered to their king, and imperiously demanded that the grandson of Theodoric should be rescued from the dastardly

discipline of women and pedants, and educated like a valiant Goth, in the society of his equals and the glorious ignorance of his ancestors. To this rude clamour Amalasontha was compelled to yield her reason and the dearest wishes of her heart. The king of Italy was abandoned to wine, to women, and to rustic sports; and the indiscreet contempt of the ungrateful youth betrayed the mischievous designs of his favourites and her enemies. The mind of Amalasontha was inflamed by ambition and revenge. Three of the most dangerous malcontents were assassinated by her private emissaries; and the blood of these noble Goths rendered the queen-mother absolute in the court of Ravenna, and justly odious to a free people. But if she had lamented the disorders of her son, she soon wept his irreparable loss; and the death of Athalaric, who, at the age of sixteen, was consumed by premature intemperance, left her destitute of any firm support or legal authority. Instead of submitting to the laws of her country, which held as a fundamental maxim that the succession could never pass from the lance to the distaff, the daughter of Theodoric conceived the impracticable design of sharing, with one of her cousins, the regal title, and of reserving in her own hands the substance of supreme power. He received the proposal with profound respect and affected gratitude; and the eloquent Cassiodorus announced to the senate and the emperor that Amalasontha and Theodatus had ascended the throne of Italy. His birth (for his mother was the sister of Theodoric) might be considered as an imperfect title; and the choice of Amalasontha was more strongly directed by her contempt of his avarice and pusillanimity, which had deprived him of the love of the Italians and the esteem of the barbarians. But Theodatus was exasperated by the contempt which he deserved; and the principal Goths, united by common guilt and resentment, conspired to instigate his slow and timid disposition. The letters of congratulation were scarcely despatched before the queen of Italy was imprisoned in a small island of the lake of Bolsena, where, after a short confinement, she was strangled in the bath, by the order or with the connivance of the new king, who instructed his turbulent subjects to shed the blood of their sovereigns (A.D. 535).

§ 10. Justinian beheld with joy the dissensions of the Goths, and declared war against the perfidious assassin of Amalasontha. Belisarius was sent with a small force to reduce Sicily; the island submitted to his victorious arms almost without opposition, and this province, the first-fruits of the Punic wars, was again, after a long separation, united to the Roman empire (A.D. 535). In the following spring Belisarius crossed over from Messina to Rhegium, and advanced without opposition along the shores of Bruttium, Lucania, and Campania, till he reached Capua. This city resisted all the

assaults of Belisarius for the space of 20 days; and the Roman general began to despair of success, when his anxiety was relieved by the bold curiosity of an Isaurian, who explored the dry channel of an aqueduct, and secretly reported that a passage might be perforated to introduce a file of armed soldiers into the heart of the city. In the darkness of the night 400 Romans entered the aqueduct, raised themselves by a rope, which they fastened to an olive-tree, into the house or garden of a solitary matron, sounded their trumpets, surprised the sentinels, and gave admittance to their companions, who on all sides scaled the walls and burst open the gates of the city. The inhabitants were saved by the virtue and authority of their conqueror. The barbarian garrison enlisted in the service of the emperor; and Apulia and Calabria, delivered from the odious presence of the Goths, acknowledged his dominion.

§ 11. The capture of Naples was followed by the deposition and death of the weak and unwarlike Theodatus. The Goths declared him unworthy of his race, his nation, and his throne; and their general Vitiges, whose valour had been signalised in the Illyrian war, was raised with unanimous applause on the bucklers of his companions. On the first rumour the abdicated monarch fled from the justice of his country, but he was pursued by private revenge. A Goth, whom he had injured in his love, overtook Theodatus on the Flaminian Way, and, regardless of his unmanly cries, slaughtered him as he lay prostrate on the ground. A national council was immediately held, and the new monarch reconciled the impatient spirit of the barbarians to a measure of disgrace which the misconduct of his predecessors rendered wise and indispensable. The Goths consented to retreat in the presence of a victorious enemy, to delay till the next spring the operations of offensive war, to summon their scattered forces, to relinquish their distant possessions, and to trust even Rome itself to the faith of its inhabitants. Leuderis, an aged warrior, was left in the capital with 4000 soldiers; a feeble garrison, which might have seconded the zeal, though it was incapable of opposing the wishes, of the Romans. But a momentary enthusiasm of religion and patriotism was kindled in their minds. They furiously exclaimed that the apostolic throne should no longer be profaned by the triumph or toleration of Arianism; that the tombs of the Cæsars should no longer be trampled by the savages of the North; and, without reflecting that Italy must sink into a province of Constantinople, they fondly hailed the restoration of a Roman emperor as a new æra of freedom and prosperity. The deputies of the pope and clergy, of the senate and people, invited the lieutenant of Justinian to accept their voluntary allegiance. When Belisarius entered the city, the garrison departed without molestation along the Flaminian Way; and Rome, after sixty years' servitude, was

delivered from the yoke of the barbarians (A.D. 536, Dec. 10). Leuderis alone, from a motive of pride or discontent, refused to accompany the fugitives; and the Gothic chief, himself a trophy of the victory, was sent with the keys of Rome to the throne of the emperor Justinian.

§ 12. The Gothic king employed the winter months in collecting a formidable army; and in the month of March (A.D. 537), he crossed the Tiber at the head of 150,000 fighting men, and laid siege to Rome. This siege, which continued above a year, is one of the most memorable in history. Belisarius was assisted in the defence by the population of the city, but his confidence was placed in the veterans who had fought under his banner in the Persian and African wars; and although that gallant band was reduced to 5000 men, he undertook, with such contemptible numbers, to defend a circle of 12 miles against an army of 150,000 barbarians. In the walls of Rome, which Belisarius constructed or restored, the materials of ancient architecture may be discerned; and the whole fortification was completed, except in a chasm still extant between the Pincian and Flaminian gates, which the prejudices of the Goths and Romans left under the effectual guard of St. Peter the apostle. The battlements or bastions were shaped in sharp angles; a ditch, broad and deep, protected the foot of the rampart; and the archers on the rampart were assisted by military engines; the *balista*, a powerful cross-bow, which darted short but massy arrows; the *onagri*, or wild asses, which, on the principle of a sling, threw stones and bullets of an enormous size. A chain was drawn across the Tiber; the arches of the aqueducts were made impervious, and the mole or sepulchre of Hadrian was converted, for the first time, to the uses of a citadel. That venerable structure, which contained the ashes of the Antonines, was a singular turret rising from a quadrangular basis:* it was covered with the white marble of Paros, and decorated by the statues of gods and heros; and the lover of the arts must read with a sigh that the works of Praxiteles or Lysippus were torn from their lofty pedestals, and hurled into the ditch on the heads of the besiegers. The Goths advanced with confidence to the assault; but after a fierce contest, maintained from the morning to the evening, they were repulsed on all sides; 30,000 barbarians, according to the confession of their own chiefs, perished in this bloody action; the hostile engines of war were reduced to ashes; and such was the loss and consternation of the Goths, that from this day the siege of Rome degenerated into a tedious and indolent blockade. We cannot relate in detail the remaining history of the siege. The whole nation of the Ostrogoths had been assembled for the attack; and if any credit be due to an

* It is figured on page 1 of this work.

intelligent spectator, one-third at least of their enormous host was destroyed in frequent and bloody combats under the walls of the city. After a delay of many months Belisarius received reinforcements from Justinian; and Vitiges was at length compelled to retreat. One year and nine days after the commencement of the siege, an army so lately strong and triumphant burnt their tents, and tumultuously repassed the Milvian bridge (A.D. 538). They repassed not with impunity; their thronging multitudes, oppressed in a narrow passage, were driven headlong into the Tiber by their own fears and the pursuit of the enemy, and the Roman general, sallying from the Pincian gate, inflicted a severe and disgraceful wound on their retreat.

§ 13. Vitiges took refuge in the walls and morasses of Ravenna, to which walls, and to some fortresses destitute of any mutual support, the Gothic monarchy was now reduced. The provinces of Italy had embraced the party of the emperor; and his army, gradually recruited to the number of 20,000 men, must have achieved an easy and rapid conquest if their invincible powers had not been weakened by the discord of the Roman chiefs. These dissensions were at length healed, and all opposition was subdued, by the temperate authority of Belisarius; but in the interval of discord the Goths were permitted to breathe; an important season was lost, Milan was destroyed, and the northern provinces of Italy were afflicted by an inundation of the Franks. Theodebert of Austrasia, the most powerful and warlike of the Merovingian kings, had been persuaded to succour the distress of the Goths by an indirect and seasonable aid. Without expecting the consent of their sovereign, ten thousand Burgundians, his recent subjects, descended from the Alps, and joined the troops which Vitiges had sent to chastise the revolt of Milan. After an obstinate siege the capital of Liguria was reduced by famine; the male population was slain; and the houses, or at least the walls, of Milan were levelled with the ground (A.D. 538). The Goths, in their last moments, were revenged by the destruction of a city second only to Rome in size and opulence, in the splendour of its buildings, or the number of its inhabitants. Encouraged by this successful inroad, Theodebert himself, in the ensuing spring, invaded the plains of Italy with an army of 100,000 barbarians. Italy trembled at the march of the Franks, and both the Gothic prince and the Roman general, alike ignorant of their designs, solicited with hope and terror the friendship of these dangerous allies. Till he had secured the passage of the Po on the bridge of Pavia, the grandson of Clovis dissembled his intentions, which he at length declared by assaulting, almost at the same instant, the hostile camps of the Romans and Goths. Instead of uniting their arms, they fled with equal precipitation, and the fertile though desolate provinces of Liguria and Æmilia were abandoned to a licentious host of bar-

barians. But the conquerors, in the midst of their success, were left destitute of bread or wine, reduced to drink the waters of the Po, and to feed on the flesh of distempered cattle. The dysentery swept away one-third of their army, and the clamours of his subjects, who were impatient to pass the Alps, disposed Theodebert to listen with respect to the mild exhortations of Belisarius. The memory of this inglorious and destructive warfare was perpetuated on the medals of Gaul, and Justinian, without unsheathing his sword, assumed the title of conqueror of the Franks.

§ 14. As soon as Belisarius was delivered from his foreign and domestic enemies, he seriously applied his forces to the final reduction of Italy. The multitudes which yet adhered to the standard of Vitiges far surpassed the number of the Roman troops, but neither prayers nor defiance, nor the extreme danger of his most faithful subjects, could tempt the Gothic king beyond the fortifications of Ravenna. These fortifications were indeed impregnable to the assaults of art or violence, and when Belisarius invested the capital he was soon convinced that famine only could tame the stubborn spirit of the barbarians. The sea, the land, and the channels of the Po were guarded by the vigilance of the Roman general; and his morality extended the rights of war to the practice of poisoning the waters and secretly firing the granaries of a besieged city. The Goths compared the fame and fortune of Belisarius with the weakness of their ill-fated king, and the comparison suggested an extraordinary project, to which Vitiges, with apparent resignation, was compelled to acquiesce. They offered their arms, their treasures, and the fortifications of Ravenna, if Belisarius would disclaim the authority of a master, accept the choice of the Goths, and assume, as he had deserved, the kingdom of Italy. Belisarius readily entered into the negotiation; and his dexterous policy persuaded the Goths that he was disposed to comply with their wishes, without engaging an oath or a promise for the performance of a treaty which he secretly abhorred. The day of the surrender of Ravenna was stipulated by the Gothic ambassadors; a fleet, laden with provisions, sailed as a welcome guest into the deepest recess of the harbour, the gates were opened to the fancied king of Italy, and Belisarius, without meeting an enemy, triumphantly marched through the streets of an impregnable city (A.D. 539, December). Before the Goths could recover from the first surprise and claim the accomplishment of their doubtful hopes, the victor established his power in Ravenna beyond the danger of repentance and revolt. Vitiges was honourably guarded in his palace; the flower of the Gothic youth was selected for the service of the emperor; the remainder of the people was dismissed to their peaceful habitations in the southern provinces, and a colony of Italians was invited to replenish the depopulated city.

§ 15. After the second victory of Belisarius, envy again whispered, Justinian listened, and the hero was recalled. "The remnant of the Gothic war was no longer worthy of his presence: a gracious sovereign was impatient to reward his services and to consult his wisdom; and he alone was capable of defending the East against the innumerable armies of Persia." Belisarius understood the suspicion, accepted the excuse, and embarked at Ravenna his spoils and trophies. The conqueror of Italy renounced without a murmur, perhaps without a sigh, the well-earned honours of a second triumph. His glory was, indeed, exalted above all external pomp; and the faint and hollow praises of the court were supplied, even in a servile age, by the respect and admiration of his country. Whenever he appeared in the streets and public places of Constantinople, Belisarius attracted and satisfied the eyes of the people. His lofty stature and majestic countenance fulfilled their expectations of a hero, and the meanest of his fellow-citizens were emboldened by his gentle and gracious demeanour. By the union of liberality and justice he acquired the love of the soldiers, without alienating the affections of the people. The sick and wounded were relieved with medicines and money, and still more efficaciously by the healing visits and smiles of their commander. He was endeared to the husbandmen by the peace and plenty which they enjoyed under the shadow of his standard. Instead of being injured, the country was enriched by the march of the Roman armies; and such was the rigid discipline of their camp, that not an apple was gathered from the tree, not a path could be traced in the fields of corn. Belisarius was chaste and sober. In the licence of a military life, none could boast that they had seen him intoxicated with wine; and the husband of Antonina was never suspected of violating the laws of conjugal fidelity. The spectator and historian of his exploits has observed that amidst the perils of war he was daring without rashness, prudent without fear, slow or rapid according to the exigencies of the moment; that in the deepest distress he was animated by real or apparent hope, but that he was modest and humble in the most prosperous fortune. By these virtues he equalled or excelled the ancient masters of the military art. Victory, by sea and land, attended his arms. He subdued Africa, Italy, and the adjacent islands; led away captives the successors of Genseric and Theodoric; filled Constantinople with the spoils of their palaces; and in the space of six years recovered half the provinces of the Western empire. In his fame and merit, in wealth and power, he remained without a rival, the first of the Roman subjects: the voice of envy could only magnify his dangerous importance, and the emperor might applaud his own discerning spirit, which had discovered and raised the genius of Belisarius.

Bridge over the Teverone, near Rome, rebuilt by Narses, A.D. 565.

CHAPTER XXII.

REIGN OF JUSTINIAN. PERSIAN WAR. REVOLT AND RECOVERY OF ITALY.

§ 1. Accession of Chosroes: he invades Syria. § 2. Defence of the East by Belisarius. § 3. The Colchian or Lazic war: peace between Justinian and Chosroes. § 4. Disgrace and submission of Belisarius. § 5. Revolt of the Goths: victories of Totila, king of Italy. § 6. Second command of Belisarius in Italy: Rome taken by the Goths. § 7. Recovered by Belisarius. § 8. Final recall of Belisarius. § 9. Rome again taken by the Goths. § 10. The eunuch Narses appointed to the command of the Gothic war. § 11. Defeat and death of Totila: conquest of Rome by Narses. § 12. Defeat and death of Teias, the last king of the Goths. § 13. Invasion of Italy by the Franks and Alemanni: their defeat by Narses. § 14. Settlement of Italy. § 15. Invasion of the Bulgarians and Slavonians. § 16. Defeat of the Bulgarians by Belisarius. § 17. Disgrace and death of Belisarius. § 18. Death and character of Justinian. § 19. Comets, earthquakes, and plagues.

§ 1. CABADES, or Kobad, was succeeded on the throne of Persia by his third and most favoured son, so famous under the names of Chosroes and Nushirvan. He filled that throne during a prosperous

period of 48 years (A.D. 531–579); and the JUSTICE of Nushirvan is celebrated as the theme of immortal praise by the nations of the East. He found his kingdom involved in a war with the successor of Constantine; and the anxiety of his domestic situation inclined him to grant the suspension of arms which Justinian was impatient to purchase. Chosroes accepted 11,000 pounds of gold as the price of an *endless* or indefinite peace (A.D. 533).* This interval of repose was diligently improved by the ambition of the emperor; but the trophies of Belisarius disturbed the slumbers of the Great King; and he heard with astonishment, envy, and fear, that Africa, Sicily, Italy, and Rome itself, had been reduced to the obedience of Justinian. Disregarding the treaty, which he had concluded with Justinian seven years previously, Chosroes placed himself at the head of a formidable army, and advanced into the heart of Syria (A.D. 540). A feeble enemy, who vanished at his approach, disappointed him of the honour of victory; and as he could not hope to establish his dominion, the Persian king displayed in this inroad the mean and rapacious vices of a robber. Hierapolis, Berrhœa or Aleppo, Apamea and Chalcis, were successively besieged, and redeemed their safety by a ransom of gold or silver proportioned to their respective strength and opulence. Antioch, which disdained the offers of an easy capitulation, was taken by assault, its inhabitants carried away as prisoners, and its buildings delivered to the flames. Chosroes at length slowly returned to the Euphrates, fatigued though unsatiated with the spoil of Syria. Palestine and the holy wealth of Jerusalem were the next objects that attracted the attention, or rather the avarice, of Chosroes. Constantinople and the palace of the Cæsars no longer appeared impregnable or remote; and his aspiring fancy already covered Asia Minor with the troops, and the Black Sea with the navies, of Persia.

§ 2. These hopes might have been realized, if the conqueror of Italy had not been seasonably recalled to the defence of the East. Chosroes was awed by the genius of Belisarius; and without striking a blow, the lieutenant of Justinian induced the Great King to retire to his own dominions in two successive campaigns (A.D. 541, 542). The second removal of Belisarius from the Persian to the Italian war revealed the extent of his personal merit. Fifteen generals, without concert or skill, led through the mountains of Armenia an army of 30,000 Romans, which were vanquished, almost without a combat, by 4000 Persians. But the Arabs of the Roman party prevailed over their brethren; the Armenians returned to their allegiance; the cities of Dara and Edessa resisted a sudden assault and a regular siege; and the calamities of war were suspended by those of pestilence. A tacit or formal agreement between the two

* See p. 310.

sovereigns protected the tranquillity of the Eastern frontier; and the arms of Chosroes were confined to the Colchian or Lazic war.

§ 3. This war has been minutely described by the historians of the times; but the tedious warfare and alternate success of the Roman and Persian arms cannot detain the attention of posterity at the foot of Mount Caucasus. The Lazi, who had imposed their name and dominion on the ancient kingdom of Colchis, had been converted to Christianity (A.D. 522), and were in consequence led to seek the alliance of the emperor Justin. But illtreated by their new allies, the Lazi solicited the aid and friendship of Chosroes. The Lazi however soon discovered that their impatience had urged them to choose an evil more intolerable than the calamities which they strove to escape. The authority of a Roman legislator was succeeded by the pride of an Oriental despot, who beheld with equal disdain the slaves whom he had exalted, and the kings whom he had humbled before the footstool of his throne. The adoration of fire was introduced into Colchis by the zeal of the Magi, their intolerant spirit provoked the fervour of a Christian people, and the Lazi implored the forgiveness and assistance of the Romans. Justinian sent an army into Colchis; and this mountainous country became the theatre of war between the Roman and Persian monarchies. Many years of fruitless desolation elapsed before Justinian and Chosroes were compelled by mutual lassitude to consult the repose of their declining age. Chosroes was persuaded to renounce his dangerous claim to the possession or sovereignty of Colchis and its dependent states. But he extorted from the Romans an annual payment of 30,000 pieces of gold; and the smallness of the sum revealed the disgrace of a tribute in its naked deformity (A.D. 561).

§ 4. Belisarius had saved the East, but he had offended his wife Antonina, by attempting to punish her guilty lover. The empress Theodora espoused the side of her favourite, and Belisarius was recalled to Constantinople on the plea that the sinking state of Italy would be retrieved by the single presence of the conqueror. But no sooner had he returned than an hostile commission was sent to the East to seize his treasures and criminate his actions; the guards and veterans who followed his private banner were distributed among the chiefs of the army, and even the eunuchs presumed to cast lots for the partition of his martial domestics. When he passed with a small and sordid retinue through the streets of Constantinople, his forlorn appearance excited the amazement and compassion of the people. Justinian and Theodora received him with cold ingratitude, the servile crowd with insolence and contempt; and in the evening he retired with trembling steps to his deserted palace. An indisposition, feigned or real, had confined Antonina to her

apartment; and she walked disdainfully silent in the adjacent portico, while Belisarius threw himself on his bed, and expected, in an agony of grief and terror, the death which he had so often braved under the walls of Rome. Long after sunset a messenger was announced from the empress: he opened with anxious curiosity the letter which contained the sentence of his fate. "You cannot be ignorant how much you have deserved my displeasure. I am not insensible of the services of Antonina. To her merits and intercession I have granted your life, and permit you to retain a part of your treasures, which might be justly forfeited to the state. Let your gratitude where it is due be displayed, not in words, but in your future behaviour." I know not how to believe or to relate the transports with which the hero is said to have received this ignominious pardon. He fell prostrate before his wife, he kissed the feet of his saviour, and he devoutly promised to live the faithful and submissive slave of Antonina. A fine of 120,000*l.* was levied on the fortunes of Belisarius; and with the office of count, or master of the royal stables, he accepted the conduct of the Italian war. At his departure from Constantinople his friends, and even the public, were persuaded that as soon as he regained his freedom he would renounce his dissimulation: and that his wife, Theodora, and perhaps the emperor himself, would be sacrificed to the just revenge of a virtuous rebel. Their hopes were deceived; and the unconquerable patience and loyalty of Belisarius appear either *below* or *above* the character of a MAN.

§ 5. During the absence of Belisarius in the East, Justinian had lost his recent acquisitions in Africa and Italy. After many years of anarchy, which it would be tedious to recount, the province of Africa was again brought under the dominion of Justinian; and the Roman emperors continued to reign above a century over Carthage and the fruitful coast of the Mediterranean. But the revolt of Italy and its recovery by Narses are more worthy of our attention, and deserve a fuller narrative. The jealousy of the Byzantine court had not permitted Belisarius to achieve the conquest of Italy; and his abrupt departure revived the courage of the Goths, who respected his genius, his virtue, and even the laudable motive which had urged the servant of Justinian to deceive and reject them. They had lost their king (an inconsiderable loss), their capital, their treasures, the provinces from Sicily to the Alps, and the military force of 200,000 barbarians, magnificently equipped with horses and arms. Yet all was not lost as long as Pavia was defended by 1000 Goths, inspired by a sense of honour, the love of freedom, and the memory of their past greatness; and Totila, the nephew of the late king, accepted the vacant throne, and generously undertook the restoration of the kingdom of Italy. His success was

rapid, and the incompetent successors of Belisarius fled before his arms. Totila traversed the Apennines, suspended the important conquest of Ravenna, Florence, and Rome, and marched through the heart of Italy to form the siege, or rather the blockade of Naples. The Roman chiefs, imprisoned in their respective cities and accusing each other of the common disgrace, did not presume to disturb his enterprise. After the reduction of Naples, the provinces of Lucania, Apulia, and Calabria submitted to the king of the Goths. Totila led his army to the gates of Rome, pitched his camp at Tibur, or Tivoli, within twenty miles of the capital, and calmly exhorted the senate and people to compare the tyranny of the Greeks with the blessings of the Gothic reign. The rapid success of Totila may be partly ascribed to the revolution which three years' experience had produced in the sentiments of the Italians. At the command, or at least in the name, of a catholic emperor, the pope Sylverius, their spiritual father, had been torn from the Roman church, and either starved or murdered on a desolate island. The virtues of Belisarius were replaced by the various or uniform vices of eleven chiefs at Rome, Ravenna, Florence, Perugia, Spoleto, &c., who abused their authority for the indulgence of lust or avarice. The improvement of the revenue was committed to Alexander, a subtle scribe, long practised in the fraud and oppression of the Byzantine schools. Instead of expecting the restoration of peace and industry, he imposed a heavy assessment on the fortunes of the Italians. Yet his present or future demands were less odious than a prosecution of arbitrary rigour against the persons and property of all those who, under the Gothic kings, had been concerned in the receipt and expenditure of the public money. The subjects of Justinian who escaped these partial vexations were oppressed by their regular maintenance of the soldiers, whom Alexander defrauded and despised, and their hasty sallies in quest of wealth or subsistence provoked the inhabitants of the country to await or implore their deliverance from the virtues of a barbarian. Totila was chaste and temperate, and none were deceived, either friends or enemies, who depended on his faith or his clemency. The Roman captives and deserters were tempted to enlist in the service of a liberal and courteous adversary, the slaves were attracted by the firm and faithful promise that they should never be delivered to their masters; and from the thousand warriors of Pavia a new people, under the same appellation of Goths, was insensibly formed in the camp of Totila.

§ 6. The return of Belisarius to save the country which he had subdued, was pressed with equal vehemence by his friends and enemies, and the Gothic war was imposed as a trust or an exile on the veteran commander. An hero on the banks of the Euphrates, a slave in the palace of Constantinople, he accepted with reluctance

the painful task of supporting his own reputation and retrieving the faults of his successors. He came without troops, and he soon discovered that he was sent to remain the idle and impotent spectator of the glory of a young barbarian. An officer in whom Belisarius confided was despatched from Ravenna to hasten and conduct the succours, but the message was neglected, and the messenger was detained at Constantinople by an advantageous marriage. After his patience had been exhausted by delay and disappointment, the Roman general repassed the Adriatic, and expected at Dyrrachium the arrival of the troops, which were slowly assembled among the subjects and allies of the empire. His powers were still inadequate to the deliverance of Rome, which was closely besieged by the Gothic king. The Appian Way, a march of forty days, was covered by the barbarians; and as the prudence of Belisarius declined a battle, he preferred the safe and speedy navigation of five days from the coast of Epirus to the mouth of the Tiber. After reducing, by force or treaty, the towns of inferior note in the midland provinces of Italy, Totila proceeded, not to assault, but to encompass and starve, the ancient capital (A.D. 546). Rome was afflicted by the avarice, and guarded by the valour, of Bessas, a veteran chief of Gothic extraction, who filled, with a garrison of 3,000 soldiers, the spacious circle of her venerable walls. From the distress of the people he extracted a profitable trade, and secretly rejoiced in the continuance of the siege. He imparted a scanty sustenance to the soldiers, and sold the remainder to the wealthy Romans. A tasteless and unwholesome mixture, in which the bran thrice exceeded the quantity of flour, appeased the hunger of the poor; they were gradually reduced to feed on dead horses, dogs, cats, and mice, and eagerly to snatch the grass and even nettles which grew among the ruins of the city. Belisarius, who had landed at the *port*, made a vain attempt to relieve the city; and after this failure Rome was left without protection to the mercy or indignation of Totila. Four Isaurian sentinels introduced the Goths into the city, and Bessas, with his troops, retired without offering any opposition (A.D. 546, Dec. 17). The lives of the Romans were spared, but the Goths were rewarded by the freedom of pillage; and against the city itself which had so long delayed the course of his victories, Totila appeared inexorable. One-third of the walls, in different parts, was demolished by his command; fire and engines prepared to consume or subvert the most stately works of antiquity; and the world was astonished by the fatal decree that Rome was to be changed into a pasture for cattle. The firm and temperate remonstrance of Belisarius suspended the execution; he warned the barbarian not to sully his fame by the destruction of those monuments which were the glory of the dead and the delight of the living; and Totila was persuaded,

by the advice of an enemy, to preserve Rome as the ornament of his kingdom, or the fairest pledge of peace and reconciliation. When he had signified to the ambassadors of Belisarius his intention of sparing the city, he stationed an army at the distance of 120 furlongs, to observe the motions of the Roman general. With the remainder of his forces he marched into Lucania and Apulia. The senators were dragged in his train and afterwards confined in the fortresses of Campania; the citizens, with their wives and children, were dispersed in exile; and during forty days Rome was abandoned to desolate and dreary solitude.

§ 7. The loss of Rome was speedily retrieved by an action to which, according to the event, the public opinion would apply the names of rashness or heroism. After the departure of Totila, the Roman general sallied from the port at the head of a thousand horse, cut in pieces the enemy who opposed his progress, and visited with pity and reverence the vacant space of the *eternal* city (A.D. 547, February). Resolved to maintain a station so conspicuous in the eyes of mankind, he summoned the greatest part of his troops to the standard which he erected on the Capitol: the old inhabitants were recalled by the love of their country and the hopes of food; and the keys of Rome were sent a second time to the emperor Justinian. The walls, as far as they had been demolished by the Goths, were repaired with rude and dissimilar materials; the ditch was restored; iron spikes were profusely scattered in the highways to annoy the feet of the horses; and as new gates could not suddenly be procured, the entrance was guarded by a Spartan rampart of his bravest soldiers. At the expiration of 25 days Totila returned by hasty marches from Apulia to avenge the injury and disgrace. Belisarius expected his approach. The Goths were thrice repulsed in three general assaults; they lost the flower of their troops; the royal standard had almost fallen into the hands of the enemy, and the fame of Totila sunk, as it had risen, with the fortune of his arms. Whatever skill and courage could achieve had been performed by the Roman general: it remained only that Justinian should terminate, by a strong and seasonable effort, the war which he had ambitiously undertaken. The indolence, perhaps the impotence, of a prince who despised his enemies and envied his servants, protracted the calamities of Italy. After a long silence Belisarius was commanded to leave a sufficient garrison at Rome, and to transport himself into the province of Lucania, whose inhabitants, inflamed by catholic zeal, had cast away the yoke of their Arian conquerors. In this ignoble warfare the hero, invincible against the power of the barbarians, was basely vanquished by the delay, the disobedience, and the cowardice of his own officers. The conqueror of Italy continued to languish, inglorious and inactive, till Antonina, who had been sent to Con-

stantinople to solicit succours, obtained, after the death of the empress, the permission of his return.

§ 8. The five last campaigns of Belisarius (A.D. 544–548) might abate the envy of his competitors, whose eyes had been dazzled and wounded by the blaze of his former glory. Instead of delivering Italy from the Goths, he had wandered like a fugitive along the coast, without daring to march into the country, or to accept the bold and repeated challenge of Totila. Yet in the judgment of the few who could discriminate counsels from events, and compare the instruments with the execution, he appeared a more consummate master of the art of war than in the season of his prosperity, when he presented two captive kings before the throne of Justinian. The valour of Belisarius was not chilled by age; his prudence was matured by experience; but the moral virtues of humanity and justice seem to have yielded to the hard necessity of the times. The parsimony or poverty of the emperor compelled him to deviate from the rule of conduct which had deserved the love and confidence of the Italians. The war was maintained by the oppression of Ravenna, Sicily, and all the faithful subjects of the empire The avarice of Antonina, which had been sometimes diverted by love, now reigned without a rival in her breast. Belisarius himself had always understood that riches in a corrupt age, are the support and ornament of personal merit. And it cannot be presumed that he should stain his honour for the public service, without applying a part of the spoil to his private emolument. Belisarius reposed from his toils, in the high station of general of the East and count of the domestics; and the older consuls and patricians respectfully yielded the precedency of rank to the peerless merit of the first of the Romans.

§ 9. Before the departure of Belisarius Perusia was besieged, and few cities were impregnable to the Gothic arms. Ravenna, Ancona, and Crotona still resisted the barbarians; and when Totila asked in marriage one of the daughters of France, he was stung by the just reproach that the king of Italy was unworthy of his title till it was acknowledged by the Roman people. Totila again laid siege to Rome, and the city was a second time betrayed to the Goths by the treachery of some Isaurian troops (A.D. 549). Totila no longer entertained a wish of destroying the edifices of Rome, which he now respected as the seat of the Gothic kingdom: the senate and people were restored to their country; the means of subsistence were liberally provided; and Totila, in the robe of peace, exhibited the equestrian games of the circus. Whilst he amused the eyes of the multitude, 400 vessels were prepared for the embarkation of his troops. The cities of Rhegium and Tarentum were reduced; he passed into Sicily, the object of his implacable resentment; and the island was stripped of its gold and silver, of the fruits of the earth,

and of an infinite number of horses, sheep, and oxen. Sardinia and Corsica obeyed the fortune of Italy; and the sea-coast of Greece was visited by a fleet of 300 galleys. The Goths were landed in Corcyra and the ancient continent of Epirus; they advanced as far as Nicopolis, the trophy of Augustus, and Dodona, once famous by the oracle of Jove. In every step of his victories the wise barbarian repeated to Justinian his desire of peace, applauded the concord of their predecessors, and offered to employ the Gothic arms in the service of the empire.

§ 10. Justinian was deaf to the voice of peace, but he neglected the prosecution of war; and the indolence of his temper disappointed, in some degree, the obstinacy of his passions. From this salutary slumber the emperor was awakened by the Pope Vigilius and the patrician Cethegus, who appeared before his throne, and adjured him, in the name of God and the people, to resume the conquest and deliverance of Italy. After the death of Germanus, the nephew of the emperor, to whom the war had been first entrusted, the nations were provoked to smile by the strange intelligence that the command of the Roman armies was given to an eunuch. But the eunuch Narses is ranked among the few who have rescued that unhappy name from the contempt and hatred of mankind. A feeble, diminutive body concealed the soul of a statesman and a warrior. His youth had been employed in the management of the loom and distaff, in the cares of the household, and the service of female luxury; but while his hands were busy, he secretly exercised the faculties of a vigorous and discerning mind. A stranger to the schools and the camp, he studied in the palace to dissemble, to flatter, and to persuade; and as soon as he approached the person of the emperor, Justinian listened with surprise and pleasure to the manly counsels of his chamberlain and private treasurer. The talents of Narses were tried and improved in frequent embassies: he led an army into Italy, during the first command of Belisarius, and acquired a practical knowledge of the war and the country. Twelve years after his return the eunuch was chosen to achieve the conquest which had been left imperfect by the first of the Roman generals. Instead of being dazzled by vanity or emulation, he seriously declared that, unless he were armed with an adequate force, he would never consent to risk his own glory and that of his sovereign. Justinian granted to the favourite what he might have denied to the hero: the Gothic war was rekindled from its ashes, and the preparations were not unworthy the ancient majesty of the empire. The key of the public treasure was put into his hand to collect magazines, to levy soldiers, to purchase arms and horses, to discharge the arrears of pay, and to tempt the fidelity of the fugitives and deserters. Absolute in the exercise of his authority, more

absolute in the affection of his troops, Narses led a numerous and gallant army from Philippopolis to Salona, from whence he coasted the eastern side of the Adriatic as far as the confines of Italy. His progress was checked. The East could not supply vessels capable of transporting such multitudes of men and horses. In this perplexity an officer of experience proposed a measure, secure by the appearance of rashness, that the Roman army should cautiously advance along the sea-shore, while the fleet preceded their march, and successively cast a bridge of boats over the mouths of the rivers, the Timavus, the Brenta, the Adige, and the Po, that fall into the Adriatic to the north of Ravenna. Nine days he reposed in the city, collected the fragments of the Italian army, and marched towards Rimini to meet the defiance of an insulting enemy.

§ 11. The prudence of Narses impelled him to speedy and decisive action. His powers were the last effort of the state; the cost of each day accumulated the enormous account, and the nations, untrained to discipline or fatigue, might be rashly provoked to turn their arms against each other, or against their benefactor. The same considerations might have tempered the ardour of Totila. But he was conscious that the clergy and people of Italy aspired to a second revolution: he felt or suspected the rapid progress of treason, and he resolved to risk the Gothic kingdom on the chance of a day, in which the valiant would be animated by instant danger, and the disaffected might be awed by mutual ignorance. In his march from Ravenna the Roman general chastised the garrison of Rimini, traversed in a direct line the hills of Urbino, and re-entered the Flaminian Way, nine miles beyond the perforated rock, an obstacle of art and nature which might have stopped or retarded his progress. The Goths were assembled in the neighbourhood of Rome; they advanced without delay to seek a superior enemy, and the two armies approached each other at the distance of 100 furlongs, between Tagina and the sepulchres of the Gauls. The Goths were defeated with great slaughter, and Totila was slain as he fled from the battle (A.D. 552, July). This victory was followed by the capture of Rome; and Justinian once more received the keys of the city, which, under his reign, had been *five* times taken and recovered. The fate of the senate suggests an awful lesson of the vicissitude of human affairs. Of the senators whom Totila had banished from their country, some were rescued by an officer of Belisarius and transported from Campania to Sicily, while others were too guilty to confide in the clemency of Justinian, or too poor to provide horses for their escape to the sea-shore. Their brethren languished five years in a state of indigence and exile: the victory of Narses revived their hopes; but their premature return to the metropolis was prevented by the furious Goths, and all the for-

tresses of Campania were stained with patrician blood. After a period of thirteen centuries the institution of Romulus expired: and if the nobles of Rome still assumed the title of senators, few subsequent traces can be discovered of a public council or constitutional order. Ascend six hundred years, and contemplate the kings of the earth soliciting an audience, as the slaves or freedmen of the Roman senate.

§ 12. The Gothic war was yet alive. The bravest of the nation retired beyond the Po, and Teias was unanimously chosen to succeed and revenge their departed hero. The new king immediately sent ambassadors to implore, or rather purchase, the aid of the Franks, and nobly lavished for the public safety the riches which had been deposited in the palace of Pavia. The residue of the royal treasure was guarded by his brother Aligern, at Cumæ in Campania; but the strong castle which Totila had fortified was closely besieged by the arms of Narses. From the Alps to the foot of Mount Vesuvius, the Gothic king by rapid and secret marches advanced to the relief of his brother, eluded the vigilance of the Roman chiefs, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Sarnus or *Draco*, which flows from Nuceria into the bay of Naples. The Goths were again defeated, Teias, their last king, was slain in the battle (A.D. 553), and Aligern, after defending Cumæ above a year against the forces of the Romans, at length surrendered to Narses.

§ 13. After the death of Teias, Italy was overwhelmed by a new deluge of barbarians. A feeble youth, the grandson of Clovis, reigned over the Austrasians or Oriental Franks. The guardians of Theodebald entertained with coldness and reluctance the magnificent promises of the Gothic ambassadors. But the spirit of a martial people outstripped the timid councils of the court: two brothers, Lothaire and Buccelin, the dukes of the Alemanni, stood forth as the leaders of the Italian war, and 75,000 Germans descended in the autumn (A.D. 553) from the Rhætian Alps into the plain of Milan. The conqueror of Italy opened a free passage to the irresistible torrent of barbarians, who plundered the peninsula without resistance as far as Rhegium and Otranto. Buccelin was actuated by ambition, and Lothaire by avarice. The former aspired to restore the Gothic kingdom; the latter, after a promise to his brother, of speedy succours, returned by the same road to deposit his treasure beyond the Alps. But the strength of their armies was already wasted by the change of climate and contagion of disease; the Germans revelled in the vintage of Italy, and their own intemperance avenged in some degree the miseries of a defenceless people. At the entrance of the spring (A.D. 554) the Imperial troops who had guarded the cities assembled to the number of 18,000 men, in the neighbourhood of Rome. Their winter hours had not been consumed in idleness. By

the command and after the example of Narses, they repeated each day their military exercise on foot and on horseback, accustomed their ear to obey the sound of the trumpet, and practised the steps and evolutions of the Pyrrhic dance. From the straits of Sicily, Buccelin with 30,000 Franks and Alemanni slowly moved towards Capua, occupied with a wooden tower the bridge of Casilinum, and covered his right by the stream of the Vulturnus. He impatiently expected the return of Lothaire; ignorant, alas! that his brother could never return, and that the chief and his army had been swept away by a strange disease on the banks of the lake Benacus, between Trent and Verona. The banners of Narses soon approached the Vulturnus, and the eyes of Italy were anxiously fixed on the event of this final contest. Perhaps the talents of the Roman general were most conspicuous in the calm operations which precede the tumult of a battle. His skilful movements intercepted the subsistence of the barbarian, deprived him of the advantage of the bridge and river, and in the choice of the ground and moment of action reduced him to comply with the inclination of his enemy. Narses gained another signal victory; and Buccelin and the greatest part of his army perished on the field of battle, in the waters of the Vulturnus, or by the hands of the enraged peasants. After the battle of Casilinum Narses entered the capital; the arms and treasures of the Goths, the Franks, and the Alemanni were displayed; his soldiers, with garlands in their hands, chanted the praises of the conqueror; and Rome for the last time beheld the semblance of a triumph.

§ 14. After a reign of 60 years the throne of the Gothic kings was filled by the exarchs of Ravenna, the representatives in peace and war of the emperor of the Romans. Their jurisdiction was soon reduced to the limits of a narrow province; but Narses himself, the first and most powerful of the exarchs, administered above 15 years the entire kingdom of Italy (A.D. 554–568). Like Belisarius, he had deserved the honours of envy, calumny, and disgrace: but the favourite eunuch still enjoyed the confidence of Justinian; or the leader of a victorious army awed and repressed the ingratitude of a timid court. The remains of the Gothic nation evacuated the country, or mingled with the people; and the Franks, instead of revenging the death of Buccelin, abandoned, without a struggle, their Italian conquests. The civil state of Italy, after the agitation of a long tempest, was fixed by a pragmatic sanction, which the emperor promulgated at the request of the pope. Justinian introduced his own jurisprudence into the schools and tribunals of the West: he ratified the acts of Theodoric and his immediate successors, but every deed was rescinded and abolished which force had extorted or fear had subscribed under the usurpation of Totila.

Under the exarchs of Ravenna, Rome was degraded to the second rank. Yet the senators were gratified by the permission of visiting their estates in Italy, and of approaching without obstacle the throne of Constantinople: the regulation of weights and measures was delegated to the pope and senate; and the salaries of lawyers and physicians, of orators and grammarians, were destined to preserve or rekindle the light of science in the ancient capital. Justinian might dictate benevolent edicts, and Narses might second his wishes by the restoration of cities, and more especially of churches. But the power of kings is most effectual to destroy: and the 20 years of the Gothic war had consummated the distress and depopulation of Italy. As early as the fourth campaign, under the discipline of Belisarius himself, 50,000 labourers died of hunger in the narrow region of Picenum; and a strict interpretation of the evidence of Procopius would swell the loss of Italy above the total sum of her present inhabitants.

§ 15. I desire to believe, but I dare not affirm, that Belisarius sincerely rejoiced in the triumph of Narses. Yet the consciousness of his own exploits might teach him to esteem, without jealousy, the merit of a rival; and the repose of the aged warrior was crowned by a last victory, which saved the emperor and the capital.

The European provinces of Justinian's empire were annually devastated by the BULGARIANS and the SLAVONIANS, who dwelt or wandered in the plains of Russia, Lithuania, and Poland. The Bulgarians were the remains of the Huns, who, after their defeat on the death of Attila, retreated eastward to the Euxine and the lake Mæotis. The Slavonians have in all ages been divided into two great branches, a western and an eastern, of which the former bore the name of Sclaveni and the latter that of Antes in the reign of Justinian. The western branch of the Slavonic family now comprehends the Bohemians, the Slovaks in Hungary, the Poles, and the Swabians or northern Wends, of whom the last extend along the Baltic from the Vistula to the Elbe. The Eastern Slavonians are the Russians, the Servians, the Croats, and the southern Wends, of whom the last inhabit Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, &c.

The Bulgarians and Slavonians sometimes united their forces for the plunder of the Roman provinces; and while Justinian exulted in the glorious act of restoring Africa and Italy to the republic, he trembled for the safety of Constantinople. The same year and possibly the same month, in which Ravenna surrendered, was marked by an invasion of the Bulgarians, so dreadful that it almost effaced the memory of their past inroads. They spread from the suburbs of Constantinople to the Ionian Gulf, destroyed 32 cities or castles, and repassed the Danube, dragging at their horses' heels

120,000 of the subjects of Justinian. In a subsequent inroad they pierced the wall of the Thracian Chersonesus, extirpated the habitations and the inhabitants, boldly traversed the Hellespont, and returned to their companions laden with the spoils of Asia. Another party, which seemed a multitude in the eyes of the Romans, penetrated without opposition from the straits of Thermopylæ to the isthmus of Corinth; and the last ruin of Greece has appeared an object too minute for the attention of history. The works which the emperor raised for the protection, but at the expense of his subjects, served only to disclose the weakness of some neglected part; and the walls, which by flattery had been deemed impregnable, were either deserted by the garrison or scaled by the barbarians.

§ 16. In the 32nd winter of Justinian's reign (A.D. 559) the Danube was deeply frozen; Zabergan led the cavalry of the Bulgarians, and his standard was followed by a promiscuous multitude of Slavonians. The savage chief passed, without opposition, the river and the mountains, spread his troops over Macedonia and Thrace, and advanced with no more than 7000 horse to the long walls which should have defended the territory of Constantinople. But the works of man are impotent against the assaults of nature: a recent earthquake had shaken the foundations of the walls; and the forces of the empire were employed on the distant frontiers of Italy, Africa, and Persia. The tents of Zabergan were pitched at the distance of 20 miles from the city, on the banks of a small river which encircles Melanthias and afterwards falls into the Propontis. Justinian trembled: by his command the vessels of gold and silver were removed from the churches in the neighbourhood, and even the suburbs, of Constantinople: the ramparts were lined with trembling spectators; the golden gate was crowded with useless generals and tribunes; and the senate shared the fatigues and the apprehensions of the populace. But the eyes of the prince and people were directed to a feeble veteran, who was compelled by the public danger to resume the armour in which he had entered Carthage and defended Rome. The horses of the royal stables, of private citizens, and even of the circus, were hastily collected: the emulation of the old and young was roused by the name of Belisarius, and his first encampment was in the presence of a victorious enemy. The next morning the Bulgarian cavalry advanced to the charge. But they heard the shouts of multitudes, they beheld the arms and discipline of the front; they were assaulted on the flank by two ambuscades which rose from the woods; their foremost warriors fell by the hand of the aged hero and his guards; and the swiftness of their evolutions was rendered useless by the close attack and rapid pursuit of the Romans. In this action (so speedy was their flight) the Bulgarians lost only 400 horse: but Constantinople was saved; and Zabergen, who felt the

hand of a master, withdrew to a respectful distance. But his friends were numerous in the councils of the emperor, and Belisarius obeyed with reluctance the commands of envy and Justinian, which forbade him to achieve the deliverance of his country. On his return to the city, the people, still conscious of their danger, accompanied his triumph with acclamations of joy and gratitude, which were imputed as a crime to the victorious general. But when he entered the palace the courtiers were silent, and the emperor, after a cold and thankless embrace, dismissed him to mingle with the train of slaves.

§ 17. About four years after the last victory of Belisarius, a conspiracy was formed against the life of Justinian. One of the conspirators accused two officers of the household of Belisarius, and torture forced them to declare that they had acted according to the secret instructions of their patron. Posterity will not hastily believe that an hero who in the vigour of life had disdained the fairest offers of ambition and revenge should stoop to the murder of his prince, whom he could not long expect to survive. His followers were impatient to fly; but flight must have been supported by rebellion, and he had lived enough for nature and for glory. Belisarius appeared before the council with less fear than indignation: after forty years' service the emperor had prejudged his guilt; and injustice was sanctified by the presence and authority of the patriarch. The life of Belisarius was graciously spared, but his fortunes were sequestered; and, from December to July, he was guarded as a prisoner in his own palace (A.D. 563, 564). At length his innocence was acknowledged; his freedom and honours were restored; and death, which might be hastened by resentment and grief, removed him from the world about eight months after his deliverance (A.D. 565). The name of Belisarius can never die: but, instead of the funeral, the monuments, the statues, so justly due to his memory, I only read that his treasures, the spoils of the Goths, and Vandals, were immediately confiscated by the emperor. Some decent portion was reserved, however, for the use of his widow: and as Antonina had much to repent, she devoted the last remains of her life and fortune to the foundation of a convent. Such is the simple and genuine narrative of the fall of Belisarius, and the ingratitude of Justinian. That he was deprived of his eyes, and reduced by envy to beg his bread, "Give a penny to Belisarius the general!" is a fiction of later times, which has obtained credit, or rather favour, as a strange example of the vicissitudes of fortune.*

§ 18. If the emperor could rejoice in the death of Belisarius, he enjoyed the base satisfaction only eight months, the last period of a

* Some modern writers, however, argue in favour of the celebrated story of the tragic fate of Belisarius.

reign of 38 and a life of 83 years (A.D. 565, Nov. 14). It would be difficult to trace the character of a prince who is not the most conspicuous object of his own times: but the confessions of an enemy may be received as the safest evidence of his virtues. The resemblance of Justinian to the bust of Domitian is maliciously urged, with the acknowledgment, however, of a well proportioned figure, a ruddy complexion, and a pleasing countenance. The emperor was easy of access, patient of hearing, courteous, and affable in discourse, and a master of the angry passions which rage with such destructive violence in the breast of a despot. Procopius praises his temper, to reproach him with calm and deliberate cruelty; but in the conspiracies which attacked his authority and person, a more candid judge will approve the justice, or admire the clemency, of Justinian. He excelled in the private virtues of chastity and temperance; but his abstemious diet was regulated not by the prudence of a philosopher, but the superstition of a monk. His repasts were short and frugal: on solemn fasts he contented himself with water and vegetables: and such was his strength as well as fervour, that he frequently passed two days, and as many nights, without tasting any food. The measure of his sleep was not less rigourous: after the repose of a single hour, the body was awakened by the soul, and, to the astonishment of his chamberlains, Justinian walked or studied till the morning light. Such restless application prolonged his time for the acquisition of knowledge and the despatch of business; and he might seriously deserve the reproach of confounding, by minute and preposterous diligence, the general order of his administration. The emperor professed himself a musician and architect, a poet and philosopher, a lawyer and theologian; and if he failed in the enterprise of reconciling the Christian sects, the review of the Roman jurisprudence is a noble monument of his spirit and industry. In the government of the empire he was less wise, or less successful: the age was unfortunate; the people was oppressed and discontented; Theodora abused her power; a succession of bad ministers disgraced his judgment; and Justinian was neither beloved in his life nor regretted at his death. The love of fame was deeply implanted in his breast, but he condescended to the poor ambition of titles, honours, and contemporary praise; and while he laboured to fix the admiration, he forfeited the esteem and affection of the Romans. The design of the African and Italian wars was boldly conceived and executed; and his penetration discovered the talents of Belisarius in the camp, of Narses in the palace. But the name of the emperor is eclipsed by the names of his victorious generals; and Belisarius still lives to upbraid the envy and ingratitude of his sovereign. The partial favour of mankind applauds the genius of a conqueror who leads and directs his subjects in the exercise of arms.

The characters of Philip the Second and of Justinian are distinguished by the cold ambition which delights in war, and declines the dangers of the field.

§ 19. I shall conclude this chapter with the comets, the earthquakes, and the plague, which astonished or afflicted the age of Justinian.

I. In the fifth year of his reign, and in the month of September, a comet was seen during twenty days in the western quarter of the heavens, and which shot its rays into the north (A.D. 531). Eight years afterwards (A.D. 539), while the sun was in Capricorn, another comet appeared to follow in the Sagittary; the size was gradually increasing; the head was in the east, the tail in the west, and it remained visible above forty days. The nations, who gazed with astonishment, expected wars and calamities from their baleful influence; and these expectations were abundantly fulfilled. The astronomers dissembled their ignorance of the nature of these blazing stars, which they affected to represent as the floating meteors of the air; and few among them embraced the simple notion of Seneca and the Chaldæans, that they are only planets of a longer period and more eccentric motion.

II. The near approach of a comet may injure or destroy the globe which we inhabit; but the changes on its surface have been hitherto produced by the action of volcanoes and earthquakes. Without assigning the cause, history will distinguish the periods in which these calamitous events have been rare or frequent, and will observe that this fever of the earth raged with uncommon violence during the reign of Justinian. Each year is marked by the repetition of earthquakes, of such duration that Constantinople has been shaken above forty days; of such extent that the shock has been communicated to the whole surface of the globe, or at least of the Roman empire. Two hundred and fifty thousand persons are said to have perished in the earthquake of Antioch, whose domestic multitudes were swelled by the conflux of strangers to the festival of the Ascension (A.D. 526, May 20.) The loss of Berytus was of smaller account, but of much greater value (A.D. 551, July 9). That city, on the coast of Phœnicia, was illustrated by the study of the civil law, which opened the surest road to wealth and dignity: the schools of Berytus were filled with the rising spirits of the age, and many a youth was lost in the earthquake who might have lived to be the scourge or the guardian of his country.

III. Æthiopia and Egypt have been stigmatised in every age as the original source and seminary of the plague. In a damp, hot, stagnating air, this African fever is generated from the putrefaction of animal substances, and especially from the swarms of locusts, not less destructive to mankind in their death than in their lives. The

fatal disease which depopulated the earth in the time of Justinian and his successors first appeared in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, between the Serbonian bog and the eastern channel of the Nile (A.D. 542). From thence, tracing as it were a double path, it spread to the East, over Syria, Persia, and the Indies, and penetrated to the West, along the coast of Africa and over the continent of Europe. In the spring of the second year Constantinople, during three or four months, was visited by the pestilence; and Procopius, who observed its progress and symptoms with the eyes of a physician, has emulated the skill and diligence of Thucydides in the description of the plague of Athens. The infection was sometimes announced by the visions of a distempered fancy, and the victim despaired as soon as he had heard the menace and felt the stroke of an invisible sceptre. But the greater number in their beds, in the streets, in their usual occupation, were surprised by a slight fever; so slight, indeed, that neither the pulse nor the colour of the patient gave any signs of the approaching danger. The same, the next, or the succeeding day, it was declared by the swelling of the glands, particularly those of the groin, of the arm-pits, and under the ear; and when these buboes or tumours were opened, they were found to contain a *coal*, or black substance, of the size of a lentil. If they came to a just swelling and suppuration, the patient was saved by this kind and natural discharge of the morbid humour; but if they continued hard and dry, a mortification quickly ensued, and the fifth day was commonly the term of his life. The fever was often accompanied with lethargy or delirium; the bodies of the sick were covered with black pustules or carbuncles, the symptoms of immediate death; and in the constitutions too feeble to produce an eruption, the vomiting of blood was followed by a mortification of the bowels. Such was the universal corruption of the air, that the pestilence which burst forth in the fifteenth year of Justinian was not checked or alleviated by any difference of the seasons. In time its first malignity was abated and dispersed; the disease alternately languished and revived; but it was not till the end of a calamitous period of 52 years (A.D. 542–594) that mankind recovered their health, or the air resumed its pure and salubrious quality. No facts have been preserved to sustain an account, or even a conjecture, of the numbers that perished in this extraordinary mortality. I only find that, during three months, five, and at length ten thousand persons died each day at Constantinople; that many cities of the East were left vacant; and that in several districts of Italy the harvest and the vintage withered on the ground. The triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine, afflicted the subjects of Justinian; and his reign is disgraced by a visible decrease of the human species, which has never been repaired in some of the fairest countries of the globe.

Medal of Justinian. See p. 369.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE LEGISLATION OF JUSTINIAN.

§ 1. The Civil or Roman law. § 2. Laws of the kings of Rome. § 3. The Twelve Tables of the decemvirs. § 4. Leges: plebiscita: senatus consulta: edicts. § 5. Constitutions and rescripts of the emperors. § 6. Forms of the Roman law. § 7. Succession of the civil lawyers. § 8. Their philosophy. § 9. Their authority: sects of lawyers. § 10. Reformation of the Roman law by Justinian: Tribonian. § 11. The Code and Digest, or Pandects. § 12. Praise and censure of the Code and Digest: loss of the ancient jurisprudence. § 13. Second edition of the Code. § 14. The Institutes: their divisions. § 15. I. Of Persons. Freemen and slaves. § 16. Fathers and children. § 17. Husbands and wives. § 18. Divorce. § 19. Incest, concubines, and bastards. § 20. Guardians and Wards. § 21. II. Of Things. Right of property. § 22. Inheritance and succession. § 23. Introduction and liberty of testaments. § 24. Legacies. § 25. Codicils and trusts. § 26. III. Of Actions. Promises. § 27. Benefits. § 28. Injuries. § 29. IV. Of Crimes and Punishments. Severity of the Twelve Tables: abolition or oblivion of penal laws. § 30. Revival of capital punishments. § 31. Judgments of the people: select judges: assessors. § 32. Voluntary exile and death.

§ 1. The vain titles of the victories of Justinian are crumbled into dust, but the name of the legislator is inscribed on a fair and everlasting monument. Under his reign, and by his care, the civil jurisprudence was digested in the immortal works of the Code, the Pan-

DECTS, and the INSTITUTES: the public reason of the Romans has been silently or studiously transfused into the domestic institutions of Europe, and the laws of Justinian still command the respect or obedience of independent nations. In the present chapter I shall trace the Roman jurisprudence from Romulus to Justinian, appreciate the labours of that emperor, and pause to contemplate the principles of a science so important to the peace and happiness of society. The laws of a nation form the most instructive portion of its history; and, although I have devoted myself to write the annals of a declining monarchy, I shall embrace the occasion to breathe the pure and invigorating air of the republic.

§ 2. The primitive government of Rome was composed, with some political skill, of an elective king, a council of nobles, and a general assembly of the people. War and religion were administered by the supreme magistrate, and he alone proposed the laws, which were debated in the senate, and finally ratified or rejected by a majority of votes in the thirty *curiæ* of the city. The state was changed by the last Tarquin into lawless despotism; and when the kingly office was abolished, the patricians engrossed the benefits of freedom. The royal laws became odious or obsolete, the mysterious deposit was silently preserved by the priests and nobles, and at the end of 60 years the citizens of Rome still complained that they were ruled by the arbitrary sentence of the magistrates. Yet the positive institutions of the kings had blended themselves with the public and private manners of the city; and some fragments of that venerable jurisprudence were compiled by the diligence of antiquarians.*

§ 3. I shall not repeat the well-known story of the Decemvirs, who sullied by their actions the honour of inscribing on brass, or wood, or ivory, the TWELVE TABLES of the Roman laws. They were dictated by the rigid and jealous spirit of an aristocracy which had yielded with reluctance to the just demands of the people. But the substance of the Twelve Tables was adapted to the state of the city, and the Romans had emerged from barbarism, since they were capable of studying and embracing the institutions of their more enlightened neighbours. A wise Ephesian was driven by envy from his native country: before he could reach the shores of Latium he had observed the various forms of human nature and civil society; he imparted his knowledge to the legislators of Rome, and a statue was erected in the forum to the perpetual memory of Hermodorus. Both Livy and Dionysius are willing to believe that the deputies of Rome visited Athens under the wise and splendid administration of Pericles, and that the laws of Solon were transfused into the Twelve Tables. If such an embassy had indeed been received from the

* The most ancient Code or Digest was styled *Jus Papirianum*, from the first compiler, Papirius.

barbarians of Hesperia, the Roman name would have been familiar to the Greeks before the reign of Alexander, and the faintest evidence would have been explored and celebrated by the curiosity of succeeding times. But the Athenian monuments are silent, nor will it seem credible that the patricians should undertake a long and perilous navigation to copy the purest model of a democracy. In the comparison of the tables of Solon with those of the Decemvirs, some casual resemblance may be found, and some rules which nature and reason have revealed to every society. But in all the great lines of public and private jurisprudence the legislators of Rome and Athens appear to be strangers or adverse to each other.

Whatever might be the origin or the merit of the Twelve Tables, they obtained among the Romans that blind and partial reverence which the lawyers of every country delight to bestow on their municipal institutions. The Twelve Tables were committed to the memory of the young and the meditation of the old; they were transcribed and illustrated with learned diligence: they had escaped the flames of the Gauls; they subsisted in the age of Justinian, and their subsequent loss has been imperfectly restored by the labours of modern critics. But although these venerable monuments were considered as the rule of right and the fountain of justice, they were overwhelmed by the weight and variety of new laws which, at the end of five centuries, became a grievance more intolerable than the vices of the city. Three thousand brass plates, the acts of the senate and people, were deposited in the Capitol; and some of the acts, as the Julian law against extortion, surpassed the number of an hundred chapters. The Decemvirs had neglected to import the sanction of Zaleucus, which so long maintained the integrity of his republic. A Locrian who proposed any new law stood forth in the assembly of the people with a cord round his neck, and if the law was rejected the innovator was instantly strangled.

§ 4. The Decemvirs had been named, and their tables were approved, by an assembly of the *centuries*, in which riches preponderated against numbers. To the first class of Romans, the proprietors of 100,000 pounds of copper, 98 votes were assigned, and only 95 were left for the six inferior classes, distributed according to their substance by the artful policy of Servius. The laws passed by the centuries were properly called LEGES. But the tribunes soon established a more specious and popular maxim, that every citizen has an equal right to enact the laws which he is bound to obey. Instead of the *centuries*, they convened the *tribes;* and the patricians, after an impotent struggle, submitted to the decrees of an assembly in which their votes were confounded with those of the meanest plebeians. These decrees, which were named PLEBISCITA, were equally binding as the Leges, from which they were distinguished

only in name. Even under the republic the senate had a share in the legislative power, and the SENATUS-CONSULTA had the force and validity of laws. From the time of Tiberius these decrees became more frequent, because the emperors employed this means of flattering the pride of the senators by granting them the right of deliberating upon all affairs which did not entrench upon the imperial power. But the most important source of the Roman law was the EDICTS of the prætors. As soon as the prætor ascended his tribunal, he announced by the voice of the crier, and afterwards inscribed on a white wall, the rules which he proposed to follow in the administration of justice. It was not according to his caprice that the prætor framed his regulations. The most distinguished lawyers of Rome were invited by the prætor to assist in drawing up this annual law, which, according to its principle, was only a declaration which this magistrate made to the public, to announce the manner in which he would judge, and to guard against every charge of partiality. He was bound strictly to adhere to the letter and spirit of his first proclamation, according to the Cornelian law, by which these edicts were called perpetual, and he could make no change in a regulation once published. It is a mistake to suppose that the prætors had the power of departing from the fundamental laws, or the laws of the Twelve Tables. The people held them in such consideration, that the prætors rarely enacted laws contrary to their provisions; but as some provisions were found inefficient, others opposed to the manners of the people and to the spirit of subsequent ages, the prætors, still maintaining respect for the laws, endeavoured to bring them into accordance with the necessities of the existing time, by such fictions as best suited the nature of the case. In the reign of Hadrian, the prætorship of Salvius Julian, an eminent lawyer, was immortalised by the composition of the PERPETUAL EDICT. This well-digested code contained everything of value in the previous prætorian edicts; and although it was only perpetual in the same sense as the former edicts, namely, that the magistrate could not change them during his year of office, yet, after the labours of so many men distinguished in jurisprudence, the framing of the Perpetual Edict of Julian attained such perfection that no alteration was made in it, and it became the invariable standard of civil jurisprudence.

§ 5. The emperors possessed legislative power, since the Roman people by the Lex Imperii, subsequently called Lex Regia, transferred to their prince the full extent of their own sovereignty. But from Augustus to Trajan, the modest Cæsars were content to promulgate their edicts in the various characters of a Roman magistrate; and in the decrees of the senate the *epistles* and *orations* of the prince were respectfully inserted. Hadrian appears to have

been the first who assumed without disguise the plenitude of legislative power. And this innovation, so agreeable to his active mind, was countenanced by the patience of the times and his long absence from the seat of government. The same policy was embraced by succeeding monarchs, and, according to the harsh metaphor of Tertullian, "the gloomy and intricate forest of ancient laws was cleared away by the axe of royal mandates and *constitutions*." During four centuries, from Hadrian to Justinian, the public and private jurisprudence was moulded by the will of the sovereign, and few institutions, either human or divine, were permitted to stand on their former basis. The *rescripts* of the emperor, replies to the consultations of the magistrates, his *grants* and *decrees*, his *edicts* and *pragmatic sanctions*, were subscribed in purple ink, and transmitted to the provinces as general or special laws, which the magistrates were bound to execute and the people to obey. But as their number continually multiplied, the rule of obedience became each day more doubtful and obscure, till the will of the sovereign was fixed and ascertained in the Gregorian, the Hermogenian, and the Theodosian codes. The two first, of which some fragments have escaped, were framed by two private lawyers to preserve the constitutions of the Pagan emperors from Hadrian to Constantine. The third, which is still extant, was digested in 16 books by the order of the younger Theodosius to consecrate the laws of the Christian princes from Constantine to his own reign. But the three codes obtained an equal authority in the tribunals, and any act which was not included in the sacred deposit might be disregarded by the judge as spurious or obsolete.

§ 6. Among savage nations the want of letters is imperfectly supplied by the use of visible signs, which awaken attention and perpetuate the remembrance of any public or private transaction. The jurisprudence of the first Romans exhibited the scenes of a pantomime: the words were adapted to the gestures, and the slightest error or neglect in the *forms* of proceeding was sufficient to annul the *substance* of the fairest claim. The communion of the marriage-life was denoted by the necessary elements of fire and water; and the divorced wife resigned the bunch of keys, by the delivery of which she had been invested with the government of the family. The manumission of a son or a slave was performed by turning him round with a gentle blow on the cheek; a work was prohibited by the casting of a stone; prescription was interrupted by the breaking of a branch; the clenched fist was the symbol of a pledge or deposit; the right hand was the gift of faith and confidence. The indenture of covenants was a broken straw; and weights and scales were introduced into every payment. If a citizen pursued any stolen goods into a neighbour's house, he concealed his nakedness with a linen

towel, and hid his face with a mask or basin, lest he should encounter the eyes of a virgin or a matron. In a civil action, the plaintiff touched the ear of his witness, seized his reluctant adversary by the neck, and implored, in solemn lamentation, the aid of his fellow-citizens. The two competitors grasped each other's hand as if they stood prepared for combat before the tribunal of the prætor; he commanded them to produce the object of the dispute; they went, they returned with measured steps, and a clod of earth was cast at his feet to represent the field for which they contended. This occult science of the words and actions of law was the inheritance of the pontiffs and patricians. Like the Chaldæan astrologers, they announced to their clients the days of business and repose; these important trifles were interwoven with the religion of Numa, and after the publication of the Twelve Tables, the Roman people was still enslaved by the ignorance of judicial proceedings. The treachery of a plebeian officer* at length revealed the profitable mystery; in a more enlightened age the legal actions were derided and observed, and the same antiquity which sanctified the practice, obliterated the use and meaning of this primitive language.

§ 7. A more liberal art was cultivated, however, by the sages of Rome, who, in a stricter sense, may be considered as the authors of the civil law. The alteration of the idiom and manners of the Romans rendered the style of the Twelve Tables less familiar to each rising generation, and the doubtful passages were imperfectly explained by the study of legal antiquarians. To define the ambiguities, to circumscribe the latitude, to apply the principles, to extend the consequences, to reconcile the real or apparent contradictions, was a much nobler and more important task; and the province of legislation was silently invaded by the expounders of ancient statutes. Their subtle interpretations concurred with the equity of the prætor to reform the tyranny of the darker ages; however strange or intricate the means, it was the aim of artificial jurisprudence to restore the simple dictates of nature and reason, and the skill of private citizens was usefully employed to undermine the public institutions of their country. The revolution of almost one thousand years, from the Twelve Tables to the reign of Justinian, may be divided into three periods almost equal in duration, and distinguished from each other by the mode of instruction and the character of the civilians. I. Pride and ignorance contributed, during the first period, to confine within narrow limits the science of the Roman law (B.C. 451-106). On the public days of market or assembly the masters of the art were seen walking in the forum, ready to impart the needful advice to the meanest of their fellow-

* It was revealed by Cn. Flavius, the scribe of App. Claudius Cæcus, censor B.C. 312.

citizens, from whose votes, on a future occasion, they might solicit a grateful return. As their years and honours increased, they seated themselves at home on a chair or throne, to expect, with patient gravity, the visits of their clients, who at the dawn of day, from the town and country, began to thunder at their door. The duties of social life and the incidents of judicial proceeding were the ordinary subject of these consultations, and the verbal or written opinion of the *juris-consults* was framed according to the rules of prudence and law. The youths of their own order and family were permitted to listen; their children enjoyed the benefit of more private lessons, and the Mucian race was long renowned for the hereditary knowledge of the civil law. II. The second period, the learned and splendid age of jurisprudence, may be extended from the birth of Cicero to the reign of Alexander Severus (B.C. 106–A.D. 235). A system was formed, schools were instituted, books were composed, and both the living and the dead became subservient to the instruction of the student. The *tripartite* of Ælius Pætus, surnamed Catus, or the Cunning, was preserved as the oldest work of jurisprudence. Cato the censor derived some additional fame from his legal studies and those of his son; the kindred appellation of Mucius Scævola was illustrated by three sages of the law, but the perfection of the science was ascribed to Servius Sulpicius, their disciple, and the friend of Tully; and the long succession, which shone with equal lustre under the republic and under the Cæsars, is finally closed by the respectable characters of Papinian, of Paul, and of Ulpian. III. In the third period, between the reigns of Alexander and Justinian, the oracles of jurisprudence were almost mute (A.D. 235-527). The measure of curiosity had been filled; the throne was occupied by tyrants and barbarians; the active spirits were diverted by religious disputes; and the professors of Rome, Constantinople, and Berytus, were humbly content to repeat the lessons of their more enlightened predecessors.

§ 8. The jurisprudence which had been grossly adapted to the wants of the first Romans was polished and improved in the seventh century of the city by the alliance of Grecian philosophy. The Scævolas had been taught by use and experience; but Servius Sulpicius was the first civilian who established his art on a certain and general theory. For the discernment of truth and falsehood he applied, as an infallible rule, the logic of Aristotle and the stoics, reduced particular cases to general principles, and diffused over the shapeless mass the light of order and eloquence. It was from the stoics that the Roman civilians learned to live, to reason, and to die; but they imbibed in some degree the prejudices of the sect; the love of paradox, the pertinacious habits of dispute, and a minute attachment to words and verbal distinctions. The superiority of *form* to

matter was introduced to ascertain the right of property: and the equality of crimes is countenanced by an opinion of Trebatius, that he who touches the ear touches the whole body; and that he who steals from an heap of corn or an hogshead of wine is guilty of the entire theft.

§ 9. Augustus and Tiberius were the first to adopt, as an useful engine, the science of the civilians; and their servile labours accommodated the old system to the spirit and views of despotism. Under the fair pretence of securing the dignity of the art, the privilege of subscribing legal and valid opinions was confined to the sages of senatorian or equestrian rank, who had been previously approved by the judgment of the prince; and this monopoly prevailed till Hadrian restored the freedom of the profession to every citizen conscious of his abilities and knowledge. The discretion of the prætor was now governed by the lessons of his teachers; the judges were enjoined to obey the comment as well as the text of the law; and the use of codicils was a memorable innovation, which Augustus ratified by the advice of the civilians. The most absolute mandate could only require that the judges should agree with the civilians, if the civilians agreed among themselves. But the Roman jurisprudence was divided by the once famous sects of the *Proculians* and *Sabinians*. Two sages of the law, Ateius Capito and Antistius Labeo, adorned the peace of the Augustan age: the former distinguished by the favour of his sovereign; the latter more illustrious by his contempt of that favour, and his stern though harmless opposition to the tyrant of Rome. Their legal studies were influenced by the various colours of their temper and principles. Labeo was attached to the form of the old republic; his rival embraced the more profitable substance of the rising monarchy. But the disposition of a courtier is tame and submissive; and Capito seldom presumed to deviate from the sentiments, or at least from the words, of his predecessors; while the bold republican pursued his independent ideas without fear of paradox or innovations. The freedom of Labeo was enslaved, however, by the rigour of his own conclusions, and he decided, according to the letter of the law, the same questions which his indulgent competitor resolved with a latitude of equity more suitable to the common sense and feelings of mankind. If a fair exchange had been substituted for the payment of money, Capito still considered the transaction as a legal sale; and he consulted nature for the age of puberty, without confining his definition to the precise period of twelve or fourteen years. This opposition of sentiments was propagated in the writings and lessons of the two founders; the schools of Capito and Labeo maintained their inveterate conflict from the age of Augustus to that of Hadrian; and the two sects derived their appellations from Sabinus and Pro-

culus, their most celebrated teachers. The names of *Cassians* and *Pegasians* were likewise applied to the same parties; but, by a strange reverse, the popular cause was in the hands of Pegasus, a timid slave of Domitian, while the favourite of the Cæsars was represented by Cassius, who gloried in his descent from the patriot assassin. By the perpetual edict the controversies of the sects were in a great measure determined. For that important work the emperor Hadrian preferred the chief of the Sabinians; the friends of monarchy prevailed; but the moderation of Salvius Julian insensibly reconciled the victors and the vanquished. Like the contemporary philosophers, the lawyers of the age of the Antonines disclaimed the authority of a master, and adopted from every system the most probable doctrines. But their writings would have been less voluminous, had their choice been more unanimous. The conscience of the judge was perplexed by the number and weight of discordant testimonies, and every sentence that his passion or interest might pronounce was justified by the sanction of some venerable name. An indulgent edict of the younger Theodosius excused him from the labour of comparing and weighing their arguments. Five civilians, Gaius, Papinian, Paul, Ulpian, and Modestinus, were established as the oracles of jurisprudence: a majority was decisive; but if their opinions were equally divided, a casting vote was ascribed to the superior wisdom of Papinian.

§ 10. When Justinian ascended the throne, the reformation of the Roman jurisprudence was an arduous but indispensable task. In the space of ten centuries the infinite variety of laws and legal opinions had filled many thousand volumes, which no fortune could purchase and no capacity could digest. Books could not easily be found; and the judges, poor in the midst of riches, were reduced to the exercise of their illiterate discretion. The subjects of the Greek provinces were ignorant of the language that disposed of their lives and properties; and the *barbarous* dialect of the Latins was imperfectly studied in the academies of Berytus and Constantinople. As an Illyrian soldier, that idiom was familiar to the infancy of Justinian; his youth had been instructed by the lessons of jurisprudence, and his Imperial choice selected the most learned civilians of the East, to labour with their sovereign in the work of reformation. The theory of professors was assisted by the practice of advocates and the experience of magistrates; and the whole undertaking was animated by the spirit of Tribonian. This extraordinary man, the object of so much praise and censure, was a native of Side in Pamphylia; and his genius, like that of Bacon, embraced as his own, all the business and knowledge of the age. To the literature of Greece he added the use of the Latin tongue; the Roman civilians were deposited in his library and in his mind; and he most as-

siduously cultivated those arts, which opened the road of wealth and preferment. From the bar of the prætorian præfects he raised himself to the honours of quæstor, of consul, and of master of the offices. The reproaches of impiety and avarice have stained the virtues or the reputation of Tribonian. In a bigoted and persecuting court, the principal minister was accused of a secret aversion to the Christian faith, and was supposed to entertain the sentiments of an Atheist and a Pagan. His avarice was more clearly proved and more sensibly felt. If he were swayed by gifts in the administration of justice, the example of Bacon will again occur; nor can the merit of Tribonian atone for his baseness, if he degraded the sanctity of his profession, and if laws were every day enacted, modified, or repealed, for the base consideration of his private emolument. In the sedition of Constantinople, his removal was granted to the clamours, perhaps to the just indignation, of the people;* but the quæstor was speedily restored, and, till the hour of his death, he possessed, above twenty years, the favour and confidence of the emperor.

§ 11. In the first year of his reign, Justinian directed the faithful Tribonian, and nine learned associates, to revise the ordinances of his predecessors, as they were contained, since the time of Hadrian, in the Gregorian, Hermogenian, and Theodosian codes. The work was accomplished in 14 months (A.D. 528, 529); and the twelve books or *tables*, which the new decemvirs produced, might be designed to imitate the labours of their Roman predecessors. The new CODE of Justinian was honoured with his name, and confirmed by his royal signature: authentic transcripts were multiplied by the pens of notaries and scribes, and were transmitted to the magistrates of the provinces. A more arduous operation was still behind—to extract the spirit of jurisprudence from the decisions and conjectures, the questions and disputes, of the Roman civilians. Seventeen lawyers, with Tribonian at their head, were appointed by the emperor to exercise an absolute jurisdiction over the works of their predecessors. If they had obeyed his commands in ten years, Justinian would have been satisfied with their diligence; and the rapid composition of the DIGEST or PANDECTS in three years will deserve praise or censure according to the merit of the execution (A.D. 530, Dec. 15—A.D. 533, Dec. 16). From the library of Tribonian they chose forty, the most eminent civilians of former times: 2000 treatises were comprised in an abridgement of 50 books; and it has been carefully recorded that three millions of lines or sentences were reduced, in this abstract, to the moderate number of 150,000. The edition of this great work was delayed a month after that of the INSTITUTES; and it seemed reasonable that the elements should precede the digest of the Roman law. As soon as the emperor had

* See p. 299.

approved their labours, he ratified, by his legislative power, the speculations of these private citizens: their commentaries on the Twelve Tables, the Perpetual Edict, the laws of the people, and the decrees of the senate, succeeded to the authority of the text; and the text was abandoned as an useless, though venerable relic of antiquity. The *Code*, the *Pandects*, and the *Institutes*, were declared to be the legitimate system of civil jurisprudence; they alone were admitted in the tribunals, and they alone were taught in the academies of Rome, Constantinople, and Berytus.

§ 12. Since the emperor declined the fame and envy of original composition, we can only require at his hands method, choice, and fidelity—the humble, though indispensable, virtues of a compiler. Among the various combinations of ideas it is difficult to assign any reasonable preference; but, as the order of Justinian is different in his three works, it is possible that all may be wrong, and it is certain that two cannot be right. In the selection of ancient laws he seems to have viewed his predecessors without jealousy and with equal regard: the series could not ascend above the reign of Hadrian, and the narrow distinction of Paganism and Christianity, introduced by the superstition of Theodosius, had been abolished by the consent of mankind. But the jurisprudence of the Pandects is circumscribed within a period of an hundred years, from the Perpetual Edict to the death of Alexander Severus: the civilians who lived under the first Cæsars are seldom permitted to speak, and only three names can be attributed to the age of the republic. The favourite of Justinian (it has been fiercely urged) was fearful of encountering the light of freedom and the gravity of Roman sages. But the ministers of Justinian were instructed to labour not for the curiosity of antiquarians, but for the immediate benefit of his subjects. Perhaps, if the preceptors and friends of Cicero were still alive, our candour would acknowledge that their intrinsic merit was excelled by the school of Papinian and Ulpian. The science of the laws is the slow growth of time and experience, and the advantage both of method and materials is naturally assumed by the most recent authors. But the emperor was guilty of fraud and forgery when he corrupted the integrity of their text, inscribed with their venerable names the words and ideas of his servile reign, and suppressed by the hand of power the pure and authentic copies of their sentiments. The changes and interpolations of Tribonian and his colleagues are excused by the pretence of uniformity: but their cares have been insufficient, and the *antinomies*, or contradictions, of the Code and Pandects, still exercise the patience and subtlety of modern civilians.

A rumour, devoid of evidence, has been propagated by the enemies of Justinian, that the jurisprudence of ancient Rome was

reduced to ashes by the author of the Pandects, from the vain persuasion that it was now either false or superfluous. Without usurping an office so invidious, the emperor might safely commit to ignorance and time the accomplishment of this destructive wish. Before the invention of printing and paper, the labour and the materials of writing could be purchased only by the rich; and it may reasonably be computed that the price of books was an hundred-fold their present value. The books of jurisprudence were interesting to few, and entertaining to none; their value was connected with present use, and they sunk for ever as soon as that use was superseded by the innovations of fashion, superior merit, or public authority. The copies of Papinian or Ulpian, which the reformer had proscribed, were deemed unworthy of future notice; the Twelve Tables and prætorian edict insensibly vanished; and the monuments of ancient Rome were neglected or destroyed by the envy and ignorance of the Greeks. Even the Pandects themselves have escaped with difficulty and danger from the common shipwreck, and criticism has pronounced that *all* the editions and manuscripts of the West are derived from *one* original. It was transcribed at Constantinople in the beginning of the seventh century, was successively transported by the accidents of war and commerce to Amalphi, Pisa, and Florence, and is now deposited as a sacred relic in the ancient palace of the republic.

§ 13. It is the first care of a reformer to prevent any future reformation. To maintain the text of the Pandects, the Institutes, and the Code, the use of ciphers and abbreviations was rigorously proscribed; and as Justinian recollected that the Perpetual Edict had been buried under the weight of commentators, he denounced the punishment of forgery against the rash civilians who should presume to interpret or pervert the will of their sovereign. But the emperor was unable to fix his own inconstancy; and, while he boasted of renewing the exchange of Diomede, of transmuting brass into gold, he discovered the necessity of purifying the gold from the mixture of baser alloy. Six years had not elapsed from the publication of the Code before he condemned the imperfect attempt by a new and more accurate edition of the same work, which he enriched with two hundred of his own laws and fifty decisions of the darkest and most intricate points of jurisprudence (A.D. 534, Nov. 16). Every year, or, according to Procopius, each day of his long reign was marked by some legal innovation. Many of his acts were rescinded by himself; many were rejected by his successors; many have been obliterated by time; but the number of sixteen EDICTS, and one hundred and sixty-eight NOVELS, has been admitted into the authentic body of the civil jurisprudence (A.D. 534–565).

§ 14. Monarchs seldom condescend to become the preceptors of

their subjects; and some praise is due to Justinian, by whose command an ample system was reduced to a short and elementary treatise. Among the various institutes of the Roman law, those of Gaius* were the most popular in the East and West; and their use may be considered as an evidence of their merit. They were selected by the Imperial delegates, Tribonian, Theophilus, and Dorotheus; and the freedom and purity of the Antonines was incrusted with the coarser materials of a degenerate age. The same volume which introduced the youth of Rome, Constantinople, and Berytus to the gradual study of the Code and Pandects, is still precious to the historian, the philosopher, and the magistrate. The INSTITUTES of Justinian are divided into four books: they proceed, with no contemptible method, from I. *Persons*, to, II. *Things*, and from things to, III. *Actions;* and the Article IV., of *Private Wrongs*, is terminated by the principles of *Criminal Law*.

§ 15. I. OF PERSONS. In the eye of the law all Roman citizens were equal, and all subjects of the empire were citizens of Rome. That inestimable character was degraded to an obsolete and empty name. The voice of a Roman could no longer enact his laws, or create the annual ministers of his power: his constitutional rights might have checked the arbitrary will of a master; and the bold adventurer from Germany or Arabia was admitted, with equal favour, to the civil and military command, which the citizen alone had been once entitled to assume over the conquests of his fathers. The first Cæsars had scrupulously guarded the distinction of *ingenuous* and *servile* birth, which was decided by the condition of the mother; and the candour of the laws was satisfied if *her* freedom could be ascertained, during a single moment, between the conception and the delivery. The slaves who were liberated by a generous master immediately entered into the middle class of *libertini* or freedmen; but they could never be enfranchised from the duties of obedience and gratitude: whatever were the fruits of their industry, their patron and his family inherited the third part; or even the whole of their fortunes if they died without children and without a testament. Justinian respected the rights of patrons; but his indulgence removed the badge of disgrace from the two inferior orders of freedmen; whoever ceased to be a slave obtained, without reserve or delay, the station of a citizen; and at length the dignity of an ingenuous birth, which nature had refused, was created, or supposed, by the omnipotence of the emperor. Whatever restraints of age, or forms, or numbers, had been formerly introduced to check the abuse

* The Institutes of Gaius, who lived in the time of the Antonines, were discovered by Niebuhr in 1816 in a palimpsest MS. preserved in the cathedral library of Verona. The work was published for the first time by Goeschen in 1821.

of manumissions and the too rapid increase of vile and indigent Romans, he finally abolished; and the spirit of his laws promoted the extinction of domestic servitude.

§ 16. The law of nature instructs most animals to cherish and educate their infant progeny. The law of reason inculcates upon the human species the returns of filial piety. But the exclusive, absolute, and perpetual dominion of the father over his children is peculiar to the Roman jurisprudence, and seems to be coeval with the foundation of the city. The paternal power was instituted or confirmed by Romulus himself; and, after the practice of three centuries, it was inscribed on the fourth table of the Decemvirs. In the forum, the senate, or the camp, the adult son of a Roman citizen enjoyed the public and private rights of a *person:* in his father's house he was a mere *thing;* confounded by the laws with the moveables, the cattle, and the slaves, whom the capricious master might alienate or destroy without being responsible to any earthly tribunal. The hand which bestowed the daily sustenance might resume the voluntary gift, and whatever was acquired by the labour or fortune of the son was immediately lost in the property of the father. At the call of indulgence or avarice, the master of a family could dispose of his children or his slaves. But the condition of the slave was far more advantageous, since he regained, by the first manumission, his alienated freedom: the son was again restored to his unnatural father; he might be condemned to servitude a second and a third time, and it was not till after the third sale and deliverance that he was enfranchised from the domestic power which had been so repeatedly abused. The majesty of a parent was armed with the power of life and death; and the examples of such bloody executions, which were sometimes praised and never punished, may be traced in the annals of Rome, beyond the times of Pompey and Augustus. Neither age, nor rank, nor the consular office, nor the honours of a triumph, could except the most illustrious citizen from the bonds of filial subjection: his own descendants were included in the family of their common ancestor; and the claims of adoption were not less sacred or less rigorous than those of nature.

The first limitation of paternal power is ascribed to the justice and humanity of Numa; and the maid who, with *his* father's consent, had espoused a freeman, was protected from the disgrace of becoming the wife of a slave. An imperfect right of property, under the name of *peculium*, was at length communicated to sons. Of all that proceeded from the father he imparted only the use, and reserved the absolute dominion; yet, if his goods were sold, the filial portion was excepted, by a favourable interpretation, from the demands of the creditors. In whatever accrued by marriage, gift,

or collateral succession, the property was secured to the son; but the father, unless he had been specially excluded, enjoyed the usufruct during his life. A private jurisdiction is repugnant to the spirit of monarchy; the parent was again reduced from a judge to an accuser; and the magistrates were enjoined by Alexander Severus to hear his complaints and execute his sentence. He could no longer take the life of a son without incurring the guilt and punishment of murder; and the pains of parricide, from which he had been excepted by the Pompeian law, were finally inflicted by the justice of Constantine. The exposition of children was the prevailing and stubborn vice of antiquity; it was sometimes prescribed, often permitted, almost always practised with impunity by the nations who never entertained the Roman ideas of paternal power; and the dramatic poets, who appeal to the human heart, represent with indifference a popular custom which was palliated by the motives of economy and compassion. If the father could subdue his own feelings, he might escape, though not the censure, at least the chastisement of the laws; and the Roman empire was stained with the blood of infants, till such murders were included by Valentinian and his colleagues in the letter and spirit of the Cornelian law. The lessons of jurisprudence and Christianity had been insufficient to eradicate this inhuman practice, till their gentle influence was fortified by the terrors of capital punishment.

§ 17. Experience has proved that savages are the tyrants of the female sex, and that the condition of women is usually softened by the refinements of social life. The season of marriage was fixed by Numa at the tender age of 12 years, that the Roman husband might educate to his will a pure and obedient virgin. According to the custom of antiquity, he bought his bride of her parents, and she fulfilled the *coemption* by purchasing, with three pieces of copper, a just introduction to his house and household deities. A sacrifice of fruits was offered by the pontiffs in the presence of 10 witnesses; the contracting parties were seated on the same sheepskin; they tasted a salt cake of *far*, or rice; and this *confarreation*, which denoted the ancient food of Italy, served as an emblem of their mystic union of mind and body. But this union on the side of the woman was rigorous and unequal; and she renounced the name and worship of her father's house, to embrace a new servitude, decorated only by the title of adoption: a fiction of the law, neither rational nor elegant, bestowed on the mother of a family (her proper appellation) the strange characters of sister to her own children and of daughter to her husband or master, who was invested with the plenitude of paternal power. By his judgment or caprice her behaviour was approved, or censured, or chastised; he exercised the jurisdiction of life and death; and it was allowed that in the cases

of adultery or drunkenness the sentence might be properly inflicted. She acquired and inherited the sole property of her lord; and so clearly was woman defined, not as a *person*, but as a *thing*, that, if the original title were deficient, she might be claimed, like other moveables, by the *use* and possession of an entire year.

After the Punic triumphs the matrons of Rome aspired to the common benefits of a free and opulent republic; their wishes were gratified by the indulgence of fathers and lovers, and their ambition was unsuccessfully resisted by the gravity of Cato the Censor. They declined the solemnities of the old nuptials, defeated the annual prescription by an absence of three days, and, without losing their name or independence, subscribed the liberal and definite terms of a marriage contract. Of their private fortunes, they communicated the use and secured the property: the estates of a wife could neither be alienated nor mortgaged by a prodigal husband: their mutual gifts were prohibited by the jealousy of the laws; and the misconduct of either party might afford, under another name, a future subject for an action of theft. To this loose and voluntary compact religious and civil rights were no longer essential, and between persons of a similar rank the apparent community of life was allowed as sufficient evidence of their nuptials. The dignity of marriage was restored by the Christians, who derived all spiritual grace from the prayers of the faithful and the benediction of the priest or bishop. The origin, validity, and duties of the holy institution were regulated by the tradition of the synagogue, the precepts of the Gospel, and the canons of general or provincial synods; and the conscience of the Christians was awed by the decrees and censures of their ecclesiastical rulers. Yet the magistrates of Justinian were not subject to the authority of the church: the emperor consulted the unbelieving civilians of antiquity: and the choice of matrimonial laws in the Code and Pandects is directed by the earthly motives of justice, policy, and the natural freedom of both sexes.

§ 18. Besides the agreement of the parties, the essence of every rational contract, the Roman marriage required the previous approbation of the parents. The causes of the dissolution of matrimony varied among the Romans; but the most solemn sacrament, the confarreation itself, might always be done away by rites of a contrary tendency. In the first ages the father of a family might sell his children, and his wife was reckoned in the number of his children: the domestic judge might pronounce the death of the offender, or his mercy might expel her from his bed and house; but the slavery of the wretched female was hopeless and perpetual, unless he asserted for his own convenience the manly prerogative of divorce. The warmest applause has been lavished on the virtue of the Romans, who abstained from the exercise of this tempting

privilege above 500 years;* but the same fact evinces the unequal terms of a connection in which the slave was unable to renounce her tyrant, and the tyrant was unwilling to relinquish his slave. When the Roman matrons became the equal and voluntary companions of their lords, a new jurisprudence was introduced, that marriage, like other partnerships, might be dissolved by the abdication of one of the associates. In three centuries of prosperity and corruption, this principle was enlarged to frequent practice and pernicious abuse. Passion, interest, or caprice, suggested daily motives for the dissolution of marriage; a word, a sign, a message, a letter, the mandate of a freedman, declared the separation; the most tender of human connexions was degraded to a transient society of profit or pleasure.

Insufficient remedies followed with distant and tardy steps the rapid progress of the evil. Every act of a citizen was subject to the judgment of the *censors*; the first who used the privilege of divorce assigned at their command the motives of his conduct; and a senator was expelled for dismissing his virgin spouse without the knowledge or advice of his friends. Whenever an action was instituted for the recovery of a marriage-portion, the *prætor*, as the guardian of equity, examined the cause and the characters, and greatly inclined the scale in favour of the guiltless and injured party. Augustus, who united the powers of both magistrates, adopted their different modes of repressing or chastising the licence of divorce. The presence of seven Roman witnesses was required for the validity of this solemn and deliberate act: if any adequate provocation had been given by the husband, instead of the delay of two years, he was compelled to refund immediately or in the space of six months; but if he could arraign the manners of his wife, her guilt or levity was expiated by the loss of the sixth or eighth part of her marriage-portion. The Christian princes were the first who specified the just causes of a private divorce; their institutions, from Constantine to Justinian, appear to fluctuate between the custom of the empire and the wishes of the church; and the author of the Novels too frequently reforms the jurisprudence of the Code and Pandects. The successor of Justinian yielded to the prayers of his unhappy subjects, and restored the liberty of divorce by mutual consent.

§ 19. The freedom of marriage was restrained among the Romans by natural and civil impediments. An instinct, almost innate and universal, appears to prohibit the incestuous commerce of parents and children in the infinite series of ascending and descending generations. Concerning the oblique and collateral branches nature is indifferent, reason mute, and custom various and arbitrary. In Egypt the marriage of brothers and sisters was admitted without

* In the year of Rome 523, Spurius Carvilius Ruga repudiated a fair, a good, but barren wife.

scruple or exception; a Spartan might espouse the daughter of his father; an Athenian, that of his mother; and the nuptials of an uncle with his niece were applauded at Athens as a happy union of the dearest relations. The profane lawgivers of Rome were never tempted by interest or superstition to multiply the forbidden degrees: but they inflexibly condemned the marriage of sisters and brothers, hesitated whether first-cousins should be touched by the same interdict, revered the paternal character of aunts and uncles,* and treated affinity and adoption as a just imitation of the ties of blood. According to the proud maxims of the republic, a legal marriage could only be contracted by free citizens; an honourable, at least an ingenuous, birth was required for the spouse of a senator; but the blood of kings could never mingle in legitimate nuptials with the blood of a Roman; and the name of Stranger degraded Cleopatra and Berenice to live the *concubines* of Mark Antony and Titus. This appellation, indeed, so injurious to the majesty, cannot without indulgence be applied to the manners, of these Oriental queens. A concubine, in the strict sense of the civilians, was a woman of servile or plebæian extraction, the sole and faithful companion of a Roman citizen, who continued in a state of celibacy. Her modest station, below the honours of a wife, above the infamy of a prostitute, was acknowledged and approved by the laws: from the age of Augustus to the tenth century, the use of this secondary marriage prevailed both in the West and East; and the humble virtues of a concubine were often preferred to the pomp and insolence of a noble matron. In this connexion the two Antonines, the best of princes and of men, enjoyed the comforts of domestic love; the example was imitated by many citizens impatient of celibacy, but regardful of their families. If at any time they desired to legitimate their natural children, the conversion was instantly performed by the celebration of their nuptials with a partner whose fruitfulness and fidelity they had already tried. By this epithet of *natural* the offspring of a concubine were distinguished from the spurious brood of adultery, prostitution, and incest, to whom Justinian reluctantly grants the necessary elements of life; and these natural children alone were capable of succeeding to a sixth part of the inheritance of their reputed father. According to the rigour of law, bastards were entitled only to the name and condition of their mother, from whom they might derive the character of a slave, a stranger, or a citizen. The outcasts of every family were adopted, without reproach, as the children of the state.

* In consequence of the marriage of the emperor Claudius with his niece Agrippina, the daughter of his brother Germanicus, it became lawful for a man to marry the daughter of his brother; but it continued unlawful for a man to marry the daughter of his sister.

§ 20. The relation of guardian and ward, or, in Roman words, of *tutor* and *pupil*, which covers so many titles of the Institutes and Pandects, is of a very simple and uniform nature. The person and property of an orphan must always be trusted to the custody of some discreet friend. If the deceased father had not signified his choice, the *agnats*, or paternal kindred of the nearest degree, were compelled to act as the natural guardians. If the choice of the father and the line of consanguinity afforded no efficient guardian, the failure was supplied by the nomination of the prætor of the city or the president of the province. The office of the tutor was to complete the defective legal personality of the ward. All formal words essential to a legal transaction had to be pronounced by the ward himself, and then the tutor, by his assent, added the *animus*, the intention, of which the child was not capable. The age of puberty had been rashly fixed by the civilians at fourteen; but, as the faculties of the mind ripen more slowly than those of the body, a *curator* was interposed to guard the fortunes of a Roman youth from his own inexperience and headstrong passions. Such a trustee had been first instituted by the prætor to save a family from the blind havoc of a prodigal or madman; and the minor was compelled by the laws to solicit the same protection to give validity to his acts till he accomplished the full period of 25 years. Women were condemned to the perpetual tutelage of parents, husbands, or guardians; a sex created to please and obey was never supposed to have attained the age of reason and experience. Such at least was the stern and haughty spirit of the ancient law, which had been insensibly mollified before the time of Justinian.

§ 21. II. OF THINGS.—The Roman laws protected all property acquired in a lawful manner. They imposed on those who had invaded it the obligation of making restitution and reparation of all damage caused by that invasion; they punished it, moreover, in many cases, by a pecuniary fine. But they did not always grant a recovery against the third person, who had become *bonâ fide* possessed of the property. He who had obtained possession of a thing belonging to another, knowing nothing of the prior rights of that person, maintained the possession. The law had expressly determined those cases in which it permitted property to be reclaimed from an innocent possessor. In these cases possession had the characters of absolute proprietorship, called *Mancipium*, *Jus Quiritium*. To possess this right it was not sufficient to have entered into possession of the thing *in any manner;* the acquisition was bound to have that character of publicity which was given by the observation of solemn forms, prescribed by the laws, or by the uninterrupted exercise of proprietorship during a certain time: the Roman citizen alone could acquire this proprietorship. Every other kind of

possession, which might be named imperfect proprietorship, was called *in bonis habere*. It was not till after the time of Cicero that the general name of *Dominium* was given to all proprietorship.

It was then the publicity which constituted the distinctive character of absolute dominion. This publicity was grounded on the mode of acquisition, which the moderns have called Civil (*Modi acquirendi Civiles*). These modes of acquisition were, 1. *Mancipium* or *Mancipatio*, which was nothing but the solemn delivery of the thing in the presence of a determinate number of witnesses and a public officer. 2. *In jure cessio*, which was a solemn delivery before the prætor. 3. *Adjudicatio*, made by a judge in a case of partition. 4. *Lex*, which comprehended modes of acquiring in particular cases determined by law; probably the law of the Twelve Tables; for instance, the *sub coronâ emptio* and the *legatum*. 5. *Usus*, called afterwards *Usucapio*, and by the moderns prescription. This was only a year for moveables; two years for things not moveable. Its primary object was altogether different from that of prescription in the present day. It was originally introduced in order to transform the simple possession of a thing (*in bonis habere*) into Roman proprietorship. The public and uninterrupted possession of a thing, enjoyed for the space of one or two years, was sufficient to make known to the inhabitants of the city of Rome to whom the thing belonged. This last mode of acquisition completed the system of civil acquisitions, by legalising, as it were, every other kind of acquisition which was not conferred, from the commencement, by the *Jus Quiritium*. As to things of smaller value, or those which it was difficult to distinguish from each other, the solemnities of which we speak were not requisite to obtain legal proprietorship. In this case simple delivery was sufficient.

In proportion to the aggrandizement of the republic, this latter principle became more important from the increase of the commerce and wealth of the state. It was necessary to know what were those things of which absolute property might be acquired by simple delivery, and what, on the contrary, were those things, the acquisition of which must be sanctioned by these solemnities. This question was necessarily to be decided by a general rule; and it is this rule which establishes the distinction between *res mancipi* and *nec mancipi*, a distinction about which the opinions of modern civilians differ so much that there are above ten conflicting systems on the subject. It is most probable, however, that *res mancipi* (by contraction for *mancipii*) were things of which the absolute property (*Jus Quiritium*) might be acquired only by the solemnities mentioned above, at least by that of mancipation, which was, without doubt, the most easy and the most usual. As for other things, the acquisition of

which was not subject to these forms in order to confer absolute right, they were called *res nec mancipi*.

§ 22. The personal title of the first proprietor must be determined by his death; but the possession, without any appearance of change, is peaceably continued in his children. The *principle* of hereditary succession is universal; but the *order* has been variously established. The jurisprudence of the Romans appears to have deviated from the equality of nature much less than the Jewish, the Athenian, or the English institutions. On the death of a citizen, all his descendants, unless they were already freed from his paternal power, were called to the inheritance of his possessions. The isolated prerogative of primogeniture was unknown; the two sexes were placed on a just level: all the sons and daughters were entitled to an equal portion of the patrimonial estate; and if any of the sons had been intercepted by a premature death, his person was represented, and his share was divided, by his surviving children. On the failure of the direct line, the right of succession must diverge to the collateral branches. The degrees of kindred are numbered by the civilians, ascending from the last possessor to a common parent, and descending from the common parent to the next heir: my father stands in the first degree, my brother in the second, his children in the third, and the remainder of the series may be conceived by fancy, or pictured in a genealogical table. In this computation a distinction was made, essential to the laws and even the constitution of Rome: the *agnats*, or persons connected by a line of males, were called, as they stood in the nearest degree, to an equal partition; but a female was incapable of transmitting any legal claims; and the *cognats* of every rank, without excepting the dear relation of a mother and a son, were disinherited by the Twelve Tables as strangers and aliens. Among the Romans a *gens* or lineage was united by a common *name* and domestic rites: the various *cognomens* or *surnames* of Scipio or Marcellus distinguished from each other the subordinate branches or families of the Cornelian or Claudian race: the default of the *agnats* of the same surname was supplied by the larger denomination of *gentiles;* and the vigilance of the laws maintained, in the same name, the perpetual descent of religion and property. The rigour of the decemvirs was tempered by the equity of the prætors. Their edicts restored emancipated and posthumous children to the rights of nature; and upon the failure of the *agnats*, they preferred the blood of the *cognats* to the name of the gentiles, whose title and character were insensibly covered with oblivion. The reciprocal inheritance of mothers and sons was established in the Tertullian and Orphitian decrees by the humanity of the senate. A new and more impartial order was introduced by the novels of Justinian, who affected to

revive the jurisprudence of the Twelve Tables. The lines of masculine and female kindred were confounded: the descending, ascending, and collateral series, was accurately defined; and each degree, according to the proximity of blood and affection, succeeded to the vacant possessions of a Roman citizen.

§ 23. The order of succession is regulated by nature, or at least by the general and permanent reason of the lawgiver; but this order is frequently violated by the arbitrary and partial *wills*, which prolong the dominion of the testator beyond the grave. In the simple state of society this last use or abuse of the right of property is seldom indulged; it was introduced at Athens by the laws of Solon, and the private testaments of the father of a family are authorised by the Twelve Tables. Before the time of the decemvirs, a Roman citizen exposed his wishes and motives to the assembly of the thirty curiæ, and the general law of inheritance was suspended by an occasional act of the legislature. After the permission of the decemvirs, each private lawgiver promulgated his verbal or written testament in the presence of five citizens, who represented the five classes of the Roman people; a sixth witness attested their concurrence; a seventh weighed the copper money, which was paid by an imaginary purchaser, and the estate was emancipated by a fictitious sale and immediate release. This singular ceremony was still practised in the age of Severus; but the prætors had already approved a more simple testament, for which they required the seals and signatures of seven witnesses, free from all legal exception, and purposely summoned for the execution of that important act. A domestic monarch, who reigned over the lives and fortunes of his children, might distribute their respective shares according to the degrees of their merit or his affection; his arbitrary displeasure chastised an unworthy son by the loss of his inheritance and the mortifying preference of a stranger. But the experience of unnatural parents recommended some limitations of their testamentary powers. A son, or, by the laws of Justinian, even a daughter, could no longer be disinherited by their silence: they were compelled to name the criminal, and to specify the offence; and the justice of the emperor enumerated the sole causes that could justify such a violation of the first principles of nature and society. Unless a legitimate portion, a fourth part, had been reserved for the children, they were entitled to institute an action or complaint of *inofficious* testament—to suppose that their father's understanding was impaired by sickness or age, and respectfully to appeal from his rigorous sentence to the deliberate wisdom of the magistrate.

§ 24. In the Roman jurisprudence an essential distinction was admitted between the inheritance and the legacies. The heirs who succeeded to the entire unity, or to any of the twelve fractions of

the substance of the testator, represented his civil and religious character, asserted his rights, fulfilled his obligations, and discharged the gifts of friendship or liberality which his last will had bequeathed under the name of legacies. But as the imprudence or prodigality of a dying man might exhaust the inheritance, and leave only risk and labour to his successor, he was empowered to retain the *Falcidian* portion; to deduct before the payment of the legacies, a clear fourth for his own emolument. A reasonable time was allowed to examine the proportion between the debts and the estate, to decide whether he should accept or refuse the testament. The last will of a citizen might be altered during his life, or rescinded after his death; the persons whom he named might die before him, or reject the inheritance, or be exposed to some legal disqualification. In the contemplation of these events he was permitted to substitute second and third heirs, to replace each other according to the order of the testament; and the incapacity of a madman or an infant to bequeath his property might be supplied by a similar substitution. But the power of the testator expired with the acceptance of the testament: each Roman of mature age and discretion acquired the absolute dominion of his inheritance, and the simplicity of the civil law was never clouded by the long and intricate entails which confine the happiness and freedom of unborn generations.

§ 25. Conquest and the formalities of law established the use of *codicils*. If a Roman was surprised by death in a remote province of the empire, he addressed a short epistle to his legitimate or testamentary heir, who fulfilled with honour, or neglected with impunity, this last request, which the judges before the age of Augustus were not authorised to enforce. A codicil might be expressed in any mode or in any language, but the subscription of five witnesses must declare that it was the genuine composition of the author. His intention, however laudable, was sometimes illegal, and the invention of *fidei-commissa*, or trusts, arose from the struggle between natural justice and positive jurisprudence. A stranger of Greece or Africa might be the friend or benefactor of a childless Roman, but none, except a fellow-citizen, could act as his heir. The Voconian law (B.C. 169), which abolished female succession, restrained the legacy or inheritance of a woman to the sum of 100,000 sesterces; and an only daughter was condemned almost as an alien in her father's house. The zeal of friendship and parental affection suggested a liberal artifice: a qualified citizen was named in the testament, with a prayer or injunction that he would restore the inheritance to the person for whom it was truly intended. Various was the conduct of the trustees in this painful situation; they had sworn to observe the laws of their country, but honour prompted them to violate their oath; and, if they preferred their interest under the mask of

patriotism, they forfeited the esteem of every virtuous mind. The declaration of Augustus relieved their doubts, gave a legal sanction to confidential testaments and codicils, and gently unravelled the forms and restraints of the republican jurisprudence. But as the new practice of trusts degenerated into some abuse, the trustee was enabled, by the Trebellian and Pegasian decrees, to reserve one-fourth of the estate, or to transfer on the head of the real heir all the debts and actions of the succession. The interpretation of testaments was strict and literal; but the language of *trusts* and codicils was delivered from the minute and technical accuracy of the civilians.

§ 26. III. OF ACTIONS.—The general duties of mankind are imposed by their public and private relations, but their specific *obligations* to each other can only be the effect of, 1, a promise; 2, a benefit; or, 3, an injury; and when these obligations are ratified by law, the interested party may compel the performance by a judicial *action*. On this principle the civilians of every country have erected a similar jurisprudence, the fair conclusion of universal reason and justice.

1. Among the Romans, according to the rigid maxims of the patricians and decemvirs, a *naked pact*, a promise, or even an oath, did not create any civil obligation, unless it was confirmed by the legal form of a *stipulation*. Whatever might be the etymology of the Latin word, it conveyed the idea of a firm and irrevocable contract, which was always expressed in the mode of a question and answer. Do you promise to pay me one hundred pieces of gold? was the solemn interrogation of Seius. I do promise—was the reply of Sempronius. The most cautious and deliberate consent was justly required to sustain the validity of a gratuitous promise, and the citizen who might have obtained a legal security incurred the suspicion of fraud, and paid the forfeit of his neglect. But the ingenuity of the civilians successfully laboured to convert simple engagements into the form of solemn stipulations. The prætors, as the guardians of social faith, admitted every rational evidence of a voluntary and deliberate act, which in their tribunal produced an equitable obligation, and for which they gave an action and a remedy.

§ 27. 2. The obligations of the second class, as they were contracted by the delivery of a thing, are marked by the civilians with the epithet of real. The Latin language very happily expresses the fundamental difference between the *commodatum* and the *mutuum*, which our poverty is reduced to confound under the vague and common appellation of a loan. In the former, the borrower was obliged to restore the same individual thing with which he had been *accommodated* for the temporary supply of his wants; in the latter, it was

destined for his use and consumption, and he discharged this *mutual* engagement by substituting the same specific value according to a just estimation of number, of weight, and of measure. In the contract of *sale*, the absolute dominion is transferred to the purchaser, and he repays the benefit with an adequate sum of gold or silver, the price and universal standard of all earthly possessions. The obligation of another contract, that of *location*, is of a more complicated kind. Lands or houses, labour or talents, may be hired for a definite term; at the expiration of the time, the thing itself must be restored to the owner with an additional reward for the beneficial occupation and employment. In these lucrative contracts, to which may be added those of partnership and commission, the civilians sometimes imagine the delivery of the object, and sometimes presume the consent of the parties. The substantial pledge has been refined into the invisible rights of a mortgage or *hypotheca;* and the agreement of sale for a certain price imputes, from that moment, the chances of gain or loss to the account of the purchaser. Usury, the inveterate grievance of the city, had been discouraged by the Twelve Tables, and abolished by the clamours of the people. It was revived by their wants and idleness, tolerated by the discretion of the prætors, and finally determined by the Code of Justinian. Persons of illustrious rank were confined to the moderate profit of *four per cent.;* six was pronounced to be the ordinary and legal standard of interest; eight was allowed for the convenience of manufacturers and merchants; twelve was granted to nautical insurance, which the wiser ancients had not attempted to define; but, except in this perilous adventure, the practice of exorbitant usury was severely restrained. The most simple interest was condemned by the clergy of the East and West; but the sense of mutual benefit, which had triumphed over the laws of the republic, has resisted with equal firmness the decrees of the church, and even the prejudices of mankind.

§ 28. 3. Nature and society impose the strict obligation of repairing an injury; and the sufferer by private injustice acquires a personal right and a legitimate action. A Roman pursued and recovered his stolen goods by a civil action of theft; they might pass through a succession of pure and innocent hands, but nothing less than a prescription of thirty years could extinguish his original claim. They were restored by the sentence of the prætor, and the injury was compensated by double, or three-fold, or even quadruple damages, as the deed had been perpetrated by secret fraud or open rapine, as the robber had been surprised in the fact, or detected by a subsequent research. The rude jurisprudence of the decemvirs had confounded all hasty insults, which did not amount to the fracture of a limb, by condemning the aggressor to the common penalty of 25

asses. But the same denomination of money was reduced, in three centuries, from a pound to the weight of half an ounce; and the insolence of a wealthy Roman indulged himself in the cheap amusement of breaking and satisfying the law of the Twelve Tables. The equity of the prætors examined and estimated the distinct merits of each particular complaint. In the adjudication of civil damages, the magistrate assumed a right to consider the various circumstances of time and place, of age and dignity, which may aggravate the shame and sufferings of the injured person; but if he admitted the idea of a fine, a punishment, an example, he invaded the province, though perhaps he supplied the defects, of the criminal law.

§ 29. IV. OF CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.—In the punishment of crimes, the laws of the Twelve Tables, like the statutes of Draco, are written in characters of blood. They approve the inhuman and unequal principle of retaliation; and the forfeit of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a limb for a limb, is rigorously exacted, unless the offender can redeem his pardon by a fine of 300 pounds of copper. The decemvirs distributed with much liberality the slighter chastisements of flagellation and servitude; and nine crimes of a very different complexion are adjudged worthy of death. 1. Any act of *treason* against the state, or of correspondence with the public enemy. The mode of execution was painful and ignominious: the head of the degenerate Roman was shrouded in a veil, his hands were tied behind his back, and, after he had been scourged by the lictor, he was suspended in the midst of the forum on a cross, or inauspicious tree. 2. Nocturnal meetings in the city, whatever might be the pretence—of pleasure, or religion, or the public good. 3. The murder of a citizen; for which the common feelings of mankind demand the blood of the murderer. The parricide, who violated the duties of nature and gratitude, was cast into the river or the sea, enclosed in a sack; and a cock, a viper, a dog, and a monkey, were successively added as the most suitable companions. Italy produces no monkeys; but the want could never be felt till the middle of the sixth century first revealed the guilt of a parricide. 4. The malice of an *incendiary*. After the previous ceremony of whipping, he himself was delivered to the flames; and in this example alone our reason is tempted to applaud the justice of retaliation. 5. *Judicial perjury*. The corrupt or malicious witness was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock to expiate his falsehood, which was rendered still more fatal by the severity of the penal laws and the deficiency of written evidence. 6. The corruption of a judge, who accepted bribes to pronounce an iniquitous sentence. 7. Libels and satires, whose rude strains sometimes disturbed the peace of an illiterate city. The author was beaten with clubs, a worthy chastisement; but it is not certain that he was left to expire

under the blows of the executioner. 8. The nocturnal mischief of damaging or destroying a neighbour's corn. The criminal was suspended as a grateful victim to Ceres. But the sylvan deities were less implacable, and the extirpation of a more valuable tree was compensated by the moderate fine of 25 pounds of copper. 9. Magical incantations; which had power, in the opinion of the Latin shepherds, to exhaust the strength of an enemy, to extinguish his life, and to remove from their seats his deep-rooted plantations. The cruelty of the Twelve Tables against insolvent debtors still remains to be told; and I shall dare to prefer the literal sense of antiquity to the specious refinements of modern criticism. After the judicial proof or confession of the debt, 30 days of grace were allowed before a Roman was delivered into the power of his fellow-citizen. In this private prison 12 ounces of rice were his daily food; he might be bound with a chain of 15 pounds weight; and his misery was thrice exposed in the market-place, to solicit the compassion of his friends and countrymen. At the expiration of 60 days the debt was discharged by the loss of liberty or life; the insolvent debtor was either put to death or sold in foreign slavery beyond the Tiber: but, if several creditors were alike obstinate and unrelenting, they might legally dismember his body, and satiate their revenge by this horrid partition. The advocates for this savage law have insisted that it must strongly operate in deterring idleness and fraud from contracting debts which they were unable to discharge; but experience would dissipate this salutary terror, by proving that no creditor could be found to exact this unprofitable penalty of life or limb. As the manners of Rome were insensibly polished, the criminal code of the decemvirs was abolished by the humanity of accusers, witnesses, and judges; and impunity became the consequence of immoderate rigour. The Porcian and Valerian laws prohibited the magistrates from inflicting on a free citizen any capital, or even corporal, punishment.

§ 30. The first imperfect attempt to restore the proportion of crimes and punishments was made by the dictator Sylla, who, in the midst of his sanguinary triumph, aspired to restrain the licence rather than to oppress the liberty of the Romans. He gloried in the arbitrary proscription of 4700 citizens. But, in the character of a legislator, he respected the prejudices of the times; and instead of pronouncing a sentence of death against the robber or assassin, the general who betrayed an army or the magistrate who ruined a province, Sylla was content to aggravate the pecuniary damages by the penalty of exile, or, in more constitutional language, by the interdiction of fire and water. The Cornelian, and afterwards the Pompeian and Julian laws, introduced a new system of criminal jurisprudence, and the emperors, from Augustus to Justinian, disguised

their increasing rigour under the names of the original authors. But the invention and frequent use of *extraordinary pains* proceeded from the desire to extend and conceal the progress of despotism. In the condemnation of illustrious Romans, the senate was always prepared to confound, at the will of their masters, the judicial and legislative powers. It was the duty of the governors to maintain the peace of their province by the arbitrary and rigid administration of justice; the freedom of the city evaporated in the extent of empire, and the Spanish malefactor who claimed the privilege of a Roman was elevated by the command of Galba on a fairer and more lofty cross. Transportation and beheading were reserved for honourable persons; meaner criminals were either hanged, or burnt, or buried in the mines, or exposed to the wild beasts of the amphitheatre. Armed robbers were pursued and extirpated as the enemies of society; the driving away horses or cattle was made a capital offence; but simple theft was uniformly considered as a mere civil and private injury.

The crime of treason or rebellion, which invades the *majesty* of the republic, was deemed the most atrocious of all offences, and the edge of the Julian law was sharpened by the incessant diligence of the emperors. By the old Roman law whoever surprised an adulterer in his nuptial bed might freely exercise his revenge, and the most bloody or wanton outrage was excused by the provocation. Augustus, after curbing the freedom of revenge, applied to this domestic offence the animadversion of the laws; and the guilty parties, after the payment of heavy forfeitures and fines, were condemned to long or perpetual exile in two separate islands. Religion pronounces an equal censure against the infidelity of the husband, but, as it is not accompanied by the same evil effects, the wife was never permitted to vindicate her wrongs; and the distinction of simple or double adultery, so familiar and so important in the canon law, is unknown to the jurisdiction of the Code and Pandects.

§ 31. The free citizens of Athens and Rome enjoyed in all criminal cases the invaluable privilege of being tried by their country. 1. The administration of justice is the most ancient office of a prince: it was exercised by the Roman kings, and abused by Tarquin, who alone, without law or council, pronounced his arbitrary judgments. The first consuls succeeded to this regal prerogative; but the sacred right of appeal soon abolished the jurisdiction of the magistrates, and all public causes were decided by the supreme tribunal of the people. 2. The task of convening the citizens for the trial of each offender became more difficult, as the citizens and the offenders continually multiplied, and the ready expedient was adopted of delegating the jurisdiction of the people to the ordinary magistrates or to extraordinary *inquisitors* (*quæsitores*). In the first ages these questions

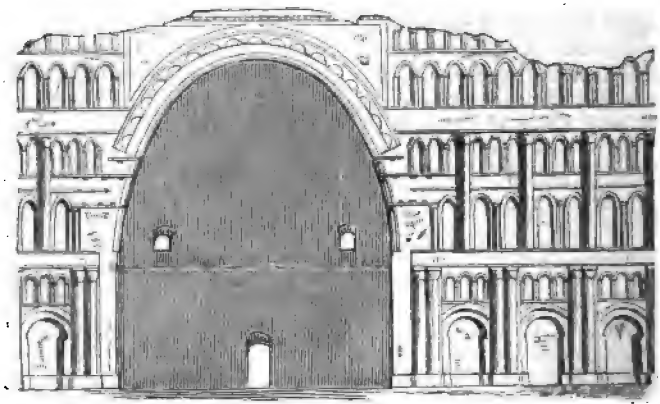
were rare and occasional. In the beginning of the seventh century of Rome they were made perpetual: four prætors were annually empowered to sit in judgment on the state offences of treason, extortion, peculation, and bribery; and Sylla added new prætors and new questions for those crimes which more directly injure the safety of individuals. By these *inquisitors* the trial was prepared and directed; but they could only pronounce the sentence of the majority of *judges*, who, with some truth and more prejudice, have been compared to the English juries. To discharge this important though burdensome office, an annual list of ancient and respectable citizens was formed by the prætor. After many constitutional struggles, they were chosen in equal numbers from the senate, the equestrian order, and the people; 450 were appointed for single questions, and the various rolls or *decuries* of judges must have contained the names of some thousand Romans, who represented the judicial authority of the state. In each particular cause a sufficient number was drawn from the urn; their integrity was guarded by an oath; the mode of ballot secured their independence; the suspicion of partiality was removed by the mutual challenges of the accuser and defendant; and the judges of Milo, by the retrenchment of fifteen on each side, were reduced to fifty-one voices or tablets, of acquittal, of condemnation, or of favourable doubt. 3. In his civil jurisdiction the prætor of the city was truly a judge, and almost a legislator; but, as soon as he had prescribed the action of law, he often referred to a delegate the determination of the fact. With the increase of legal proceedings, the tribunal of the centumvirs, in which he presided, acquired more weight and reputation. But whether he acted alone or with the advice of his council, the most absolute powers might be trusted to a magistrate who was annually chosen by the votes of the people. The rules and precautions of freedom have required some explanation; the order of despotism is simple and inanimate. Before the age of Justinian, or perhaps of Diocletian, the decuries of Roman judges had sunk to an empty title; the humble advice of the assessors might be accepted or despised; and in each tribunal the civil and criminal jurisdiction was administered by a single magistrate, who was raised and disgraced by the will of the emperor.

§ 32. A Roman accused of any capital crime might prevent the sentence of the law by voluntary exile or death. Till his guilt had been legally proved, his innocence was presumed and his person was free; till the votes of the last *century* had been counted and declared, he might peaceably secede to any of the allied cities of Italy, or Greece, or Asia. His fame and fortune were preserved, at least to his children, by this civil death; and he might still be happy in every rational and sensual enjoyment, if a mind accus-

tomed to the ambitious tumult of Rome could support the uniformity and silence of Rhodes or Athens. A bolder effort was required to escape from the tyranny of the Cæsars; but this effort was rendered familiar by the maxims of the Stoics, the example of the bravest Romans, and the legal encouragements of suicide. The bodies of condemned criminals were exposed to public ignominy, and their children, a more serious evil, were reduced to poverty by the confiscation of their fortunes. But, if the victims of Tiberius and Nero anticipated the decree of the prince or senate, their courage and despatch were recompensed by the applause of the public, the decent honours of burial, and the validity of their testaments. The exquisite avarice and cruelty of Domitian appears to have deprived the unfortunate of this last consolation, and it was still denied even by the clemency of the Antonines. A voluntary death, which, in the case of a capital offence, intervened between the accusation and the sentence, was admitted as a confession of guilt, and the spoils of the deceased were seized by the inhuman claims of the treasury.

Medal of Justinian.*

* The obverse of this medal, which is figured on p. 340, represents the head of Justinian, with the legend D N IVSTINIANVS PP AUG: he wears a richly adorned helmet, behind which is the nimbus, and he holds in his right hand a spear. On the reverse the emperor is riding on a horse, adorned with pearls; the helmet, the spear, and the dress correspond to the representation on the obverse: before him walks Victory, carrying in her left hand a trophy; by the side of Justinian's head a star appears. The legend is SALVS ET GLORIA ROMANORVM. The letters CONOB below should be separated into CON and OB, the former signifying Constantinople, and the latter representing the Greek numerals 72, since 72 aurei or solidi were coined out of a pound of gold.



Great Arch of Tâk Kesra at Ctesiphon, erected by Chosroes Nushirvan, about A.D. 550.

CHAPTER XXIV.

REIGNS OF JUSTIN II., TIBERIUS II., MAURICE, PHOCAS, AND HERACLIUS: THE LOMBARDS AND THE PERSIAN WARS.

§ 1. Accession of JUSTIN II.: the Avars. § 2. Embassies of the Turks and Romans. § 3. The Lombards. § 4. The Lombards and Avars destroy the kingdom of the Gepidæ. § 5. Alboin undertakes the conquest of Italy. § 6. Conquest of a great part of Italy by the Lombards. § 7. Alboin is murdered by his wife Rosamond. § 8. Her flight and death: Clepho, king of the Lombards. § 9. Weakness of the emperor Justin: association of Tiberius. § 10. Reign of TIBERIUS II. § 11. Reign of MAURICE: Autharis, king of the Lombards. § 12. Agilulf and Theodolinda: arts and architecture of the Lombards. § 13. Division of Italy between the Exarchate of Ravenna and the kingdom of the Lombards. § 14. Language, government, and laws, of the Lombards. § 15. Distress of Rome: birth and profession of Gregory. § 16. Pontificate of Gregory the Great. § 17. Renewal of the war with Persia: Revolution in Persia. § 18. War against the Avars. § 19. Rebellion of the Roman army: Death of Maurice. Elevation of PHOCAS. § 20. Reign of Phocas: his fall and death: elevation of HERACLIUS. § 21. Conquests of Chosroes. § 22. Reign and magnificence of Chosroes. § 23. Distress of Heraclius. § 24. His preparations for war. § 25. First expedition of Heraclius against the Persians. § 26. His second expedition. § 27. Deliverance of Constantinople from the Per-

sians and Avars. § 28. Alliances and conquests of Heraclius. § 29. His third expedition. § 30. Chosroes is deposed and murdered by his son Siroes. § 31. Treaty of peace between the two empires.

§ 1. JUSTINIAN was succeeded on the throne by his nephew Justin II., the son of Vigilantia (A.D. 565, Nov. 15). The first year of the new reign was marked by an union of the formidable forces of the AVARS and LOMBARDS.

In the 31st year of the reign of Justinian (A.D. 558) an embassy of the Avars appeared at Constantinople. This people, who were Tartars, and belonged, like the Huns, to the Turkish stock,* had then arrived at the foot of Mount Caucasus, flying before the TURKS, whose name now appears for the first time in history. The Avar ambassadors professed their willingness to devote themselves to the service of the emperor, and destroy all the enemies who disturbed his repose; but they claimed as the price of their alliance, and the reward of their valour, precious gifts, annual subsidies, and fruitful possessions. Justinian was now above 75 years: his mind, as well as his body, was feeble and languid; and the conqueror of Africa and Italy, careless of the permanent interest of his people, aspired only to end his days in the bosom even of inglorious peace. In a studied oration, he imparted to the senate his resolution to dissemble the insult and to purchase the friendship of the Avars; and the whole senate, like the mandarins of China, applauded the incomparable wisdom and foresight of their sovereign. As the destruction or the success of the barbarians must be alike advantageous to the empire, he persuaded them to invade the enemies of Rome; and they were easily tempted, by gifts and promises, to gratify their ruling inclinations. These fugitives, who fled before the Turkish arms, passed the Tanais and Borysthenes, and boldly advanced into the heart of Poland and Germany, violating the law of nations and abusing the rights of victory. Before ten years had elapsed their camps were seated on the Danube and the Elbe, many Bulgarian and Slavonian names were obliterated from the earth, and the remainder of their tribes are found, as tributaries and vassals, under the standard of the Avars. The Chagan, the peculiar title of their king, still affected to cultivate the friendship of the emperor; and Justinian entertained some thoughts of fixing them in Pannonia, to balance the prevailing power of the Lombards.

§ 2. But the immense distance which eluded the arms of the Turks could not extinguish their resentment. Disabul, the khan of the Turks, dwelt at the foot of Mount Altai, a ridge of mountains situated at an equal distance of 2,000 miles from the Caspian, the Icy, the Chinese, and the Bengal seas. From this distant quarter

* See page 201.

the ambassadors of Disabul pursued the footsteps of the vanquished to the Jaik, the Volga, Mount Caucasus, the Euxine, and Constantinople, and at length appeared before the successor of Constantine, to request that he would not espouse the cause of rebels and fugitives, and to offer the friendship and military aid of the Turks. The Greek prince entertained with hospitable regard the ambassadors of a remote and powerful monarch: he renounced, or seemed to renounce, the fugitive Avars, but he accepted the alliance of the Turks; and the ratification of the treaty was carried by a Roman minister to the foot of Mount Altai. Under the successors of Justinian the friendship of the two nations was cultivated by frequent and cordial intercourse; the most favoured vassals were permitted to imitate the example of the great khan; and 106 Turks, who on various occasions had visited Constantinople, departed at the same time for their native country.

§ 3. The Goths, who under Theodoric and his daughter had faithfully guarded the important barrier of the Upper Danube, evacuated Pannonia and Noricum for the defence of Italy. The sovereignty was claimed by the emperor of the Romans; but the vacant fortifications were instantly occupied by the Gepidæ, who had, since the death of Attila, possessed on the opposite banks of the Danube the plains of Upper Hungary and the Transylvanian hills. Instead of asserting the rights of a sovereign for the protection of his subjects, the emperor invited a strange people to invade and possess the Roman provinces between the Danube and the Alps; and the ambition of the Gepidæ was checked by the rising power and fame of the Lombards. This corrupt appellation has been diffused in the thirteenth century by the merchants and bankers, the Italian posterity of these savage warriors; but the original name of *Langobards* is expressive only of the peculiar length and fashion of their beards. About the time of Augustus and Trajan they are discovered, for the first time, between the Elbe and the Oder. Thence they gradually descended towards the south and the Danube, and at the end of four hundred years they again appear with their ancient valour and renown. At the solicitation of Justinian, they passed the Danube to reduce, according to their treaty, the cities of Noricum and the fortresses of Pannonia. But the spirit of rapine soon tempted them beyond these ample limits; they wandered along the coast of the Adriatic as far as Dyrrachium, and presumed with familiar rudeness to enter the towns and houses of their Roman allies, and to seize the captives who had escaped from their audacious hands. These acts of hostility, the sallies, as it might be pretended, of some loose adventurers, were disowned by the nation, and excused by the emperor; but the arms of the Lombards were more seriously engaged by a contest of thirty years, which was terminated only by the extirpa-

tion of the Gepidæ. The hostile nations often pleaded their cause before the throne of Constantinople; and the crafty Justinian, to whom the barbarians were almost equally odious, pronounced a partial and ambiguous sentence, and dexterously protracted the war by slow and ineffectual succours.

§ 4. Alboin had succeeded his father Audoin as king of the Lombards. During the lifetime of his father the youthful Alboin had visited the court of the Gepidæ, where he had probably seen the daughter of Cunimund, who soon after ascended the throne of the Gepidæ. Her name was Rosamond, an appellation expressive of female beauty, and which our own history or romance has consecrated to amorous tales. Alboin was contracted to the grand-daughter of Clovis; but the restraints of faith and policy soon yielded to the hope of possessing the fair Rosamond, and of insulting her family and nation. The arts of persuasion were tried without success; and the impatient lover, by force and stratagem, obtained the object of his desires. War was the consequence which he foresaw and solicited; but the Lombards could not long withstand the furious assault of the Gepidæ, who were sustained by a Roman army. And, as the offer of marriage was rejected with contempt, Alboin was compelled to relinquish his prey, and to partake of the disgrace which he had inflicted on the house of Cunimund. The king of the Lombards now condescended to implore the formidable aid of the Chagan of the Avars, which was granted on the condition that the Lombards should immediately present him with the tithe of their cattle; that the spoils and captives should be equally divided; and that the lands of the Gepidæ should become the sole patrimony of the Avars. Such hard conditions were eagerly accepted by the passions of Alboin; and, as the Romans were dissatisfied with the ingratitude and perfidy of the Gepidæ, Justin abandoned that incorrigible people to their fate, and remained the tranquil spectator of this unequal conflict. The courage of the Gepidæ could secure them no more than an honourable death. The bravest of the nation fell in the field of battle: the king of the Lombards contemplated with delight the head of Cunimund, and his skull was fashioned into a cup to satiate the hatred of the conqueror, or perhaps to comply with the savage custom of his country (A.D. 566). After this victory no farther obstacle could impede the progress of the confederates, and they faithfully executed the terms of their agreement. The fair countries of Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, and the parts of Hungary beyond the Danube, were occupied without resistance by a new colony of Scythians; and the Dacian empire of the Chagans subsisted with splendour above 230 years. The nation of the Gepidæ was dissolved. The fair Rosamond was persuaded or compelled to acknowledge the rights of her victorious

lover; and the daughter of Cunimund appeared to forgive those crimes which might be imputed to her own irresistible charms.

§ 5. The destruction of a mighty kingdom established the fame of Alboin. In the days of Charlemagne the Bavarians, the Saxons, and the other tribes of the Teutonic language, still repeated the songs which described the heroic virtues, the valour, liberality, and fortune of the king of the Lombards. But his ambition was yet unsatisfied; and the conqueror of the Gepidæ turned his eyes from the Danube to the richer banks of the Po and the Tiber. No sooner had he erected his standard than the native strength of the Lombards was multiplied by the adventurous youth of Germany and Scythia (A.D. 567). The Lombards and their confederates were united by their common attachment to a chief who excelled in all the virtues and vices of a savage hero; and the vigilance of Alboin provided an ample magazine of offensive and defensive arms for the use of the expedition. They might have failed if Narses had been the antagonist of the Lombards. But the weakness of the Byzantine court was subservient to the barbarian cause; and it was for the ruin of Italy that the emperor once listened to the complaints of his subjects. The virtues of Narses were stained with avarice; and in his provincial reign of fifteen years he accumulated a treasure of gold and silver which surpassed the modesty of a private fortune. His government was oppressive or unpopular, and the general discontent was expressed with freedom by the deputies of Rome. Before the throne of Justin they boldly declared that their Gothic servitude had been more tolerable than the despotism of a Greek eunuch; and that, unless their tyrant were instantly removed, they would consult their own happiness in the choice of a master. The apprehension of a revolt was urged by the voice of envy and detraction, which had so recently triumphed over the merit of Belisarius. A new exarch, Longinus, was appointed to supersede the conqueror of Italy; and the base motives of his recall were revealed in the insulting mandate of the empress Sophia, "that he should leave to *men* the exercise of arms, and return to his proper station among the maidens of the palace, where a distaff should be again placed in the hand of the eunuch." "I will spin her such a thread as she shall not easily unravel!" is said to have been the reply which indignation and conscious virtue extorted from the hero. Instead of attending, a slave and a victim, at the gate of the Byzantine palace, he retired to Naples, from whence (if any credit is due to the belief of the times) Narses invited the Lombards to chastise the ingratitude of the prince and people. But the passions of the people are furious and changeable, and the Romans soon recollected the merits, or dreaded the resentment, of their victorious general. By the mediation of the pope, who undertook a special pilgrimage to Naples,

their repentance was accepted; and Narses, assuming a milder aspect and a more dutiful language, consented to fix his residence in the Capitol. His death, though in the extreme period of old age, was unseasonable and premature, since *his* genius alone could have repaired the last and fatal error of his life. The reality, or the suspicion, of a conspiracy disarmed and disunited the Italians. The soldiers resented the disgrace, and bewailed the loss, of their general. They were ignorant of their new exarch; and Longinus was himself ignorant of the state of the army and the province.

§ 6. Whatever might be the grounds of his security, Alboin neither expected nor encountered a Roman army in the field. He ascended the Julian Alps, and looked down with contempt and desire on the fruitful plains to which his victory communicated the perpetual appellation of LOMBARDY. Terror preceded his march: he found everywhere, or he left, a dreary solitude; and the pusillanimous Italians presumed, without a trial, that the stranger was invincible. Escaping to lakes, or rocks, or morasses, the affrighted crowds concealed some fragments of their wealth, and delayed the moment of their servitude. Along the maritime coast the courage of the inhabitants was supported by the facility of supply, the hopes of relief, and the power of escape; but, from the Trentine hills to the gates of Ravenna and Rome, the inland regions of Italy became, without a battle or a siege, the lasting patrimony of the Lombards. The submission of the people invited the barbarian to assume the character of a lawful sovereign, and the helpless exarch was confined to the office of announcing to the emperor Justin the rapid and irretrievable loss of his provinces and cities. One city, which had been diligently fortified by the Goths, resisted the arms of a new invader; and while Italy was subdued by the flying detachments of the Lombards, the royal camp was fixed above three years before the western gate of Ticinum, or Pavia. Famine at length obliged the inhabitants to surrender: Alboin, delighted with the situation of a city which was endeared to his pride by the difficulty of the purchase, disdained the ancient glories of Milan; and Pavia during some ages was respected as the capital of the kingdom of Italy.

§ 7. The reign of the founder was splendid and transient; and, before he could regulate his new conquests, Alboin fell a sacrifice to domestic treason and female revenge. In a palace near Verona, which had not been erected for the barbarians, he feasted the companions of his arms; intoxication was the reward of valour, and the king himself was tempted by appetite or vanity to exceed the ordinary measure of his intemperance. After draining many capacious bowls of Rhætian or Falernian wine he called for the skull of Cunimund, the noblest and most precious ornament of his sideboard. The cup of victory was accepted with horrid applause by the circle

of the Lombard chiefs. "Fill it again with wine!" exclaimed the inhuman conqueror, "fill it to the brim! carry this goblet to the queen, and request in my name that she would rejoice with her father." In an agony of grief and rage, Rosamond had strength to utter, "Let the will of my lord be obeyed!" and, touching it with her lips, pronounced a silent imprecation that the insult should be washed away in the blood of Alboin. Some indulgence might be due to the resentment of a daughter, if she had not already violated the duties of a wife. Implacable in her enmity, or inconstant in her love, the queen of Italy had stooped from the throne to the arms of a subject, and Helmichis, the king's armour-bearer, was the secret minister of her pleasure and revenge. Against the proposal of the murder he could no longer urge the scruples of fidelity or gratitude; one of the bravest champions of the Lombards was associated in the enterprise; and Rosamond soon found a favourable moment, when the king, oppressed with wine, had retired from the table to his afternoon slumbers. After lulling him to rest, she unbolted the chamber-door and urged the reluctant conspirators to the instant execution of the deed. On the first alarm the warrior started from his couch: his sword, which he attempted to draw, had been fastened to the scabbard by the hand of Rosamond; and a small stool, his only weapon, could not long protect him from the spears of the assassins (A.D. 573). The daughter of Cunimund smiled in his fall; his body was buried under the staircase of the palace; and the grateful posterity of the Lombards revered the tomb and the memory of their victorious leader.

§ 8. The ambitious Rosamond aspired to reign in the name of her lover; the city and palace of Verona were awed by her power; and a faithful band of her native Gepidæ was prepared to applaud the revenge and to second the wishes of their sovereign. But the Lombard chiefs, who fled in the first moments of consternation and disorder, had resumed their courage and collected their powers; and the nation, instead of submitting to her reign, demanded with unanimous cries that justice should be executed on the guilty spouse and the murderers of their king. She sought a refuge among the enemies of her country, and a criminal who deserved the abhorrence of mankind was protected by the selfish policy of the exarch. With her daughter, the heiress of the Lombard throne, her lover, Helmichis, her trusty Gepidæ, and the spoils of the palace of Verona, Rosamond descended the Adige and the Po, and was transported by a Greek vessel to the safe harbour of Ravenna. Longinus beheld with delight the charms and the treasures of the widow of Alboin; and she readily listened to the passion of a minister who, even in the decline of the empire, was respected as the equal of kings. The

death of a jealous lover was an easy and grateful sacrifice, and as Helmichis issued from the bath he received the deadly potion from the hand of his mistress. The taste of the liquor, its speedy operation, and his experience of the character of Rosamond, convinced him that he was poisoned; he pointed his dagger to her breast, compelled her to drain the remainder of the cup, and expired in a few minutes with the consolation that she could not survive to enjoy the fruits of her wickedness. The daughter of Alboin and Rosamond, with the richest spoils of the Lombards, was sent to Constantinople. By the free suffrage of the nation in the assembly of Pavia, Clepho, one of their noblest chiefs, was elected as the successor of Alboin (A.D. 573). Before the end of 18 months the throne was polluted by a second murder: Clepho was stabbed by the hand of a domestic; the regal office was suspended above 10 years during the minority of his son Autharis (A.D. 574–584), and Italy was divided and oppressed by a ducal aristocracy of 30 tyrants.

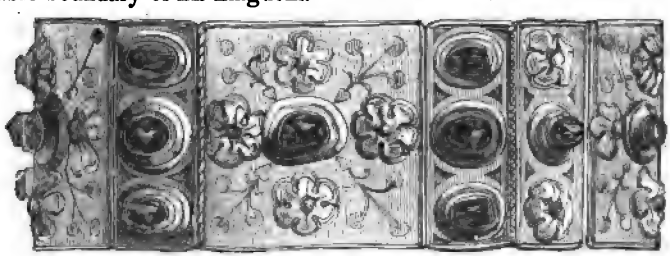
§ 9. When the nephew of Justinian ascended the throne, he proclaimed a new era of happiness and glory; but the annals of the second Justin are marked with disgrace abroad and misery at home. In the West the Roman empire was afflicted by the loss of Italy, the desolation of Africa, and the conquests of the Persians. Injustice prevailed both in the capital and the provinces: the rich trembled for their property, the poor for their safety; the ordinary magistrates were ignorant or venal. Justin, whose faculties had been impaired by disease, determined to lay down the weight of the diadem, and at the suggestion of his wife Sophia appointed as his successor Tiberius, his faithful captain of the guards (A.D. 574). The four last years of the emperor Justin were passed in tranquil obscurity: his conscience was no longer tormented by the remembrance of those duties which he was incapable of discharging, and his choice was justified by the filial reverence and gratitude of Tiberius (A.D. 578).

§ 10. Tiberius owed his elevation to the influence of Sophia; and the widow of Justin was persuaded that she should preserve her station and influence under the reign of a second and more youthful husband. But if the ambitious candidate had been tempted to flatter and dissemble, it was no longer in his power to fulfil her expectations or his own promise. The factions of the hippodrome demanded with some impatience the name of their new empress: both the people and Sophia were astonished by the proclamation of Anastasia, the secret though lawful wife of the emperor Tiberius. Whatever could alleviate the disappointment of Sophia, imperial honours, a stately palace, a numerous household, was liberally bestowed by the piety of her adopted son; but while she accepted and repaid with a courtly smile the fair expressions of regard and con-

fidence, a secret alliance was concluded between the dowager empress and her ancient enemies; and Justinian, the son of Germanus, was employed as the instrument of her revenge. He had been intrusted by Tiberius with the command of the eastern army. The Persian monarch fled before his arms, and the acclamations which accompanied his triumph declared him worthy of the purple. His artful patroness had chosen the month of the vintage, while the emperor in a rural solitude was permitted to enjoy the pleasures of a subject. On the first intelligence of her designs he returned to Constantinople, and the conspiracy was suppressed by his presence and firmness. From the pomp and honours which she had abused, Sophia was reduced to a modest allowance. But the services of Justinian were not considered by that excellent prince as an aggravation of his offences: and after a mild reproof his treason and ingratitude were forgiven. With the odious name of Tiberius the emperor assumed the more popular appellation of Constantine, and imitated the purer virtues of the Antonines. After recording the vice or folly of so many Roman princes, it is pleasing to repose for a moment on a character conspicuous by the qualities of humanity, justice, temperance, and fortitude; to contemplate a sovereign affable in his palace, pious in the church, impartial on the seat of judgment, and victorious, at least by his generals, in the Persian war. The Romans of the East would have been happy if the best gift of heaven, a patriot king, had been confirmed as a proper and permanent blessing. But in less than four years after the death of Justin, his worthy successor sunk into a mortal disease, which left him only sufficient time to restore the diadem, according to the tenure by which he held it, to the most deserving of his fellow-citizens. He selected Maurice from the crowd—a judgment more precious than the purple itself. The memory of Tiberius was embalmed by the public affliction; but the most sincere grief evaporates in the tumult of a new reign, and the eyes and acclamations of mankind were speedily directed to the rising sun (A.D. 582).

§ 11. The youth of Maurice was spent in the profession of arms: Tiberius promoted him to the command of a new and favourite legion of twelve thousand confederates; his valour and conduct were signalised in the Persian war; and he returned to Constantinople to accept, as his just reward, the inheritance of the empire. Maurice ascended the throne at the mature age of 43 years; and he reigned above 20 years (A.D. 582–602) over the East and over himself. He enjoyed the glory of restoring the Persian monarch to his throne; his lieutenants waged a doubtful war against the Avars of the Danube; and he cast an eye of pity, of ineffectual pity, on the abject and distressful state of his Italian provinces. The dukes of the Lombards had provoked by frequent inroads

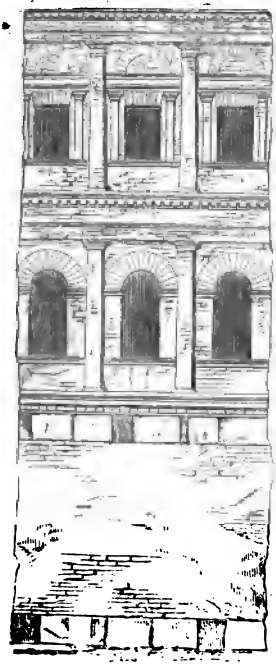
their powerful neighbours of Gaul. As soon as they were apprehensive of a just retaliation, they renounced their feeble and disorderly independence: the advantages of regal government, union, secrecy, and vigour, were unanimously confessed; and Autharis, the son of Clepho, had already attained the strength and reputation of a warrior. Under the standard of their new king (who reigned A.D. 584-590), the conquerors of Italy withstood three successive invasions, one of which was led by Childebert himself, the great grandson of Clovis, the last of the Merovingian race who descended from the Alps. The first expedition was defeated by the jealous animosity of the Franks and Alemanni. In the second they were vanquished in a bloody battle, with more loss and dishonour than they had sustained since the foundation of their monarchy. Impatient for revenge, they returned a third time with accumulated force, and Autharis yielded to the fury of the torrent. The troops and treasures of the Lombards were distributed in the walled towns between the Alps and the Apennines; and the Franks at length evacuated the country, after suffering the vicissitudes of intemperance and famine. The victorious Autharis asserted his claim to the dominion of Italy. At the foot of the Rhætian Alps, he subdued the resistance, and rifled the hidden treasures of a sequestered island in the lake of Comum. At the extreme point of Calabria, he touched with his spear a column on the sea-shore of Rhegium, proclaiming that ancient landmark to stand the immoveable boundary of his kingdom.



Iron Crown of the Lombards.

§ 12. Upon the death of Autharis without children, the Lombards devolved upon his widow Theodolinda the choice of a successor and a husband. She selected Agilulf, Duke of Turin, who reigned over the Lombards for 25 years (A.D. 590-615). The memory of Theodolinda is dear to the Catholic Church. She converted her husband from the Arian heresy, and many of his subjects adopted the Catholic faith. Her merits were recognised by the Roman pontiff, Gregory, who is said to have presented to her the celebrated *Iron Crown* of the Lombards, which is now preserved in the cathedral of

Crown of Agilulf.



Porta Palatina, Turin.

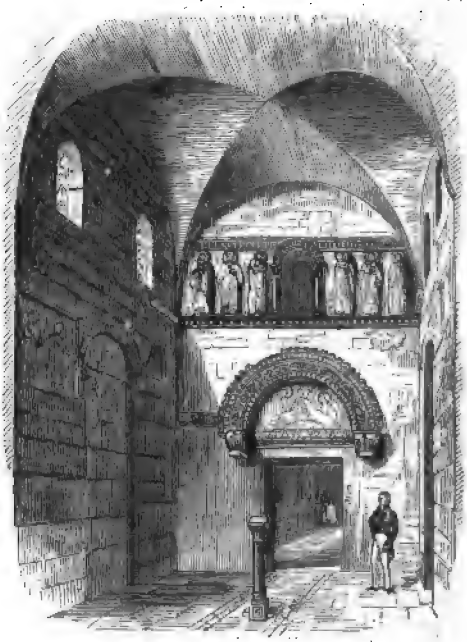
Monza;* but this crown does not exhibit any artistic skill on the part of the Lombard or Italian goldsmiths, and is far inferior to the crown of Agilulf, which was enriched with fifteen figures of gold, representing Christ between two angels and the twelve apostles.† In architecture the Lombards were for a long time dependent upon their Italian subjects; and accordingly the buildings erected in Italy under their dominion, before the time of Charlemagne, belong to the Romanesque style. Of this we have an example in the Porta Palatina, Turin, which still retains the architectural arrangement of the exterior of a Roman amphitheatre, but so modified by Gothic feeling that the pilasters are even more useless and unmeaning than in their classical prototypes.‡ The earliest extant building belonging to the strictly Lombard period, and which bears the characteristic features of the Lombardic style

* It derives its name from the circle of iron, incrusted in the interior, which is supposed to have been forged out of one of the nails of the Cross. It is composed of a kind of jointed collar in gold of about from 2¾ to 3 inches wide, and loaded with sapphires, emeralds, rubies, and other precious stones, uncut, interspersed with flowers of gold.—See Labarte, *Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages*, p. 205.

† This crown, which was carried to Paris in 1799, after the conquest of Italy, was stolen in 1804 from the cabinet of medals in the imperial library, and was melted by the receiver of the theft.

‡ See Fergusson, *Handbook of Architecture*, p. 521.

of architecture, is the little chapel at Friuli, erected by Gertrude, Duchess of Friuli, in the 8th century. Its most remarkable peculiarity is the intersecting vault that covers it, which became afterwards one of the most important features in the whole Gothic style.*



Lombardic Chapel at Friuli.

§ 13. During a period of 200 years Italy was unequally divided between the kingdom of the Lombards and the exarchate of Ravenna. The offices and professions which the jealousy of Constantine had separated were united by the indulgence of Justinian; and eighteen successive exarchs were invested, in the decline of the empire, with the full remains of civil, of military, and even of ecclesiastical power. Their immediate jurisdiction, which was afterwards consecrated as the patrimony of St. Peter, extended over the modern Romagna, the marshes or valleys of Ferrara and Commachio, five maritime cities from Rimini to Ancona, and a second inland Pentapolis, betwen the Adriatic coast and the hills of the Apennines. Three subordinate provinces, of Rome, of Venice, and of Naples, which were divided by hostile lands from the palace of Ravenna, acknowledged, both in peace and war, the supremacy of the exarch. The duchy of Rome appears to have included the Tuscan, Sabine, and Latin conquests of the first 400 years of the city, and the limits may be distinctly traced along the coast, from Civita Vecchia to Terracina, and with the course of the Tiber from Ameria and Narni to the port of Ostia. The three islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, still adhered to the empire; and the acquisition of the farther

* See Ferguson, pp. 531, 532.

Calabria removed the landmark of Autharis from the shore of Rhegium to the isthmus of Consentia. Rome was oppressed by the iron sceptre of the exarchs, and a Greek, perhaps an eunuch, insulted with impunity the ruins of the Capitol. But Naples soon acquired the privilege of electing her own dukes: the independence of Amalphi was the fruit of commerce; and the voluntary attachment of Venice was finally ennobled by an equal alliance with the Eastern empire. The remainder of Italy was possessed by the Lombards; and from Pavia, the royal seat, their kingdom was extended to the east, the north, and the west, as far as the confines of the Avars, the Bavarians, and the Franks of Austrasia and Burgundy.

§ 14. In comparing the proportion of the victorious and the vanquished people, the change of language will afford the most probable inference. According to this standard it will appear that the Lombards of Italy, and the Visigoths of Spain, were less numerous than the Franks or Burgundians; and the conquerors of Gaul must yield, in their turn, to the multitude of Saxons and Angles who almost eradicated the idioms of Britain The modern Italian has been insensibly formed by the mixture of nations: the awkwardness of the barbarians in the nice management of declensions and conjugations reduced them to the use of articles and auxiliary verbs; and many new ideas have been expressed by Teutonic appellations. Yet the principal stock of technical and familiar words is found to be of Latin derivation; and, if we were sufficiently conversant with the obsolete, the rustic, and the municipal dialects of ancient Italy, we should trace the origin of many terms which might, perhaps, be rejected by the classic purity of Rome. A numerous army constitutes but a small nation. The camp of Alboin was of formidable extent, but the extent of a camp would be easily circumscribed within the limits of a city; and its martial inhabitants must be thinly scattered over the face of a large country. The leaders of the Lombards settled as dukes, each in his appointed district with a band of followers who resorted to his standard in war and his tribunal in peace. A Lombard was born the soldier of his king and his duke; and the civil assemblies of the nation displayed the banners, and assumed the appellation, of a regular army. Of this army the pay and the rewards were drawn from the conquered provinces. Many of the most wealthy Italians were slain or banished; the remainder were divided among the strangers, and a tributary obligation was imposed (under the name of hospitality) of paying to the Lombards a third part of the fruits of the earth.

The Lombards possessed freedom to elect their sovereign, and sense to decline the frequent use of that dangerous privilege. The king of Italy convened the national assemblies in the palace, or more probably in the fields, of Pavia; his great council was com-

posed of the persons most eminent by their birth and dignities; but the validity, as well as the execution of their decrees, depended on the approbation of the *faithful* people, the *fortunate* army of the Lombards. About fourscore years after the conquest of Italy their traditional customs were transcribed in Teutonic Latin, and ratified by the consent of the prince and people; the example of Rotharis was imitated by the wisest of his successors: and the laws of the Lombards have been esteemed the least imperfect of the barbaric codes.* The succession of the Lombard kings is marked with virtue and ability; the troubled series of their annals is adorned with fair intervals of peace, order, and domestic happiness; and the Italians enjoyed a milder and more equitable government than any of the other kingdoms which had been founded on the ruins of the Western empire.

§ 15. Amidst the arms of the Lombards, and under the despotism of the Greeks, we again inquire into the fate of Rome, which had reached, about the close of the sixth century, the lowest period of her depression. By the removal of the seat of empire and the successive loss of the provinces, the sources of public and private opulence were exhausted: the lofty tree, under whose shade the nations of the earth had reposed, was deprived of its leaves and branches, and the sapless trunk was left to wither on the ground. Like Thebes, or Babylon, or Carthage, the name of Rome might have been erased from the earth, if the city had not been animated by a vital principle, which again restored her to order and dominion. According to the tradition of the church, St. Peter and St. Paul had been executed in the circus of Nero, and at the end of 500 years their genuine or fictitious relics were adored as the Palladium of Christian Rome. But the power as well as virtue of the apostles resided with living energy in the breast of their successors: and the chair of St. Peter was filled under the reign of Maurice by the first and greatest of the name of Gregory. His birth and abilities had raised him to the office of præfect of the city, and he enjoyed the merit of renouncing the pomp and vanities of this world. As soon as he had received the character of deacon, Gregory was sent to reside at the Byzantine court, the nuncio or minister of the apostolic see; and he boldly assumed, in the name of St. Peter, a tone of independent dignity which would have been criminal and dangerous in the most illustrious layman of the empire. He returned to Rome with a just increase of reputation,

* The laws of the Lombards have come down to us in two collections, one historical and the other systematic. The historical collection follows the order of the kings in whose reigns the laws were promulgated. It contains first the laws of five native kings, Rotharis (A.D. 643), Grimoald (668), Liutprand (713-735), Rachis (746), Aistulf (754), and then the laws of Charlemagne and his successors down to Lothaire II. The systematic collection contains the same laws as the preceding, only arranged in a systematic instead of a chronological order.

and, after a short exercise of the monastic virtues, he was dragged from the cloister to the papal throne by the unanimous voice of the clergy, the senate, and the people.

§ 16. The pontificate of Gregory the *Great*, which lasted 13 years (A.D. 590-604), is one of the most edifying periods of the history of the church. His virtues, and even his faults, a singular mixture of simplicity and cunning, of pride and humility, of sense and superstition, were happily suited to his station and to the temper of the times. In his rival, the patriarch of Constantinople, he condemned the antichristian title of universal bishop, which the successor of St. Peter was too haughty to concede and too feeble to assume: and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Gregory was confined to the triple character of Bishop of Rome, Primate of Italy, and Apostle of the West. He frequently ascended the pulpit, and kindled, by his rude though pathetic eloquence, the congenial passions of his audience: the language of the Jewish prophets was interpreted and applied; and the minds of a people depressed by their present calamities were directed to the hopes and fears of the invisible world. His precepts and example defined the model of the Roman liturgy; the distribution of the parishes, the calendar of festivals, the order of processions, the service of the priests and deacons, the variety and change of sacerdotal garments. Till the last days of his life he officiated in the canon of the mass, which continued above three hours: the Gregorian chant has preserved the vocal and instrumental music of the theatre, and the rough voices of the barbarians attempted to imitate the melody of the Roman school. Under his reign the Arians of Italy and Spain were reconciled to the catholic church, and the conquest of Britain reflects less glory on the name of Cæsar than on that of Gregory the First. Instead of six legions, forty monks were embarked for that distant island, and the pontiff lamented the austere duties which forbade him to partake the perils of their spiritual warfare. In less than two years he could announce to the archbishop of Alexandria that they had baptized the king of Kent with ten thousand of his Anglo-Saxons; and that the Roman missionaries, like those of the primitive church, were armed only with spiritual and supernatural powers.

§ 17. The Persian war, which had been concluded by a peace between the two empires about four years before the death of Justinian, was renewed in the 7th year of Justin, A.D. 572. It was continued with various success during his reign, and during the reigns of his successors, Tiberius and Maurice, till a revolution in Persia drove the great king as a suppliant to the throne of the Cæsars. The celebrated Nushirvan or Chosroes closed his long life in A.D. 579. He was succeeded by his son Hormouz, or Hormisdas, who in

every word and in every action degenerated from the virtues of his father. Exasperated by long and hopeless oppression, the provinces of Babylon, Susa, and Carmania erected the standard of revolt; and the princes of Arabia, India, and Scythia refused the customary tribute to the unworthy successor of Nushirvan. The arms of the Romans, in slow sieges and frequent inroads, afflicted the frontiers of Mesopotamia and Assyria; and at the same time the eastern provinces of Persia were invaded by the great khan, who passed the Oxus at the head of 300,000 or 400,000 Turks. Persia had been lost by a king; it was saved by an hero, Varanes or Bahram, who after defeating both the Turks and the Romans was saluted as king by his victorious troops. Upon receiving intelligence of this event, the Persian nobles deposed Hormouz, put out his eyes, and elevated his son Chosroes II. to the throne. But Bahram refused to acknowledge the revolution in which himself and his soldiers, the true representatives of Persia, had never been consulted. Chosroes was defeated, and reduced to the necessity of imploring aid or refuge in some foreign land; and Hormouz was strangled by the rebels who had dethroned him (A.D. 590). Chosroes meanwhile followed the banks of the Euphrates, traversed the desert, and halted at the distance of ten miles from Circesium. About the third watch of the night the Roman præfect was informed of his approach, and he introduced the royal stranger to the fortress at the dawn of day. From thence the king of Persia was conducted to the more honourable residence of Hierapolis; and his anxiety was soon relieved by the assurance that the emperor had espoused the cause of justice and royalty. A powerful army was assembled on the frontiers of Syria and Armenia, under the command of the valiant and faithful Narses,* who was directed to pass the Tigris, and never to sheathe his sword till he had restored Chosroes to the throne of his ancestors. The enterprise, however splendid, was less arduous than it might appear. Persia had already repented of her fatal rashness, which betrayed the heir of the house of Sassan to the ambition of a rebellious subject: and the bold refusal of the Magi to consecrate his usurpation compelled Bahram to assume the sceptre, regardless of the laws and prejudices of the nation. No sooner did the grandson of Nushirvan display his own and the Roman banners beyond the Tigris, than he was joined, each day, by the increasing multitudes of the nobility and people; and the contest was decided by two battles on the banks of the Zab and the confines of Media. With the remnant of a broken army, Bahram fled towards the eastern provinces of the Oxus: the enmity of Persia reconciled him to the Turks; but his days were shortened by poison, perhaps the most incurable of poisons, the stings of remorse and despair, and the

* This Narses must not be confounded with the conqueror of Italy.

bitter remembrance of lost glory. Yet the modern Persians still commemorate the exploits of Bahram; and some excellent laws have prolonged the duration of his troubled and transitory reign. Chosroes, after the flight of Bahram, met with no further opposition: and the glory of Maurice was conspicuous in the long and fortunate reign of his *son* and his ally. A band of 1000 Romans, who continued to guard the person of Chosroes, proclaimed his confidence in the fidelity of the strangers; his growing strength enabled him to dismiss this unpopular aid, but he steadily professed the same gratitude and reverence to his adopted father; and, till the death of Maurice, the peace and alliance of the two empires were faithfully maintained.

§ 18. While the majesty of the Roman name was revived in the East, the prospect of Europe is less pleasing and less glorious. By the departure of the Lombards and the ruin of the Gepidæ the balance of power was destroyed on the Danube: and the Avars spread their permanent dominion from the foot of the Alps to the sea-coast of the Euxine. The reign of Baian (A.D. 570-600) is the brightest æra of their monarchy. The pride of the second Justin, of Tiberius, and Maurice was humbled by a proud barbarian; and as often as Asia was threatened by the Persian arms, Europe was oppressed by the dangerous inroads or costly friendship of the Avars. Sirmium and Singidunum (Belgrade) were taken by these formidable foes. From Singidunum to the walls of Constantinople a line may be measured of 600 miles: that line was marked with flames and with blood; the horses of the Avars were alternately bathed in the Euxine and the Adriatic; and the Roman pontiff, alarmed by the approach of a more savage enemy, was reduced to cherish the Lombards as the protectors of Italy. The Persian alliance restored the troops of the East to the defence of Europe; and Maurice, who had supported ten years the insolence of the Chagan, sent his brother Peter, and Priscus, an able general, against the barbarians. Peter displayed both incapacity and cowardice; but Priscus, in five successive battles, took 17,200 barbarians prisoners, and slew near 60,000, with four sons of the Chagan; he surprised a peaceful district of the Gepidæ, who slept under the protection of the Avars; and his last trophies were erected on the banks of the Danube and the Theiss. Since the death of Trajan the arms of the empire had not penetrated so deeply into the old Dacia; yet the success of Priscus was transient and barren, and he was soon recalled by the apprehension that Baian, with dauntless spirit and recruited forces, was preparing to avenge his defeat under the walls of Constantinople.

§ 19. The attempt of Maurice to restore the discipline of the Roman armies was the cause of his death. The army of the

Danube pronounced him unworthy to reign, expelled or slaughtered his faithful adherents, and under the command of Phocas, a simple centurion, returned by hasty marches to the neighbourhood of Constantinople. So obscure had been the former condition of Phocas, that the emperor was ignorant of the name and character of his rival; but as soon as he learned that the centurion, though bold in sedition, was timid in the face of danger, "Alas!" cried the desponding prince, "if he is a coward, he will surely be a murderer." The rigid and parsimonious virtues of Maurice had long since alienated the hearts of his subjects: Constantinople rose in arms; and the lawless city was abandoned to the flames and rapine of a nocturnal tumult. In a small bark the unfortunate Maurice, with his wife and nine children, escaped to the Asiatic shore, but the violence of the wind compelled him to land at the church of St. Autonomus, near Chalcedon, from whence he despatched Theodosius, his eldest son, to implore the gratitude and friendship of the Persian monarch. On the third day, amidst the acclamations of a thoughtless people, Phocas made his public entry in a chariot drawn by four white horses: the revolt of the troops was rewarded by a lavish donative, and the new sovereign, after visiting the palace, beheld from his throne the games of the hippodrome. In a dispute of precedency between the two factions, his partial judgment inclined in favour of the greens. "Remember that Maurice is still alive" resounded from the opposite side; and the indiscret clamour of the blues admonished and stimulated the cruelty of the tyrant. The ministers of death were despatched to Chalcedon; they dragged the emperor from his sanctuary, and the five sons of Maurice were successively murdered before the eyes of their agonizing parent. At each stroke, which he felt in his heart, he found strength to rehearse a pious ejaculation: "Thou art just, O Lord! and thy judgments are righteous." The tragic scene was finally closed by the execution of the emperor himself, in the 20th year of his reign, and the 63rd of his age (A.D. 602, Nov. 27).

§ 20. Phocas appears no less hateful in the exercise than in the acquisition of power. Ignorant of letters, of laws, and even of arms, he indulged in the supreme rank a more ample privilege of lust and drunkenness, and his brutal pleasures were either injurious to his subjects or disgraceful to himself. Without assuming the office of a prince, he renounced the profession of a soldier, and the reign of Phocas afflicted Europe with ignominious peace and Asia with desolating war. His savage temper was inflamed by passion, hardened by fear, exasperated by resistance or reproach. The flight of Theodosius to the Persian court had been intercepted by a rapid pursuit or a deceitful message: he was beheaded at Nice, and the last hours of the young prince were soothed by the comforts of religion and the

consciousness of innocence. In the massacre of the Imperial family, the mercy, or rather the discretion, of Phocas had spared the widow and daughters of the late emperor. But the spirit of the empress Constantina, still mindful of her father, her husband, and her sons, aspired to freedom and revenge. She twice conspired against the tyrant, and, after being tortured like the vilest malefactor, to force a confession of her designs and associates, she was beheaded at Chalcedon with her three innocent daughters, on the same ground which had been stained with the blood of her husband and five sons. After such an example it would be superfluous to enumerate the names and sufferings of meaner victims. The hippodrome, the sacred asylum of the pleasures and the liberty of the Romans, was polluted with heads and limbs and mangled bodies; and the companions of Phocas were the most sensible that neither his favour nor their services could protect them from a tyrant, the worthy rival of the Caligulas and Domitians of the first age of the empire.

A daughter of Phocas, his only child, was given in marriage to the patrician Crispus, and the *royal* images of the bride and bridegroom were indiscreetly placed in the circus by the side of the emperor. The father must desire that his posterity should inherit the fruit of his crimes, but the monarch was offended by this premature and popular association; and Crispus might reasonably doubt whether a jealous usurper could forget and pardon his involuntary competition. Every province of the empire was ripe for rebellion; and Heraclius, exarch of Africa, persisted above two years in refusing all tribute and obedience to the centurion who disgraced the throne of Constantinople. By the secret emissaries of Crispus and the senate, the independent exarch was solicited to save and to govern his country: but his ambition was chilled by age, and he resigned the dangerous enterprise to his son Heraclius: a faint rumour of their undertaking was conveyed to the ears of Phocas; but the treacherous heart of Crispus extenuated the distant peril, and the tyrant supinely slept till the African navy steered their triumphant course through the Propontis. The people, and even the guards, were determined by the well-timed defection of Crispus, and the tyrant was seized by a private enemy, who boldly invaded the solitude of the palace. Stripped of the diadem and purple, clothed in a vile habit, and loaded with chains, he was transported in a small boat to the Imperial galley of Heraclius, who reproached him with the crimes of his abominable reign. "Wilt thou govern better?" were the last words of the despair of Phocas. After suffering each variety of insult and torture, his head was severed from his body, the mangled trunk was cast into the flames, and the same treatment was inflicted on the statues of the vain usurper and the seditious banner of the green faction (A.D. 610, Oct. 4). The voice of the

clergy, the senate, and the people invited Heraclius to ascend the throne which he had purified from guilt and ignominy; after some graceful hesitation he yielded to their entreaties. His coronation was accompanied by that of his wife Eudoxia, and their posterity, till the fourth generation, continued to reign over the empire of the East.

§ 21. Even after his death the republic was afflicted by the crimes of Phocas, which armed with a pious cause the most formidable of her enemies. Upon receiving intelligence of the death of Maurice, Chosroes declared himself the avenger of his father and benefactor, and at the head of a powerful army invaded the Roman dominions. Under the reign of Phocas the fortifications of Merdin, Dara, Amida, and Edessa were successively besieged, reduced, and destroyed by the Persian monarch; he passed the Euphrates, occupied the Syrian cities Hierapolis, Chalcis, and Borrhœa or Aleppo, and soon encompassed the walls of Antioch with his irresistible arms. This rapid tide of success discloses the decay of the empire, the incapacity of Phocas, and the disaffection of his subjects; and Chosroes provided a decent apology for their submission or revolt by an impostor who attended his camp as the son of Maurice and the lawful heir of the monarchy.

The first intelligence from the East which Heraclius received was that of the loss of Antioch. It was followed by the capture of Cæsarea and Damascus; and after the reduction of Galilee and the region beyond the Jordan, Jerusalem itself was taken by assault (A.D. 614). The sepulchre of Christ and the stately churches of Helena and Constantine were consumed, or at least damaged, by the flames; the devout offerings of 300 years were rifled in one sacrilegious day; the patriarch Zacharia and the *true cross* were transported into Persia; and the massacre of 90,000 Christians is imputed to the Jews and Arabs, who swelled the disorder of the Persian march. Egypt itself, the only province which had been exempt since the time of Diocletian from foreign and domestic war, was again subdued by the successors of Cyrus (A.D. 616). Alexandria might have been relieved by a naval force, but the archbishop and the præfect embarked for Cyprus; and Chosroes entered the second city of the empire, which still preserved a wealthy remnant of industry and commerce. His western trophy was erected in the neighbourhood of Tripoli: the Greek colonies of Cyrene were finally extirpated; and the conqueror, treading in the footsteps of Alexander, returned in triumph through the sands of the Libyan desert. In the same campaign another army advanced from the Euphrates to the Thracian Bosporus; Chalcedon surrendered after a long siege, and a Persian camp was maintained above ten years in the presence of Constantinople. The sea-coast of

Pontus, the city of Ancyra, and the isle of Rhodes are enumerated among the last conquests of the Great King; and if Chosroes had possessed any maritime power, his boundless ambition would have spread slavery and desolation over the provinces of Europe.

§ 22. From the long-disputed banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, the reign of the grandson of Nushirvin was suddenly extended to the Hellespont and the Nile, the ancient limits of the Persian monarchy. But the provinces which had been fashioned by the habits of 600 years to the virtues and vices of the Roman government, supported with reluctance the yoke of the barbarians. The Christians of the East were scandalised by the worship of fire and the impious doctrine of the two principles: the Magi were not less intolerant than the bishops; and the martyrdom of some native Persians who had deserted the religion of Zoroaster was conceived to be the prelude of a fierce and general persecution. Chosroes enjoyed with ostentation the fruits of victory, and frequently retired from the hardships of war to the luxury of the palace. But, in the space of 24 years, he was deterred by superstition or resentment from approaching the gates of Ctesiphon: and his favourite residence of Artemita, or Dastagerd, was situate beyond the Tigris, about 60 miles to the north of the capital. Six thousand guards successively mounted before the palace-gate; the service of the interior apartments was performed by 12,000 slaves; and the various treasures of gold, silver, gems, silk, and aromatics, were deposited in a hundred subterraneous vaults. The voice of flattery, and perhaps of fiction, is not ashamed to compute the 30,000 rich hangings that adorned the walls; the 40,000 columns of silver, or more probably of marble and plated wood, that supported the roof; and the 1000 globes of gold suspended in the dome, to imitate the motions of the planets and the constellations of the zodiac. While the Persian monarch contemplated the wonders of his art and power, he received an epistle from an obscure citizen of Mecca, inviting him to acknowledge Mahomet as the apostle of God. He rejected the invitation, and tore the epistle. "It is thus," exclaimed the Arabian prophet, "that God will tear the kingdom and reject the supplications of Chosroes." Placed on the verge of the two great empires of the East, Mahomet observed with secret joy the progress of their mutual destruction; and in the midst of the Persian triumphs he ventured to foretell that, before many years should elapse, victory would again return to the banners of the Romans.

§ 23. At the time when this prediction is said to have been delivered, no prophecy could be more distant from its accomplishment, since the first 12 years of Heraclius (A.D. 610–622) announced the approaching dissolution of the empire. If the motives of Chosroes had been pure and honourable, he must have ended the quarrel with

the death of Phocas, and he would have embraced, as his best ally, the fortunate African who had so generously avenged the injuries of his benefactor Maurice. The prosecution of the war revealed the true character of the barbarian; and the suppliant embassies of Heraclius to beseech his clemency, that he would spare the innocent, accept a tribute, and give peace to the world, were rejected with contemptuous silence or insolent menace. Syria, Egypt, and the provinces of Asia were subdued by the Persian arms; while Europe, from the confines of Istria to the long wall of Thrace, was oppressed by the Avars, unsatiated with the blood and rapine of the Italian war. By these implacable enemies Heraclius, on either side, was insulted and besieged: and the Roman empire was reduced to the walls of Constantinople, with the remnant of Greece, Italy, and Africa, and some maritime cities from Tyre to Trebizond, of the Asiatic coast. The experience of six years at length persuaded the Persian monarch to renounce the conquest of Constantinople, and to specify the annual tribute or ransom of the Roman empire: a thousand talents of gold, a thousand talents of silver, a thousand silk robes, a thousand horses, and a thousand virgins. Heraclius subscribed these ignominious terms; but the time and space which he obtained to collect such treasures from the poverty of the East was industriously employed in the preparations of a bold and desperate attack.

§ 24. Of the characters conspicuous in history, that of Heraclius is one of the most extraordinary and inconsistent. In the first and the last years of a long reign the emperor appears to be the slave of sloth, of pleasure, or of superstition; the careless and impotent spectator of the public calamities. But the languid mists of the morning and evening are separated by the brightness of the meridian sun: the Arcadius of the palace arose the Cæsar of the camp; and the honour of Rome and Heraclius was gloriously retrieved by the exploits and trophies of six adventurous campaigns. At the moment when Heraclius assumed the spirit of an hero, the only hopes of the Romans were drawn from the vicissitudes of fortune, which might threaten the proud prosperity of Chosroes, and must be favourable to those who had attained the lowest period of depression. To provide for the expenses of war was the first care of the emperor; and the courage of Heraclius was first displayed in daring to borrow the consecrated wealth of churches, under the solemn vow of restoring, with usury, whatever he had been compelled to employ in the service of religion and of the empire. Of the soldiers who had conspired with Phocas, only two were found to have survived the stroke of time and of the barbarians; the loss even of these seditious veterans was imperfectly supplied by the new levies of Heraclius; and the gold of the sanctuary united, in the same camp, the names, and arms, and languages of the East and West.

§ 25. *First expedition of Heraclius against the Persians*, A.D. 622.—The neighbouring heights of Chalcedon were covered with tents and arms; but if the new levies of Heraclius had been rashly led to the attack, the victory of the Persians in the sight of Constantinople might have been the last day of the Roman empire. But the Greeks were still masters of the sea; a fleet of galleys, transports, and store-ships was assembled in the harbour; the barbarians consented to embark; and Heraclius landed his troops on the confines of Syria and Cilicia, in the gulf of Scanderoon, where the coast suddenly turns to the south. His discernment was expressed in the choice of this important post. The natural fortifications of Cilicia protected and even concealed the camp of Heraclius, which was pitched near Issus, on the same ground where Alexander had vanquished the host of Darius. The angle which the emperor occupied was deeply indented into a vast semicircle of the Asiatic, Armenian, and Syrian provinces; and to whatsoever point of the circumference he should direct his attack, it was easy for him to dissemble his own motions, and to prevent those of the enemy. In the camp of Issus the Roman general reformed the sloth and disorder of the veterans, and educated the new recruits in the knowledge and practice of military virtue. Cilicia was soon encompassed with the Persian arms, but their cavalry hesitated to enter the defiles of Mount Taurus till they were circumvented by the evolutions of Heraclius, who insensibly gained their rear, whilst he appeared to present his front in order of battle. By a false motion, which seemed to threaten Armenia, he drew them against their wishes to a general action. They were tempted by the artful disorder of his camp; and the event of the day declared to the world that the Persians were not invincible, and that an hero was invested with the purple. Strong in victory and fame, Heraclius boldly ascended the heights of Mount Taurus, directed his march through the plains of Cappadocia, and established his troops for the winter season in safe and plentiful quarters on the banks of the river Halys.

§ 26. *His second expedition*, A.D. 623–625.—Since the days of Scipio and Hannibal, no bolder enterprise has been attempted than that which Heraclius achieved for the deliverance of the empire. He permitted the Persians to oppress for a while the provinces, and to insult with impunity the capital of the East, while the Roman emperor explored his perilous way through the Black Sea and the mountains of Armenia, penetrated into the heart of Persia, and recalled the armies of the Great King to the defence of their bleeding country. With a select band of 5000 soldiers, Heraclius sailed from Constantinople to Trebizond; assembled his forces which had wintered in the Pontic regions; and from the mouth of the Phasis to the Caspian Sea, encouraged his subjects and allies to march with

the successor of Constantine under the faithful and victorious banner of the cross. The limits of Armenia, as it had been ceded to the emperor Maurice, extended as far as the Araxes: the river submitted to the indignity of a bridge, and Heraclius, in the footsteps of Mark Antony, advanced towards the city of Tauris or Gandzaca, the ancient and modern capital of one of the provinces of Media. The rapid conquests of Heraclius were suspended only by the winter season; a motive of prudence or superstition determined his retreat into the province of Albania, along the shores of the Caspian; and his tents were most probably pitched in the plains of Mogan, the favourite encampment of Oriental princes (A.D. 623).

Amidst the glories of the succeeding campaign, Heraclius is almost lost to our eyes, and to those of the Byzantine historians. From the spacious and fruitful plains of Albania, the emperor appears to follow the chain of Hyrcanian mountains, to descend into the province of Media or Irak, and to carry his victorious arms as far as the royal cities of Casbin and Ispahan, which had never been approached by a Roman conqueror. Alarmed by the danger of his kingdom, the powers of Chosroes were already recalled from the Nile and the Bosporus, and three formidable armies surrounded, in a distant and hostile land, the camp of the emperor. But Heraclius repelled this threefold attack, improved the divisions of their chiefs, and, by a well-concerted train of marches, retreats, and successful actions, finally chased them from the field into the fortified cities of Media and Assyria (A.D. 624). On the return of spring, the emperor traversed in seven days the mountains of Curdistan, and passed without resistance the rapid stream of the Tigris. Oppressed by the weight of their spoils and captives, the Roman army halted under the walls of Amida; and Heraclius informed the senate of Constantinople of his safety and success, which they had already felt by the retreat of the besiegers. The bridges of the Euphrates were destroyed by the Persians; but as soon as the emperor had discovered a ford, they hastily retired to defend the banks of the Sarus, in Cilicia. That river, an impetuous torrent, was about 300 feet broad; the bridge was fortified with strong turrets; and the banks were lined with barbarian archers. After a bloody conflict, which continued till the evening, the Romans prevailed in the assault; and a Persian of gigantic size was slain and thrown into the Sarus by the hand of the emperor himself. The enemies were dispersed and dismayed; Heraclius pursued his march to Sebaste in Cappadocia; and at the expiration of three years, the same coast of the Euxine applauded his return from a long and victorious expedition.

§ 27. Instead of skirmishing on the frontier, the two monarchs who disputed the empire of the East aimed their desperate strokes at the

heart of their rival. The military force of Persia was wasted by the marches and combats of twenty years; but the revenge and ambition of Chosroes exhausted his kingdom; and the new levies of subjects, strangers, and slaves, were divided into three formidable bodies. The first army of 50,000 men, illustrious by the ornament and title of the *golden spears*, were destined to march against Heraclius; the second was stationed to prevent his junction with the troops of his brother Theodorus; and the third was commanded to besiege Constantinople, and to second the operations of the chagan, with whom the Persian king had ratified a treaty of alliance and partition. Sarbar, the general of the third army, penetrated through the provinces of Asia to the well-known camp of Chalcedon, where he impatiently waited the arrival of his Scythian friends on the opposite side of the Bosporus. On the 29th of June (A.D. 626), 30,000 barbarians, the vanguard of the Avars, forced the long wall, and drove into the capital a promiscuous crowd of peasants, citizens, and soldiers. Fourscore thousand of his native subjects, and of the vassal tribes of Gepidæ, Russians, Bulgarians, and Slavonians, advanced under the standard of the chagan; a month was spent in marches and negotiations, but the whole city was invested on the 31st of July; and the inhabitants descried with terror the flaming signals of the European and Asiatic shores. During ten successive days the capital was assaulted by the Avars, who had made some progress in the science of attack; but the senate and people were animated by the spirit of Heraclius, who had detached to their relief a body of 12,000 cuirassiers; the powers of fire and mechanics were used with superior art and success in the defence of Constantinople; and the galleys, with two and three ranks of oars, commanded the Bosporus, and rendered the Persians the idle spectators of the defeat of their allies. The Avars were repulsed; the vassals of the chagan threatened to desert, his provisions were exhausted, and, after burning his engines, he gave the signal of a slow and formidable retreat.

§ 28. After the division of his army, Heraclius prudently retired to the banks of the Phasis, from whence he maintained a defensive war against the 50,000 gold spears of Persia. His anxiety was relieved by the deliverance of Constantinople; his hopes were confirmed by a victory of his brother Theodorus; and to the hostile league of Chosroes with the Avars, the Roman emperor opposed the useful and honorable alliance of the Turks. At his liberal invitation, the horde of Khazars transported their tents from the plains of the Volga to the mountains of Georgia; Heraclius received them in the neighbourhood of Teflis, obtained an immediate succour of 40,000 horse, and negotiated a strong diversion of the Turkish arms on the side of the Oxus. The Persians, in their turn,

retreated with precipitation; in the camp of Edessa Heraclius reviewed an army of 70,000 Romans and strangers; and some months were successfully employed in the recovery of the cities of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, whose fortifications had been imperfectly restored. Sabar still maintained the important station of Chalcedon, but the jealousy of Chosroes, or the artifice of Heraclius, soon alienated the mind of that powerful satrap from the service of his king and country; and if some considerations of honour or policy restrained Sarbar from joining the standard of Heraclius, the emperor was assured that he might prosecute without interruption his designs of victory and peace.

§ 29. *His third expedition*, A.D. 627.—Deprived of his firmest support, and doubtful of the fidelity of his subjects, the greatness of Chosroes was still conspicuous in its ruins. The number of 500,000 may be interpreted as an Oriental metaphor to describe the men and arms, the horses and elephants, that covered Media and Assyria against the invasion of Heraclius. Yet the Romans boldly advanced from the Araxes to the Tigris, and the timid prudence of Rhazates was content to follow them by forced marches through a desolate country, till he received a peremptory mandate to risk the fate of Persia in a decisive battle. Eastward of the Tigris, at the end of the bridge of Mosul, the great Nineveh had formerly been erected: the city, and even the ruins of the city, had long since disappeared; the vacant space afforded a spacious field for the operations of the two armies. In the battle of Nineveh, which was fiercely fought from daybreak to the eleventh hour, Rhazates was slain by the emperor's own hand; 28 standards, beside those which might be broken or torn, were taken from the Persians; the greatest part of their army was cut in pieces; and the victors, concealing their own loss, passed the night on the field. The diligence of Heraclius was not less admirable in the use of a victory; by a march of 48 miles in 24 hours his vanguard occupied the bridges of the great and the lesser Zab, and the cities and palaces of Assyria were open for the first time to the Romans. By a just gradation of magnificent scenes they penetrated to the royal seat of Dastagerd, and though much of the treasure had been removed and much had been expended, the remaining wealth appears to have exceeded their hopes, and even to have satiated their avarice. Whatever could not be easily transported they consumed with fire, that Chosroes might feel the anguish of those wounds which he had so often inflicted on the provinces of the empire. The recovery of 300 Roman standards and the deliverance of the numerous captives of Edessa and Alexandria reflect a purer glory on the arms of Heraclius. From the palace of Dastagerd he pursued his march within a few miles of Modain or Ctesiphon, till he was stopped, on the banks of the Arba,

by the difficulty of the passage, the rigour of the season, and perhaps the fame of an impregnable capital. The return of the emperor is marked by the modern name of the city of Sherhzour: he fortunately passed Mount Zara before the snow, which fell incessantly 34 days; and the citizens of Gandzaca, or Tauris, were compelled to entertain his soldiers and their horses with an hospitable reception.

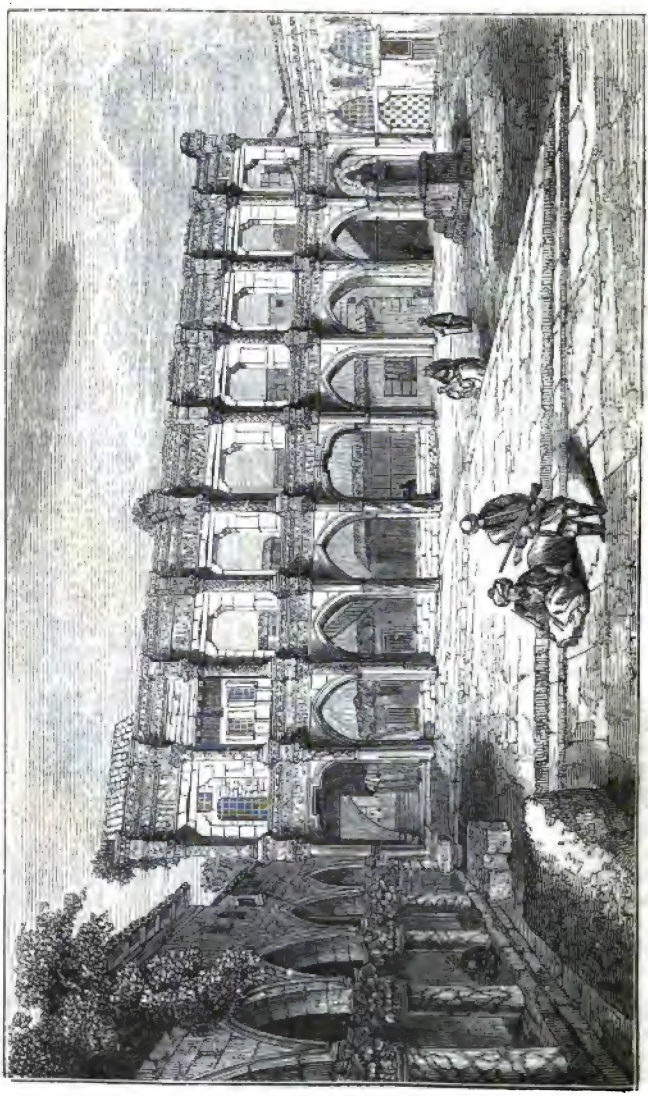
§ 30. It was still in the power of Chosroes to obtain a reasonable peace; and he was repeatedly pressed by the messengers of Heraclius to spare the blood of his subjects, and to relieve a humane conqueror from the painful duty of carrying fire and sword through the fairest countries of Asia. But the pride of the Persian had not yet sunk to the level of his fortune; he derived a momentary confidence from the retreat of the emperor; he wept with impotent rage over the ruins of his Assyrian palaces; and disregarded too long the rising murmurs of the nation, who complained that their lives and fortunes were sacrificed to the obstinacy of an old man. That unhappy old man was himself tortured with the sharpest pains both of mind and body; and, in the consciousness of his approaching end, he resolved to fix the tiara on the head of Merdaza, the most favoured of his sons. But the will of Chosroes was no longer revered, and Siroes, who gloried in the rank and merit of his mother Sira, the favourite wife of the king, had conspired with the malcontents to assert and anticipate the rights of primogeniture. It was determined by the conspirators that Siroes, with the ensigns of royalty, should appear in the camp; and if the enterprise should fail, his escape was contrived to the Imperial court. But the new monarch was saluted with unanimous acclamations; the flight of Chosroes was rudely arrested, 18 sons were massacred before his face, and he was thrown into a dungeon, where he expired on the fifth day (A.D. 628). The glory of the house of Sassan ended with the life of Chosroes; his unnatural son enjoyed only eight months the fruit of his crimes; and in the space of four years the regal title was assumed by nine candidates, who disputed, with the sword or dagger, the fragments of an exhausted monarchy. Every province and each city of Persia was the scene of independence, of discord, and of blood; and the state of anarchy prevailed about eight years longer, till the factions were silenced and united under the common yoke of the Arabian caliphs.

§ 31. The elevation of Siroes to the throne of Persia was followed by a treaty of peace and alliance between the two nations. The conditions of the treaty were easily defined and faithfully executed. In the recovery of the standards and prisoners which had fallen into the hands of the Persians, the emperor imitated the example of Augustus; the subjects and brethren of Heraclius were redeemed

from persecution, slavery, and exile; but, instead of the Roman eagles, the true wood of the holy cross was restored to the importunate demands of the successor of Constantine. The victor was not ambitious of enlarging the weakness of the empire: the son of Chosroes abandoned without regret the conquests of his father; and a war which had wounded the vitals of the two monarchies produced no change in their external and relative situation. The return of Heraclius from Tauris to Constantinople was a perpetual triumph. After a long impatience, the senate, the clergy, and the people went forth to meet their hero with tears and acclamations, with olive-branches and innumerable lamps; he entered the capital in a chariot drawn by four elephants, and, as soon as the emperor could disengage himself from the tumult of public joy, he tasted more genuine satisfaction in the embraces of his mother and his son.

Yet the deliverer of the East was indigent and feeble. Of the Persian spoils the most valuable portion had been expended in the war, distributed to the soldiers, or buried, by an unlucky tempest, in the waves of the Euxine. The conscience of the emperor was oppressed by the obligation of restoring the wealth of the clergy, which he had borrowed for their own defence: a perpetual fund was required to satisfy these inexorable creditors; and the provinces, already wasted by the arms and avarice of the Persians, were compelled to a second payment of the same taxes. The loss of 200,000 soldiers, who had fallen by the sword, was of less fatal importance than the decay of arts, agriculture, and population in this long and destructive war; and although a victorious army had been formed under the standard of Heraclius, the unnatural effort appears to have exhausted rather than exercised their strength. While the emperor triumphed at Constantinople or Jerusalem, an obscure town on the confines of Syria was pillaged by the Saracens, and they cut in pieces some troops who advanced to its relief; an ordinary and trifling occurrence, had it not been the prelude of a mighty revolution. These robbers were the apostles of Mahomet; their fanatic valour had emerged from the desert; and in the last eight years of his reign Heraclius lost to the Arabs the same provinces which he had rescued from the Persians.

NOTE.—The great mosque at Diarbekir, the ancient Amida, on the Tigris, figured on the following page, is interesting on account of its exhibiting various styles of architecture, Roman, Saracenic, &c. It was long a Roman town; and though twice taken by the Persians (see pp. 157, 305), it was in the hands of the Romans in the time of Justinian, by whom its fortifications were restored.



Great Mosque at Amida (Diarbekir).

The Empress Eudocia, wife of Basil I. the Macedonian, with her sons Leo VI. and Alexander on either side of her. From a MS. of Gregory Nazianzen at Paris. (Du Cange, Historia Byzantina, p. 139.)

CHAPTER XXV.

SUCCESSION AND CHARACTERS OF THE GREEK EMPERORS OF CONSTANTINOPLE FROM THE TIME OF HERACLIUS TO THE LATIN CONQUEST.

§ 1. Byzantine history: plan of the remainder of the work. § 2. Second marriage and death of Heraclius. § 3. Constantine III. and Heracleonas. § 4. Constans II. § 5. Constantine IV., Pogonatus. § 6. Justinian II.,

Rhinotmetus: is deposed and goes into exile: Leontius and Tiberius Absimarus: restoration and death of Justinian II. § 7. Philippicus: Anastasius II.: Theodosius III. § 8. Leo III., the Isaurian. § 9. Constantine V., Copronymus. § 10. Leo IV., the Khazar. § 11. Constantine VI. § 12. Irene. § 13. Nicephorus I., Stauracius, and Michael I. § 14. Leo V., the Armenian. § 15. Michael II., the Stammerer. § 16. Theophilus. § 17. Michael III. § 18. Basil I., the Macedonian. § 19. Leo VI., the Philosopher. § 20. Constantine VII., Porphyrogenitus: Romanus I., Lecapenus: Christopher, Stephen, Constantine VIII. § 21. Romanus II.: Nicephorus II., Phocas. § 22. John I., Zimisces. § 23. Basil II. and Constantine IX. § 24. Romanus III., Argyrus: Michael IV., the Paphlagonian: Michael V., Calaphates: Zoe and Theodora: Constantine X., Monomachus: Theodora: Michael VI., Stratioticus. § 25. Isaac I., Comnenus. § 26. Constantine XI., Ducas: Eudocia: Romanus IV., Diogenes: Michael VII., Parapinaces: Andronicus I.: Constantine XII. § 27. Nicephorus III., Botaniates. § 28. Alexius I., Comnenus. § 29. John II., Comnenus, or Calo-Joannes. § 30. Manuel I., Comnenus. § 31. Alexius II., Comnenus: Andronicus I., Comnenus: Isaac II., Angelus.

§ 1. I HAVE now deduced from Trajan to Constantine, from Constantine to Heraclius, the regular series of the Roman emperors. Five centuries of the decline and fall of the empire have already elapsed; but a period of more than 800 years still separates me from the term of my labours, the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. From the time of Heraclius the Byzantine theatre is contracted and darkened: the line of empire, which had been defined by the laws of Justinian and the arms of Belisarius, recedes on all sides from our view;—and the Roman name, the proper subject of our inquiries, is reduced to a narrow corner of Europe, to the lonely suburbs of Constantinople. But the fate of the Byzantine monarchy is *passively* connected with the most splendid and important revolutions which have changed the state of the world. The space of the lost provinces was immediately replenished with new colonies and rising kingdoms: the active virtues of peace and war deserted from the vanquished to the victorious nations; and it is in their origin and conquests, in their religion and government, that we must explore the causes and effects of the decline and fall of the Eastern empire. Nor will this scope of narrative, the riches and variety of these materials, be incompatible with the unity of design and composition. As, in his daily prayers, the Musulman of Fez or Delhi still turns his face towards the temple of Mecca, the historian's eye shall be always fixed on the city of Constantinople. The excursive line may embrace the wilds of Arabia and Tartary, but the circle will be ultimately reduced to the decreasing limit of the Roman monarchy.

On this principle I shall now establish the plan of the remaining

chapters of the present work. The first chapter will contain, in a regular series, the emperors who reigned at Constantinople during a period of 600 years, from the days of Heraclius to the Latin conquest. In this introduction I shall confine myself to the revolutions of the throne, the succession of families, the personal characters of the Greek princes, the mode of their life and death, the maxims and influence of their domestic government, and the tendency of their reign to accelerate or suspend the downfall of the Eastern empire. Such a chronological review will serve to illustrate the various argument of the subsequent chapters; and each circumstance of the eventful story of the barbarians will adapt itself in a proper place to the Byzantine annals. After this foundation of Byzantine history, the following nations will pass before our eyes. I. The FRANKS; a general appellation which includes all the barbarians of France, Italy, and Germany, who were united by the sword and sceptre of Charlemagne. The persecution of images and their votaries separated Rome and Italy from the Byzantine throne, and prepared the restoration of the Roman empire in the West. II. The ARABS or SARACENS. First I shall investigate the character of Mahomet; the character, religion, and success of the prophet. I shall then lead the Arabs to the conquest of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, the provinces of the Roman empire; nor can I check their victorious career till they have overthrown the monarchies of Persia and Spain. Lastly I shall inquire how Constantinople and Europe were saved by the luxury and arts, the division and decay, of the empire of the caliphs. A single chapter will include, III. The BULGARIANS, IV. HUNGARIANS, and, V. RUSSIANS, who assaulted by sea or by land the provinces and the capital; but the last of these, so important in their present greatness, will excite some curiosity in their origin and infancy. VI. The NORMANS; or rather the private adventurers of that warlike people, who founded a powerful kingdom in Apulia and Sicily, shook the throne of Constantinople, displayed the trophies of chivalry, and almost realised the wonders of romance. VII. The LATINS; the subjects of the pope, the nations of the West, who enlisted under the banner of the cross for the recovery or relief of the holy sepulchre. In these memorable crusades a fleet and army of French and Venetians were diverted from Syria to the Thracian Bosporus: they assaulted the capital, they subverted the Greek monarchy: and a dynasty of Latin princes was seated near threescore years on the throne of Constantine. VIII. The GREEKS themselves, during this period of captivity and exile, must be considered as a foreign nation; the enemies, and again the sovereigns of Constantinople. Misfortune had rekindled a spark of national virtue; and the Imperial series may be continued with

some dignity from their restoration to the Turkish conquest. IX. The MONGULS and TARTARS. By the arms of Zingis and his descendants the globe was shaken from China to Poland and Greece: the sultans were overthrown: the caliphs fell, and the Cæsars trembled on their throne. The victories of Timour suspended above fifty years the final ruin of the Byzantine empire. X. I have already noticed the first appearance of the TURKS; and the names of the fathers, of *Seljuk* and *Othman*, discriminate the two successive dynasties of the nation which emerged in the eleventh century from the Scythian wilderness. The former established a potent and splendid kingdom from the banks of the Oxus to Antioch and Nice; and the first crusade was provoked by the violation of Jerusalem and the danger of Constantinople. From an humble origin the *Ottomans* arose the scourge and terror of Christendom. Constantinople was besieged and taken by Mahomet II., and his triumph annihilates the remnant, the image, the title, of the Roman empire in the East. The schism of the Greeks will be connected with their last calamities and the restoration of learning in the Western world. I shall return from the captivity of the new to the ruins of ancient ROME; and the venerable name, the interesting theme, will shed a ray of glory on the conclusion of my labours.

§ 2. The emperor Heraclius had punished a tyrant and ascended his throne: and the memory of his reign is perpetuated by the transient conquest and irreparable loss of the Eastern provinces. After the death of Eudocia, his first wife, he disobeyed the patriarch and violated the laws by his second marriage with his niece Martina. The ambition of Martina was quickened by maternal love, and perhaps by the envy of a step-mother; and the aged husband was too feeble to withstand the arts of conjugal allurements. Constantine, his eldest son, enjoyed in a mature age the title of Augustus; but the weakness of his constitution required a colleague and a guardian; and Heracleonas, the son of Martina, was associated with him in the empire. Heraclius survived this event about two years: his last testimony declared his two sons the equal heirs of the Eastern empire, and commanded them to honour his widow Martina as their mother and their sovereign (A.D. 641).

§ 3. When Martina first appeared on the throne with the name and attributes of royalty, she was checked by a firm, though respectful, opposition; and was compelled to descend from the throne with indignation, and seek a refuge in the female apartment of the palace. The reign of Constantine III. lasted only 103 days: he expired in the 30th year of his age, and, although his life had been a long malady, a belief was entertained that poison had been the means, and his cruel stepmother the author, of his untimely

fate. Martina reaped indeed the harvest of his death, and assumed the government in the name of the surviving emperor; but the incestuous widow of Heraclius was universally abhorred; the jealousy of the people was awakened, and the two orphans whom Constantine had left became the objects of the public care. The senate, supported by the soldiers and people, deposed the Imperial culprits, and condemned them as the authors of the death of Constantine. Martina and Heracleonas were sentenced to the amputation, the former of her tongue, the latter of his nose; and after this cruel execution they consumed the remainder of their days in exile and oblivion (A.D. 641).

§ 4. Constans II. (A.D. 641, 668), the eldest son of Constantine III., was only 11 years of age when he ascended the throne. Upon attaining the age of manhood, he was tormented by a jealous fear lest the senate or people should one day invade the right of primogeniture, and seat his brother Theodosius on an equal throne. By the imposition of holy orders, the grandson of Heraclius was disqualified for the purple: but this ceremony was insufficient to appease the suspicions of the tyrant, and the death of the deacon Theodosius could alone expiate the crime of his royal birth. His murder was avenged by the imprecations of the people, and the assassin, in the fulness of power, was driven from his capital into voluntary and perpetual exile (A.D. 662). Constans embarked for Greece: after passing the winter at Athens, he sailed to Tarentum in Italy, visited Rome, where he pillaged the churches, and concluded a long pilgrimage of disgrace and sacrilegious rapine by fixing his residence at Syracuse. But if Constans could fly from his people, he could not fly from himself. The remorse of his conscience created a phantom who pursued him by land and sea, by day and by night; and the visionary Theodosius, presenting to his lips a cup of blood, said, or seemed to say, "Drink, brother, drink"—a sure emblem of the aggravation of his guilt, since he had received from the hands of the deacon the mystic cup of the blood of Christ. Odious to himself and to mankind, Constans perished by domestic treason in the capital of Sicily.

§ 5. The news of the murder of Constans was conveyed with almost supernatural speed from Syracuse to Constantinople; and Constantine IV., the eldest of his three sons, inherited his throne without being the heir of the public hatred (A.D. 668, 685). He received the surname of Pogonatus from the growth of his young beard during a voyage to Sicily, which he undertook immediately after his accession, to repress the revolt of a youth who had assumed the Imperial purple after his father's death. But his reign, like that of his predecessor, was stained with fraternal discord. His two brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius, conspired against him, and were deprived of their titles and noses, in the presence of the Catholic

bishops who were assembled at Constantinople in the sixth general synod.

§ 6. After the decease of his father the inheritance of the Roman world devolved upon Justinian II. (A.D. 685–695), and the name of a triumphant lawgiver was dishonoured by the vices of a boy. His passions were strong; his understanding was feeble; and he was intoxicated with a foolish pride that his birth had given him the command of millions, of whom the smallest community would not have chosen him for their local magistrate. Since the days of Commodus and Caracalla the cruelty of the Roman princes had most commonly been the effect of their fear; but Justinian, who possessed some vigour of character, enjoyed the sufferings, and braved the revenge, of his subjects about ten years, till the measure was full of his crimes and of their patience. Leontius, a general of reputation, was proclaimed emperor; and Justinian, in whose cause not a sword had been drawn, was dragged before the people assembled in the hippodrome, whose clamours demanded the instant death of the tyrant. But Leontius cast an eye of pity on the prostrate son of his own benefactor and of so many emperors. The life of Justinian was spared; the amputation of his nose, perhaps of his tongue, was imperfectly performed: the happy flexibility of the Greek language could impose the name of Rhinotmetus; and the mutilated tyrant was banished to the land of the Chersonites, in Crim-Tartary (A.D. 695).

On the edge of the Scythian wilderness Justinian still cherished the pride of his birth and the hope of his restoration. After three years' exile he received the pleasing intelligence that his injury was avenged by a second revolution, and that Leontius in his turn had been dethroned and mutilated by the rebel Absimarus, who assumed the more respectable name of Tiberius. But the claim of lineal succession was still formidable to a plebeian usurper; and his jealousy was stimulated by the complaints and charges of the Chersonites, who beheld the vices of the tyrant in the spirit of the exile. Justinian fled from the inhospitable shore to the horde of the Khazars, who pitched their tents between the Tanais and Borysthenes. The khan entertained with pity and respect the royal suppliant, and gave him his sister in marriage, who seems, however, from the name of Theodora, to have received the sacrament of baptism. But the faithless Khazar was soon tempted by the gold of Constantinople: and had not the design been revealed by the conjugal love of Theodora, her husband must have been assassinated or betrayed into the power of his enemies. After strangling, with his own hands, the two emissaries of the khan, Justinian sent back his wife to her brother, and embarked on the Euxine in search of new and more faithful allies. His vessel was assaulted by a violent tempest; and one of his pious

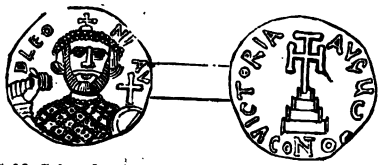
companions advised him to deserve the mercy of God by a vow of general forgiveness if he should be restored to the throne. "Of forgiveness?" replied the intrepid tyrant: "may I perish this instant —may the Almighty whelm me in the waves, if I consent to spare a single head of my enemies!" He survived this impious menace, sailed into the mouth of the Danube, trusted his person in the royal village of the Bulgarians, and purchased the aid of Terbelis, a pagan conqueror, by the promise of his daughter, and a fair partition of the treasures of the empire. The Bulgarian kingdom extended to the confines of Thrace; and the two princes besieged Constantinople at the head of fifteen thousand horse. Absimarus was dismayed by the sudden and hostile apparition of his rival, whose head had been promised by the Khazar, and of whose evasion he was yet ignorant. After an absence of ten years (A.D. 695–704) the crimes of Justinian were faintly remembered; and by the active diligence of his adherents he was introduced into the city and palace of Constantine.

Justinian reigned 7 years (A.D. 704–711) after his return. In rewarding his allies, and recalling his wife, he displayed some sense of honour and gratitude; and Terbelis retired, after sweeping away an heap of gold coin which he measured with his Scythian whip. But never was vow more religiously performed than the sacred oath of revenge which he had sworn amidst the storms of the Euxine. The two usurpers were dragged, the one from his prison, the other from his palace, and were put to death with a slow variety of tortures. Neither private virtue nor public service could expiate the guilt of active, or even passive, obedience to an established government; and, during the 7 years of his new reign, he considered the axe, the cord, and the rack as the only instruments of royalty. But his most implacable hatred was pointed against the Chersonites, who had insulted his exile and violated the laws of hospitality. "All are guilty, and all must perish," was the mandate of Justinian; and the bloody execution was intrusted to his favourite Stephen, who was recommended by the epithet of the Savage. Yet even the savage Stephen imperfectly accomplished the intentions of his sovereign; and a second expedition was commanded to extirpate the remains of the proscribed colony. In the short interval the Chersonites had returned to their city, and were prepared to die in arms; the khan of the Khazars had renounced the cause of his odious brother: the exiles of every province were assembled in Tauris; and Bardanes, under the name of Philippicus, was invested with the purple. The Imperial troops, unwilling and unable to perpetrate the revenge of Justinian, escaped his displeasure by abjuring his allegiance: the fleet under their new sovereign, steered back a more auspicious course to the harbours of Sinope and Constantinople; and every tongue was prompt to pronounce, every

hand to execute, the death of the tyrant. Destitute of friends, he was deserted by his barbarian guards; and the stroke of the assassin was praised as an act of patriotism and Roman virtue. His son Tiberius had taken refuge in a church; but the popular fury was deaf to the cries of humanity; and the race of Heraclius was extinguished after a reign of 100 years (A.D. 711).

§ 7. Between the fall of the Heraclian and the rise of the Isaurian dynasty, a short interval of six years is divided into three reigns. After a reign of two years Philippicus was murdered in his chamber (A.D. 713); but the traitors were deprived of their reward; and the free voice of the senate and people promoted Artemius from the office of secretary to that of emperor: he assumed the title of Anastasius II., and displayed in a short and troubled reign the virtues both of peace and war. But after the extinction of the Imperial line the rule of obedience was violated, and every change diffused the seeds of new revolutions. In a mutiny of the fleet an obscure and reluctant officer of the revenue was forcibly invested with the purple; after some months of a naval war, Anastasius resigned the sceptre (A.D. 716); and the conqueror, Theodosius III., submitted in his turn to the superior ascendant of Leo, the general and emperor of the Oriental troops (A.D. 717).

§ 8. Leo III., the Isaurian, was the founder of a new dynasty. He is known to posterity by the invectives of his enemies, and his public and private life is involved in the ecclesiastical story of the Iconoclasts. Yet in spite of the clamours of superstition, a favourable prejudice for the character of Leo the Isaurian may be reasonably drawn from the obscurity of his birth and the duration of his reign. His first service was in the guards of Justinian II., where he soon attracted the notice, and by degrees the jealousy, of the tyrant. His valour and dexterity were conspicuous in the Colchian war: from Anastasius he received the command of the Anatolian legions, and by the suffrage of the soldiers he was raised to the empire with the general applause of the Roman world. In this dangerous elevation Leo III. supported himself against the envy of his equals, the discontent of a powerful faction, and the assaults of his foreign and domestic enemies. The Catholics, who accuse his religious innovations, are obliged to confess that they were undertaken with temper and conducted with firmness. Their silence respects the wisdom of



Gold Coin of Leo III. from the British Museum. Obverse: bust of Leo with D. LEON P. AV. (Dominus Leon Perpetuus Augustus.) Reverse: a cross upon steps, with VICTORIA AVGV. (Augusti), and in Exergue CONOB, respecting which see p. 369.

his administration and the purity of his manners. After a reign of 24 years (A.D. 717–741) he peaceably expired in the palace of Constantinople; and the purple which he had acquired was transmitted by the right of inheritance to the third generation.

§ 9. In a long reign of 34 years (A.D. 741–775) the son and successor of Leo, Constantine V., surnamed Copronymus, from his pollution of the baptismal fount, attacked with less temperate zeal the images or idols of the church. Their votaries have exhausted the bitterness of religious gall in the portrait of this spotted panther, this antichrist, this flying dragon of the serpent's seed, who surpassed the vices of Elagabalus and Nero. But without believing all the accusations of his enemies, there is too much reason to believe that Constantine V. was dissolute and cruel. Yet his character was not devoid of merit, nor did his government always deserve the curses or the contempt of the Greeks. From the confession of his enemies I am informed of the restoration of an ancient aqueduct, of the redemption of 2500 captives, of the uncommon plenty of the times, and of the new colonies with which he repeopled Constantinople and the Thracian cities. They reluctantly praise his activity and courage; he was on horseback in the field at the head of his legions; and, although the fortune of his arms was various, he triumphed by sea and land, on the Euphrates and the Danube, in civil and barbarian war.

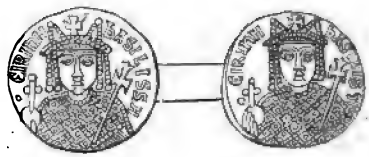
§ 10. Leo IV. (775–780) the son of the fifth and the father of the sixth Constantine, was surnamed the Khazar. Constantine V. had chosen a barbarian wife, the daughter of the Khan of the Khazars; but in the marriage of his heir he preferred an Athenian virgin, an orphan, 17 years old, named Irene, whose sole fortune must have consisted in her personal accomplishments. Leo was of a feeble constitution both of mind and body, and the principal care of his reign was the settlement of the succession. The association of the young Constantine was urged by the officious zeal of his subjects; and the emperor, conscious of his decay, complied, after a prudent hesitation, with their unanimous wishes. The royal infant, at the age of five years was crowned with his mother Irene, who soon acquired the love and confidence of a feeble husband.

§ 11. Leo in his testament declared the empress Irene guardian of the Roman world, and of their son Constantine VI. (A.D. 780–797), who was no more than ten years of age. During his childhood, Irene most ably and assiduously discharged, in her public administration, the duties of a faithful mother; and her zeal in the restoration of images has deserved the name and honours of a saint, which she still occupies in the Greek calendar. But the emperor attained the maturity of youth; the maternal yoke became more grievous; and he listened to the favourites of his own age, who shared his

pleasures, and were ambitious of sharing his power. Their reasons convinced him of his right, their praises of his ability, to reign; and he consented to reward the services of Irene by a perpetual banishment to the isle of Sicily. But her vigilance and penetration easily disconcerted their rash projects: a similar, or more severe punishment was retaliated on themselves and their advisers; and Irene inflicted on the ungrateful prince the chastisement of a boy. After this contest the mother and the son were at the head of two domestic factions; and instead of mild influence and voluntary obedience, she held in chains a captive and an enemy. The empress was overthrown by the abuse of victory; the oath of fidelity, which she exacted to herself alone, was pronounced with reluctant murmurs; and the bold refusal of the Armenian guards encouraged a free and general declaration that Constantine VI. was the lawful emperor of the Romans. In this character he ascended his hereditary throne, and dismissed Irene to a life of solitude and repose. But her haughty spirit condescended to the arts of dissimulation: she flattered the bishops and eunuchs, revived the filial tenderness of the prince, regained his confidence, and betrayed his credulity. A powerful conspiracy was formed for the restoration of Irene; and the secret, though widely diffused, was faithfully kept above eight months, till the emperor, suspicious of his danger, escaped from Constantinople with the design of appealing to the provinces and armies. But the conspirators seized the emperor on the Asiatic shore, and he was transported to the porphyry apartment of the palace, where he had first seen the light. In the mind of Irene ambition had stifled every sentiment of humanity and nature; and it was decreed in her bloody council that Constantine should be rendered incapable of the throne. The emperor was deprived of his sight, and the blind son of Irene survived many years, oppressed by the court and forgotten by the world: the Isaurian dynasty was silently extinguished; and the memory of Constantine was recalled only by the nuptials of his daughter Euphrosyne with the emperor Michael II.

§ 12. The most bigoted orthodoxy has justly execrated the unnatural mother, who may not easily be paralleled in the history of crimes. On earth, the crime of Irene was left five years unpunished; her reign (A.D. 797–802) was crowned with external splendour; and if she could silence the voice of conscience, she neither heard nor regarded the reproaches of mankind. The Roman world bowed to the government of a female; and as she moved through the streets of Constantinople the reins of four milk-white steeds were held by as many patricians, who marched on foot before the golden chariot of their queen. But these patricians were for the most part eunuchs; and their black ingratitude justified, on this

occasion, the popular hatred and contempt. Raised, enriched, intrusted with the first dignities of the empire, they basely conspired against their benefactress; the great treasurer Nicephorus was secretly invested with the purple; her successor was introduced into the palace, and crowned at St. Sophia by the venal patriarch. The empress was banished to Lesbos, where she earned a scanty subsistence by the labours of her distaff.



Gold coin of Irene, struck during her sole reign, from the British Museum.—Bust of Irene, with EIRINH BASILISSH, both on obverse and reverse.

§ 13. Many tyrants have reigned undoubtedly more criminal than Nicephorus I. (A.D. 802–811), but none perhaps have more deeply incurred the universal abhorrence of their people. His character was stained with the three odious vices of hypocrisy, ingratitude, and avarice: his want of virtue was not redeemed by any superior talents, nor his want of talents by any pleasing qualifications. Unskilful and unfortunate in war, Nicephorus was vanquished by the Saracens and slain by the Bulgarians; and the advantage of his death overbalanced, in the public opinion, the destruction of a Roman army. His son and heir Stauracius escaped from the field with a mortal wound; yet six months of an expiring life were sufficient to refute his indecent, though popular declaration, that he would in all things avoid the example of his father (A.D. 811). He was succeeded by Michael, the husband of his sister Procopia. Had Michael I. (A.D. 811–813) in an age of peace ascended an hereditary throne, he might have reigned and died the father of his people; but his mild virtues were adapted to the shade of private life, nor was he capable of controlling the ambition of his equals, or of resisting the arms of the victorious Bulgarians. While his want of ability and success exposed him to the contempt of his soldiers, the masculine spirit of his wife Procopia awakened their indignation. Even the Greeks of the ninth century were provoked by the insolence of a female who, in the front of the standards, presumed to direct their discipline and animate their valour; and their licentious clamours advised the new Semiramis to reverence the majesty of a Roman camp. After an unsuccessful campaign the emperor left, in their winter-quarters of Thrace, a disaffected army under the command of his enemies; and their artful eloquence persuaded the soldiers to break the dominion of the eunuchs, to degrade the husband of Procopia, and to assert the right of a military election. They marched towards the capital: yet the clergy, the senate, and the people of Constantinople adhered to the cause of Michael; and the

troops and treasures of Asia might have protracted the mischiefs of civil war. But his humanity protested that not a drop of Christian blood should be shed in his quarrel, and his messengers presented the conquerors with the keys of the city and the palace. They were disarmed by his innocence and submission; his life and his eyes were spared; and the Imperial monk enjoyed the comforts of solitude and religion above 32 years after he had been stripped of the purple and separated from his wife.

§ 14. A rebel in the time of Nicephorus, the famous and unfortunate Bardanes, had once the curiosity to consult an Asiatic prophet, who after prognosticating his fall, announced the fortunes of his three principal officers, Leo the Armenian, Michael the Phrygian, and Thomas the Cappadocian, the successive reigns of the two former, the fruitless and fatal enterprise of the third. This prediction was verified, or rather was produced, by the event. Ten years afterwards, when the Thracian camp rejected the husband of Procopia, the crown was presented to the same Leo, the first in military rank and the secret author of the mutiny. As he affected to hesitate, "With this sword," said his companion Michael, "I will open the gates of Constantinople to your Imperial sway, or instantly plunge it into your bosom, if you obstinately resist the just desires of your fellow soldiers." The compliance of the Armenian was rewarded with the empire, and he reigned upwards of 7 years (A.D. 813–820) under the name of Leo V. Educated in a camp, and ignorant both of laws and letters, he introduced into his civil government the rigour and even cruelty of military discipline; but if his severity was sometimes dangerous to the innocent, it was always formidable to the guilty. His religious inconstancy was taxed by the epithet of Chameleon, but the Catholics have acknowledged, by the voice of a saint and confessors, that the life of the Iconoclast was useful to the republic. The zeal of his companion Michael was repaid with riches, honours, and military command; and his subordinate talents were beneficially employed in the public service. Yet the Phrygian was dissatisfied at receiving as a favour a scanty portion of the Imperial prize which he had bestowed on his equal; and his discontent at length assumed a more threatening and hostile aspect against a prince whom he represented as a cruel tyrant. That tyrant, however, repeatedly detected, warned, and dismissed the old companion of his arms, till fear and resentment prevailed over gratitude; and Michael, after a scrutiny into his actions and designs, was convicted of treason, and sentenced to be burnt alive in the furnace of the private baths. The devout humanity of the empress Theophano was fatal to her husband and family. A solemn day, the twenty-fifth of December, had been fixed for the execution: she urged that the anniversary of the Saviour's birth

would be profaned by this inhuman spectacle, and Leo consented with reluctance to a decent respite. The friends of Michael, clad in the ecclesiastical habit, but with swords under their robes, mingled with the procession, which was admitted into the palace by a private gate to sing matins in the chapel. Leo was encompassed on all sides by the conspirators. Without a weapon and without a friend, he grasped a weighty cross, and stood at bay against the hunters of his life; but as he asked for mercy, "This is the hour, not of mercy, but of vengeance," was the inexorable reply. The stroke of a well-aimed sword separated from his body the right arm and the cross, and Leo the Armenian was slain at the foot of the altar.

§ 15. A memorable reverse of fortune was displayed in Michael II. (A.D. 820–829), who from a defect in his speech was surnamed the Stammerer. He was snatched from the fiery furnace to the sovereignty of an empire; and as in the tumult a smith could not readily be found, the fetters remained on his legs several hours after he was seated on the throne of the Cæsars. The royal blood which had been the price of his elevation was unprofitably spent: in the purple he retained the ignoble vices of his origin; and Michael lost his provinces with as supine indifference as if they had been the inheritance of his fathers. His title was disputed by Thomas, the last of the military triumvirate, who transported into Europe fourscore thousand barbarians from the banks of the Tigris and the shores of the Caspian. He formed the siege of Constantinople; but a Bulgarian king assaulted the camp of the Orientals, and Thomas had the misfortune or the weakness to fall alive into the power of the conqueror. The hands and feet of the rebel were amputated; he was placed on an ass, and, amidst the insults of the people, was led through the streets, which he sprinkled with his blood. After the death of his first wife, the emperor, at the request of the senate, drew from her monastery Euphrosyne, the daughter of Constantine VI. Her august birth might justify a stipulation in the marriage-contract that her children should equally share the empire with their elder brother. But the nuptials of Michael and Euphrosyne were barren: and she was content with the title of mother of Theophilus, his son and successor.

§ 16. The character of Theophilus (A.D. 829–842) is a rare example in which religious zeal has allowed and perhaps magnified the virtues of an heretic and a persecutor. His valour was often felt by the enemies, and his justice by the subjects, of the monarchy; but the valour of Theophilus was rash and fruitless, and his justice arbitrary and cruel. He displayed the banner of the cross against the Saracens; but his five expeditions were concluded by a signal overthrow: Amorium, the native city of his ancestors, was levelled with the ground, and from his military toils he derived only the sur-

name of the Unfortunate. The justice of Theophilus was fashioned on the model of the Oriental despots, who, in personal and irregular acts of authority, consult the reason or passion of the moment, without measuring the sentence by the law, or the penalty by the offence. For some venial offences, some defect of equity or vigilance, the principal ministers, a præfect, a quæstor, a captain of the guards, were banished or mutilated, or scalded with boiling pitch, or burnt alive in the hippodrome; and as these dreadful examples might be the effects of error or caprice, they must have alienated from his service the best and wisest of the citizens. But the pride of the monarch was flattered in the exercise of power, or, as he thought, of virtue; and the people, safe in their obscurity, applauded the danger and debasement of their superiors.

§ 17. Theophilus intrusted his wife, Theodora, with the guardianship of the empire and her son Michael III. (A.D. 842–867), who was left an orphan in the fifth year of his age. The restoration of images, and the final extirpation of the Iconoclasts, has endeared the name of Theodora to the devotion of the Greeks. After thirteen years of a prudent and frugal administration, she perceived the decline of her influence; but the second Irene imitated only the virtues of her predecessor. Instead of conspiring against the life or government of her son, she retired without a struggle, though not without a murmur, to the solitude of private life, deploring the ingratitude, the vices, and the inevitable ruin of the worthless youth. Among the successors of Nero and Elagabalus we have not hitherto found the imitation of their vices, the character of a Roman prince who considered pleasure as the object of life, and virtue as the enemy of pleasure. Like Nero, he delighted in the amusements of the theatre, and sighed to be surpassed in the accomplishments in which he should have blushed to excel. Yet the studies of Nero in music and poetry betrayed some symptoms of a liberal taste; the more ignoble arts of the son of Theophilus were confined to the chariot-race of the hippodrome. The four factions which had agitated the peace, still amused the idleness, of the capital: for himself, the emperor assumed the blue livery: the three rival colours were distributed to his favourites, and in the vile though eager contention he forgot the dignity of his person and the safety of his dominions. But the most extraordinary feature in the character of Michael is the profane mockery of the religion of his country. A buffoon of the court was invested in the robes of the patriarch: his twelve metropolitans, among whom the emperor was ranked, assumed their ecclesiastical garments: they used or abused the sacred vessels of the altar; and in their bacchanalian feasts the holy communion was administered in a nauseous compound of vinegar and mustard. By this extravagant conduct the

son of Theophilus became as contemptible as he was odious: every citizen was impatient for the deliverance of his country; and even the favourites of the moment were apprehensive that a caprice might snatch away what a caprice had bestowed. In the 30th year of his age, and in the hour of intoxication and sleep, Michael III. was murdered in his chamber by the founder of a new dynasty, whom the emperor had raised to an equality of rank and power.

§ 18. Basil I., the Macedonian (A.D. 867–886), was a native of Adrianople, and probably a Slavonian, but he claimed descent from the Macedonian Alexander, and from the royal family of the Armenian Arsacidæ. In his infancy his family, and his city, were swept away by an inundation of the Bulgarians; he was educated a slave in a foreign land; and in this severe discipline he acquired the hardiness of body and flexibility of mind which promoted his future elevation. In the age of youth or manhood he shared the deliverance of the Roman captives, who generously broke their fetters, marched through Bulgaria to the shores of the Euxine, defeated two armies of barbarians, embarked in the ships which had been stationed for their reception, and returned to Constantinople. Basil entered the service of a cousin and namesake of the emperor Theophilus, attended his patron to the government of Peloponnesus, and formed an useful connection with a wealthy and charitable matron of Patras, who adopted him as her son. Danielis presented him with thirty slaves; and the produce of her bounty was expended in the support of his brothers, and the purchase of some large estates in Macedonia. His gratitude or ambition still attached him to the service of Theophilus; a lucky accident recommended him to the notice of the court; he soon obtained the confidence of Michael, and was at length invested with the title of Augustus and the government of the empire. He supported this unequal association till his influence was fortified by popular esteem. His life was endangered by the caprice of the emperor; and his dignity was profaned by a second colleague, who had rowed in the galleys. Yet the murder of his benefactor must be condemned as an act of ingratitude and treason; and the churches which he dedicated to the name of St. Michael were a poor and puerile expiation of his guilt.

The life or panegyric of Basil has been composed and published under the long reign of his descendants; but even their stability on the throne may be justly ascribed to the superior merit of their ancestor. In his character, his grandson Constantine has attempted to delineate a perfect image of royalty: but the most solid praise of Basil is drawn from the comparison of a ruined and flourishing monarchy, that which he wrested from the dissolute Michael, and that which he bequeathed to the Macedonian dynasty. The evils which had been sanctified by time and example were corrected by

his master-hand; and he revived, if not the national spirit, at least the order and majesty of the Roman empire. His military service had been confined to the palace; nor was the emperor endowed with the spirit or the talents of a warrior. Yet under his reign the Roman arms were again formidable to the barbarians. As soon as he had formed a new army by discipline and exercise, he appeared in person on the banks of the Euphrates, curbed the pride of the Saracens, and suppressed the dangerous though just revolt of the Manichæans. But his principal merit was in the civil administration of the finances and of the laws. The change of language and manners demanded a revision of the obsolete jurisprudence of Justinian: the voluminous body of his Institutes, Pandects, Code, and Novels was digested under 40 titles, in the Greek idiom; and the *Basilica*, which were improved and completed by his son and grandson, must be referred to the original genius of the founder of their race.

§ 19. Of the four sons of Basil, Constantine died before his father; Stephen, the youngest, was content with the honours of a patriarch and a saint; both Leo and Alexander were alike invested with the purple, but the powers of government were solely exercised by the elder brother. The name of Leo VI. (A.D. 886-911) has been dignified with the title of *philosopher*; but if we inquire the reason of his sage appellation, it can only be replied, that the son of Basil was less ignorant than the greater part of his contemporaries in church and state; that his education had been directed by the learned Photius; and that several books of profane and ecclesiastical science were composed by the pen, or in the name, of the Imperial *philosopher*. But the reputation of his philosophy and religion was overthrown by a domestic vice, the repetition of his nuptials. According to the Greek Church, after the death of either party the survivor might marry a second time; but a *third* marriage was censured as a state of legal fornication; and a *fourth* was a sin or scandal as yet unknown to the Christians of the East. In his three first alliances Leo had no children; and after the birth of a son by his concubine Zoe, the emperor declared his intention of legitimating the mother and the child by the celebration of his fourth nuptials. But the patriarch Nicholas refused his blessing: and the contumacious husband of Zoe was excluded from the communion of

Gold coin of Basil I. and his son Constantine, from the British Museum.—Obverse; busts of the two emperors, holding large cross, with BASILIOS ET CONSTANT. AVGG. Reverse: the Saviour seated with+ IHS. XRS. REX. REGNANTIVM.

the faithful. Neither the fear of exile, nor the desertion of his brethren, nor the authority of the Latin church, nor the danger of failure or doubt in the succession to the empire, could bend the spirit of the inflexible monk. After the death of Leo he was recalled from exile to the civil and ecclesiastical administration; and the edict of union which was promulgated in the name of Constantine condemned the future scandal of fourth marriages, and left a tacit imputation on his own birth.

§ 20. In the Greek language *purple* and *porphyry* are the same word. An apartment of the Byzantine palace was lined with porphyry; it was reserved for the use of the pregnant empresses; and the royal birth of their children was expressed by the appellation of *porphyrogenite*, or born in the purple. Several of the Roman princes had been blessed with an heir; but this peculiar surname was first applied to Constantine VII. (A.D. 911–959). He was only six years of age at his father's death; and the son of Leo was ever the voluntary or reluctant subject of those who oppressed his weakness or abused his confidence. His uncle Alexander, who had long been invested with the title of Augustus, was the first colleague and governor of the young prince; and after his death (A.D. 912) the succeeding years of the minority of Constantine were occupied by his mother Zoe, and a succession or council of seven regents, who pursued their interest, gratified their passions, abandoned the republic, supplanted each other, and finally vanished in the presence of a soldier. From an obscure origin Romanus Lecapenus had raised himself to the command of the naval armies; and in the anarchy of the times had deserved, or at least had obtained, the national esteem. With a victorious and affectionate fleet he sailed from the mouth of the Danube into the harbour of Constantinople, and was hailed as the deliverer of the people and the guardian of the prince. His supreme office was at first defined by the new appellation of father of the emperor; but Romanus soon disdained the subordinate powers of a minister, and assumed, with the titles of Cæsar and Augustus, the full independence of royalty, which he held near 25 years (A.D. 919–944). His three sons, Christopher, Stephen, and Constantine VIII., were successively adorned with the same honours, and the lawful emperor was degraded from the first to the fifth rank in this college of princes. Yet, in the preservation of his life and crown, he might still applaud his own fortune and the clemency of the usurper. The studious temper and retirement of Constantine disarmed the jealousy of power; and his books and music, his pen and his pencil, were a constant source of amusement. The fall of Romanus was occasioned by his own vices and those of his children. After the decease of Christopher, his eldest son, the two surviving brothers

quarrelled with each other and conspired against their father. At the hour of noon, when all strangers were regularly excluded from the palace, they entered his apartment with an armed force, and conveyed him, in the habit of a monk, to a small island in the Propontis, which was peopled by a religious community. The rumour of this domestic revolution excited a tumult in the city; but Porphyrogenitus alone, the true and lawful emperor, was the object of the public care; and the sons of Lecapenus were taught, by tardy experience, that they had achieved a guilty and perilous enterprise for the benefit of their rival. Their sister Helena, the wife of Porphyrogenitus, revealed, or supposed, their treacherous design of assassinating her husband at the royal banquet. His loyal adherents were alarmed, and the two usurpers were prevented, seized, degraded from the purple, and embarked for the same island and monastery where their father had been so lately confined. Old Romanus met them on the beach with a sarcastic smile, and, after a just reproach of their folly and ingratitude, presented his Imperial colleagues with an equal share of his water and vegetable diet. In the 40th year of his reign Constantine VII. obtained the possession of the Eastern world, which he ruled, or seemed to rule, near 15 years. He neglected the practice, to instruct his son Romanus in the theory, of government; and, while he indulged the habits of intemperance and sloth, he dropped the reins of the administration into the hands of Helena his wife.

§ 21. The death of Constantine was imputed to poison; and his son Romanus II. (A.D. 959–963), who derived that name from his maternal grandfather, ascended the throne of Constantinople. A prince who, at the age of 20, could be suspected of anticipating his inheritance, must have been already lost in the public esteem; yet Romanus was rather weak than wicked; and the largest share of the guilt was transferred to his wife, Theophano, a woman of base origin, masculine spirit, and flagitious manners. The sense of personal glory and public happiness, the true pleasures of royalty, were unknown to the son of Constantine; and, while the two brothers, Nicephorus and Leo, triumphed over the Saracens, the hours which the emperor owed to his people were consumed in the circus and the chase. After a reign of four years Theophano mingled for her husband the same deadly draught which she had composed for his father.

After the death of her husband, the empress aspired to reign in the name of her two sons, Basil II. and Constantine IX., the elder of whom was five, and the younger only two years of age; but she soon felt the instability of a throne which was supported by a female who could not be esteemed, and two infants who could not be feared. Theophano looked around for a protector, and threw

herself into the arms of the bravest soldier; but the deformity of the new favourite rendered it more than probable that interest was the motive and excuse of her love. Nicephorus Phocas united, in the popular opinion, the double merit of an hero and a saint. In the former character his qualifications were genuine and splendid. His religion was of a more ambiguous cast; and his hair-cloth, his fasts, his pious idiom, and his wish to retire from the business of the world, were a convenient mask for his dark and dangerous ambition. Yet he imposed on an holy patriarch, by whose influence and by a decree of the senate, he was intrusted, during the minority of the young princes, with the absolute and independent command of the Oriental armies. As soon as he had secured the leaders and the troops he boldly marched to Constantinople, trampled on his enemies, avowed his correspondence with the empress, and, without degrading her sons, assumed, with the title of Augustus, the pre-eminence of rank and the plenitude of power. The popularity of the emperor was lost in the purple; in a reign of six years (A.D. 963–969) he provoked the hatred of strangers and subjects, and the hypocrisy and avarice of the first Nicephorus were revived in his successor. But the revenue was strictly applied to the service of the state: each spring the emperor marched in person against the Saracens; and every Roman might compute the employment of his taxes in triumphs, conquests, and the security of the Eastern barrier.

§ 22. Among the warriors who promoted his elevation and served under his standard, a noble and valiant Armenian had deserved and obtained the most eminent rewards. The stature of John Zimisces was below the ordinary standard;* but this diminutive body was endowed with strength, beauty, and the soul of an hero. By the jealousy of the emperor's brother he was degraded from the office of general of the East to that of director of the posts, and his murmurs were chastised with disgrace and exile. But Zimisces was ranked among the numerous lovers of the empress: on her intercession he was permitted to reside at Chalcedon, in the neighbourhood of the capital; and Theophano consented with alacrity to the death of an ugly and penurious husband. Nicephorus was murdered in the palace; and as soon as his head was shown from the window, the tumult was hushed, and the Armenian was emperor of the East (A.D. 969–976). On the day of his coronation he was stopped on the threshold of St. Sophia by the intrepid patriarch, who charged his conscience with the deed of treason and blood, and required, as a sign of repentance, that he should separate himself from his more criminnl associate. This sally of apostolic zeal was not offensive to the prince, since he could neither love nor trust a woman who had

* Zimisces is an Armenian word, and was given to John on account of his short stature.

repeatedly violated the most sacred obligations; and Theophano, instead of sharing his Imperial fortune, was dismissed with ignominy from his bed and palace. The public indignation was appeased by her exile and the punishment of the meaner accomplices: the death of an unpopular prince was forgiven; and the guilt of Zimisces was forgotten in the splendour of his virtues. The greatest part of his reign was employed in the camp and the field: his personal valour and activity were signalised on the Danube and the Tigris, the ancient boundaries of the Roman world; and by his double triumph over the Russians and the Saracens he deserved the titles of saviour of the empire and conqueror of the East. In his last return from Syria he observed that the most fruitful lands of his new provinces were possessed by the eunuchs. "And is it for them," he exclaimed, with honest indignation, "that we have fought and conquered? Is it for them that we shed our blood and exhaust the treasures of our people?" The complaint was re-echoed to the palace, and the death of Zimisces is strongly marked with the suspicion of poison.

Gold coin of John I. Zimisces, from the British Museum.—Obverse: + ΘΕΟΤΟΚ. ΒΟΗΘ. ΙΩ. ΔΕΣ. (θεοτόκε βοήθει Ἰωάννῃ δεσπότῃ). Busts of the Virgin Mary and the emperor facing: the Virgin raises her hand to the emperor's head: above her is the inscription M Θ. (μήτηρ Θεοῦ). The emperor holds a long cross, and above him is the hand of Providence. Reverse; + IHS. XPS. REX. RRGNANTIVM. Figure of the Saviour.

§ 23. Under the usurpation, or regency, of Nicephorus and John Zimisces, the two lawful emperors, Basil II. and Constantine IX., had silently grown to the age of manhood. Their want of experience detained them twelve years longer the obscure and voluntary pupils of a minister who extended his reign by persuading them to indulge the pleasures of youth and to disdain the labours of government. In this silken web the weakness of Constantine was for ever entangled; but his elder brother felt the impulse of genius and the desire of action; he frowned, and the minister was no more. After he had confirmed his own authority, the trophies of Nicephorus and Zimisces would not suffer their royal pupil to sleep in the palace. His long and frequent expeditions against the Saracens were rather glorious than useful to the empire; but the final destruction of the kingdom of Bulgaria appears, since the time of Belisarius, the most important triumph of the Roman arms. Yet, instead of applauding their victorious prince, his subjects detested the rapacious and rigid avarice of Basil; and, in the imperfect narrative of his exploits, we can only discern the courage, patience, and ferociousness of a soldier. A vicious education, which could not subdue his spirit, had clouded his mind; he was ignorant of every science; and the remembrance

of his learned and feeble grandsire might encourage his real or affected contempt of laws and lawyers, of artists and arts. Of such a character, in such an age, superstition took a firm and lasting possession; after the first license of his youth, Basil II. devoted his life, in the palace and the camp, to the penance of a hermit, wore the monastic habit under his robes and armour, observed a vow of continence, and imposed on his appetites a perpetual abstinence from wine and flesh. In the 68th year of his age his martial spirit urged him to embark in person for a holy war against the Saracens of Sicily; he was prevented by death and Basil, surnamed the Slayer of the Bulgarians, was dismissed from the world with the blessings of the clergy and the curses of the people (A.D. 1025). After his decease, his brother Constantine enjoyed about 3 years the power or rather the pleasures of royalty; and his only care was the settlement of the succession. He had enjoyed 66 years the title of Augustus; and the reign of the two brothers is the longest and most obscure of the Byzantine history (A.D. 1028).

Basil II. From a Psalter at Paris. (D'Agincourt, tav. 47).

§ 24. A lineal succession of 5 emperors in a period of 160 years, had attached the loyalty of the Greeks to the Macedonian dynasty, which had been thrice respected by the usurpers of their power. After the death of Constantine IX., the last male of the royal race, a new and broken scene presents itself, and the accumulated years of 12 emperors do not equal the space of his single reign. His elder brother left no children, and Constantine himself had only three daughters—Eudocia, who took the veil, and Zoe and Theodora. Theodora preferred a life of celibacy, but Zoe, who was already 48 years of age, was married to Romanus III. Argyrus, who ascended the throne upon the decease of Constantine (A.D. 1028–1034). The empress formed a criminal attachment to a handsome Paphlagonian of the name of Michael: she soon justified the Roman maxim that every adultress is capable of poisoning her husband; and the death

of Romanus was instantly followed by the scandalous marriage and elevation of Michael IV. (A.D.1034–1041). The expectations of Zoe were, however, disappointed: the health and reason of Michael were impaired by epileptic fits, and his conscience was tormented by despair and remorse. While he groaned and prayed in sackcloth and ashes, his brother, the eunuch John, smiled at his remorse, and enjoyed the harvest of a crime of which himself was the secret and most guilty author. His administration was only the art of satiating his avarice, and Zoe became a captive in the palace of her fathers and in the hands of her slaves. When he perceived the irretrievable decline of his brother's health he introduced his nephew, another Michael, who derived his surname of Calaphates from his father's occupation in the careening of vessels: at the command of the eunuch, Zoe adopted for her son the son of a mechanic; and this fictitious heir was invested with the title and purple of the Cæsars in the presence of the senate and clergy. So feeble was the character of Zoe, that she was oppressed by the liberty and power which she recovered by the death of the Paphlagonian; and at the end of four days she placed the crown on the head of Michael V. (A.D. 1041–1042), who had protested with tears and oaths that he should ever reign the first and most obedient of her subjects. The only act of his short reign was his base ingratitude to his benefactors, the eunuch and the empress. The disgrace of the former was pleasing to the public; but the murmurs, and at length the clamours, of Constantinople deplored the exile of Zoe, the daughter of so many emperors; her vices were forgotten, and Michael was taught that there is a period in which the patience of the tamest slaves rises into fury and revenge. The citizens of every degree assembled in a formidable tumult which lasted three days; they besieged the palace, forced the gates, recalled their *mothers*, Zoe from her prison, Theodora from her monastery, and condemned the son of Calaphates to the loss of his eyes or of his life. For the first time the Greeks beheld with surprise the two royal sisters seated on the same throne, presiding in the senate, and giving audience to the ambassadors of the nations. But this singular union subsisted no more than two months; the two sovereigns, their tempers, interests, and adherents, were strictly hostile to each other; and as Theodora was still averse to marriage, Zoe at the age of 60 married a third husband. His name and number were Constantine X., surnamed *Monomachus* (A.D. 1042–1054). His health was broken by the tortures of the gout, and his dissolute reign was spent in the alternative of sickness and pleasure. He survived Zoe; but the last measures of Constantine to change the order of succession were prevented by the more vigilant friends of Theodora; and after his decease she resumed, with the general consent, the possession of her

inheritance. In her name, and by the influence of four eunuchs, the Eastern world was peaceably governed about 19 months (A.D. 1054–1056); and as they wished to prolong their dominion, they persuaded the aged princess to nominate for her successor Michael VI. (A.D. 1056–1057). The surname of *Stratioticus* declares his military profession; but the crazy and decrepit veteran could only see with the eyes, and execute with the hands, of his ministers. Whilst he ascended the throne, Theodora sunk into the grave—the last of the Macedonian or Basilian dynasty. I have hastily reviewed and gladly dismiss this shameful and destructive period of 28 years, in which the Greeks, degraded below the common level of servitude, were transferred, like a herd of cattle, by the choice or caprice of two impotent females.

§ 25. From this night of slavery a ray of freedom, or at least of spirit, begins to emerge: the Greeks either preserved or revived the use of surnames, which perpetuate the fame of hereditary virtue; and we now discern the rise, succession, and alliances of the last dynasties of Constantinople and Trebizond. The *Comneni*, who upheld for a while the fate of the sinking empire, assumed the honour of a Roman origin; but the family had been long since transported from Italy to Asia. The first of their line was the illustrious Manuel, who in the reign of the second Basil, contributed by war and treaty to appease the troubles of the East. He left in a tender age two sons, Isaac and John, whom with the consciousness of desert, he bequeathed to the gratitude and favour of his sovereign. The noble youths were carefully trained in the learning of the monastery, the arts of the palace, and the exercises of the camp; and from the domestic service of the guards, they were rapidly promoted to the command of provinces and armies. The soldiers had served with reluctant loyalty a series of effeminate masters; the elevation of Michael VI. was a personal insult to the more deserving generals; and their discontent was inflamed by the parsimony of the emperor and the insolence of the eunuchs. They secretly assembled in the sanctuary of St. Sophia, decided to elevate Isaac Comnenus to the empire, and separated without delay to meet in the plains of Phrygia at the head of their respective squadrons and detachments. The cause of Michael was defended in a single battle by the mercenaries of the Imperial guard, after whose defeat Michael was degraded to the condition of a monk, and Isaac Comnenus was universally acknowledged as emperor (A.D. 1057–1059). But the failure of his health induced him to resign the crown, after wearing it only two years (A. D. 1059). His brother John either refused the purple or his claims were set aside by Isaac (for authorities differ), and Constantine Ducas, a friend of the Comnenian house, was declared emperor. In the monastic habit Isaac recovered his health, and survived two years in voluntary abdication.

§ 26. Constantine XI. (A.D. 1059–1067) was anxious to secure, at the expense of the republic, the power and prosperity of his children. His three sons, Michael VII., Andronicus I., and Constantine XII., were invested in a tender age with the equal title of Augustus; and the succession was speedily opened by their father's death. His widow, Eudocia, was intrusted with the administration; but before the end of seven months, she chose as her second husband Romanus IV. Diogenes, who filled the Imperial station with dignity and honour (A.D. 1067–1071). Hereafter I shall relate his valiant but unsuccessful efforts to resist the progress of the Turks. His defeat and captivity inflicted a deadly wound on the Byzantine monarchy of the East; and after he was released from the chains of the sultan, he vainly sought his wife and his subjects. His wife had been thrust into a monastery, and the subjects of Romanus had embraced the rigid maxim of the civil law, that a prisoner in the hands of the enemy is deprived, as by the stroke of death, of all the public and private rights of a citizen. In the general consternation the Cæsar John asserted the indefeasible right of his three nephews. Constantinople listened to his voice; and the Turkish captive was proclaimed in the capital, and received on the frontier, as an enemy of the republic. Romanus was not more fortunate in domestic than in foreign wars: the loss of two battles compelled him to yield, on the assurance of fair and honourable treatment; but his enemies were devoid of faith or humanity; and after the cruel extinction of his sight, his wounds were left to bleed and corrupt, till in a few days he was relieved from a state of misery. Under the triple reign of the house of Ducas (A.D. 1071–1078), the two younger brothers were reduced to the vain honours of the purple; but the eldest, the pusillanimous Michael, was incapable of sustaining the Roman sceptre; and his surname of *Parapinaces* denotes the reproach which he shared with an avaricious favourite, who enhanced the price and diminished the measure of wheat. Strong in the contempt of their sovereign and their own esteem, two generals, at the head of the European and Asiatic legions, assumed the purple at Adrianople and Nice. They bore the same name of Nicephorus, but the two candidates were distinguished by the surnames of Bryennius and Botaniates. The latter was successful: the feeble Michael resigned the ensigns of royalty, and was rewarded with the monastic habit and the title of Archbishop of Ephesus.

§ 27. John Comnenus, the brother of the emperor Isaac, left eight children, of whom Isaac and Alexius restored the Imperial greatness of their house. The mother of the Comneni, with her aspiring race, was accused of treason, and banished by the sons of Ducas to an island in the Propontis. The two brothers soon emerged into favour and action, fought by each other's side against the rebels

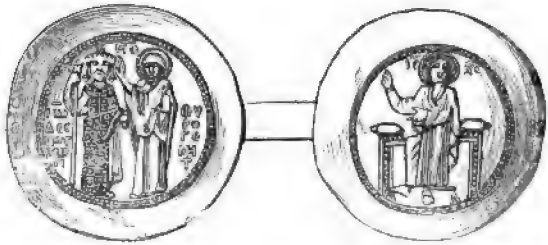
and barbarians, and adhered to the emperor Michael till he was deserted by the world and by himself. They were also intrusted by Nicephorus Botaniates with important commands; but they soon incurred the suspicion of the emperor; and, fearing for their lives, they sallied from the city, and erected the standard of civil war. The soldiers who had been gradually assembled in the capital and the neighbourhood were devoted to the cause of a victorious and injured leader; and the generous dispute of the Comneni was terminated by the decisive resolution of Isaac, who was the first to invest his younger brother with the name and ensigns of royalty. They returned to Constantinople, to threaten rather than besiege that impregnable fortress; but the fidelity of the guards was corrupted; Alexius ascended the throne, and his aged competitor disappeared in a monastery.

§ 28. The life of the emperor Alexius I. (A.D. 1081–1118) has been delineated by a favourite daughter, who was inspired by a tender regard for his person and a laudable zeal to perpetuate his virtues. Conscious of the just suspicion of her readers, the princess Anna Comnena repeatedly protests that truth, the naked perfect truth, was more dear and sacred than the memory of her parent. Yet, instead of the simplicity of style and narrative which wins our belief, an elaborate affectation of rhetoric and science betrays in every page the vanity of a female author. The genuine character of Alexius is lost in a vague constellation of virtues; and the perpetual strain of panegyric and apology awakens our jealousy to question the veracity of the historian and the merit of the hero. We cannot, however, refuse her judicious and important remark, that the disorders of the times were the misfortune and the glory of Alexius; and that every calamity which can afflict a declining empire was accumulated on his reign by the justice of Heaven and the vices of his predecessors. In the East, the victorious Turks had spread, from Persia to the Hellespont, the reign of the Koran and the Crescent: the West was invaded by the adventurous valour of the Normans; and, in the moments of peace, the Danube poured forth new swarms, who had gained in the science of war what they had lost in the ferociousness of manners. The sea was not less hostile than the land; and while the frontiers were assaulted by an open enemy, the palace was distracted with secret treason and conspiracy. On a sudden the banner of the Cross was displayed by the Latins; Europe was precipitated on Asia; and Constantinople had almost been swept away by this impetuous deluge. In the tempest Alexius steered the Imperial vessel with dexterity and courage. At the head of his armies he was bold in action, skilful in stratagem, patient of fatigue, ready to improve his advantages, and rising from his defeats with inexhaustible vigour. The disci-

pline of the camp was revived, and a new generation of men and soldiers was created by the example and the precepts of their leader. In his intercourse with the Latins, Alexius was patient and artful: his discerning eye pervaded the new system of an unknown world; and I shall hereafter describe the superior policy with which he balanced the interests and passions of the champions of the first crusade. In a long reign of 37 years he subdued and pardoned the envy of his equals: the laws of public and private order were restored: the arts of science and wealth were cultivated: the limits of the empire were enlarged in Europe and Asia; and the Comnenian sceptre was transmitted to his children of the third and fourth generation.

§ 29. It was the wish of the empress Irene to supplant the eldest of her surviving sons in favour of her daughter the princess Anna, whose philosophy would not have refused the weight of a diadem. But the order of male succession was asserted by the friends of their country, and John II. was acknowledged as emperor (A.D. 1118–1143). In the same person the claims of primogeniture and merit were fortunately united; his swarthy complexion, harsh features, and diminutive stature had suggested the ironical surname of Calo-Joannes, or John the Handsome, which his grateful subjects more seriously applied to the beauties of his mind. Anna Comnena was stimulated by ambition and revenge to conspire against the life of her brother; but her life was spared, and the reproach or complaint of an injured brother was the only chastisement of the guilty princess. After this example of clemency, the remainder of his reign was never disturbed by conspiracy or rebellion: feared by his nobles, beloved by his people, John was never reduced to the painful necessity of punishing, or even of pardoning, his personal enemies. The only defect of this accomplished character was the frailty of noble minds—the love of arms and military glory. Yet the frequent expeditions of John the Handsome may be justified, at least in their principle, by the necessity of repelling the Turks from the Hellespont and the Bosporus. The sultan of Iconium was confined to his capital, the barbarians were driven to the mountains, and the maritime provinces of Asia enjoyed the transient blessings of their deliverance. From Constantinople to Antioch and Aleppo he repeatedly marched at the head of a victorious army; and in the sieges and battles of this holy war his Latin allies were astonished by the superior spirit and prowess of a Greek. As he began to indulge the ambitious hope of restoring the ancient limits of the empire, the thread of his life and of the public felicity was broken by a singular accident. He hunted the wild boar in the valley of Anazarbus, and had fixed his javelin in the body of the furious animal, but in the struggle a poisoned arrow

dropped from his quiver, and a slight wound in his hand, which produced a mortification, was fatal to the best and greatest of the Comnenian princes.



Gold coin of John II. (Calo-Joannes), from the British Museum.—Obverse: Iω ΔΕCΠΟΤ Τω ΠΦVΡΟΓΕΝΗΤ. (Ἰωάννῃ δεσπότῃ τῷ πορφυρογεννήτῳ). Figures of Emperor and Virgin standing; the Virgin raises her hand to the Emperor's head; the Emperor holds the labarum: above them M. Θ. (μήτηρ Θεοῦ).—Reverse: IC XC, the Saviour seated.

§ 30. John the Handsome was succeeded by Manuel I. (A.D. 1143–1181), the youngest of his two surviving sons. He emulated the spirit and shared the talents of his father, whose social virtues were buried in the grave. A reign of 37 years is filled by a perpetual though various warfare against the Turks, the Christians, and the hordes of the wilderness beyond the Danube. The arms of Manuel were exercised on Mount Taurus, in the plains of Hungary, on the coast of Italy and Egypt, and on the seas of Sicily and Greece: the influence of his negotiations extended from Jerusalem to Rome and Russia; and the Byzantine monarchy for a while became an object of respect or terror to the powers of Asia and Europe. Educated in the silk and purple of the East, Manuel possessed the iron temper of a soldier, which can not easily be paralleled, except in the lives of Richard I. of England and of Charles XII. of Sweden. Such was his strength and exercise in arms that Raymond, surnamed the Hercules of Antioch, was incapable of wielding the lance and buckler of the Greek emperor. In one day he is said to have slain above 40 of the barbarians with his own hand; he returned to the camp, dragging along four Turkish prisoners, whom he had tied to the rings of his saddle: he was ever the foremost to provoke or to accept a single combat; and the *gigantic* champions who encountered his arm were transpierced by the lance or cut asunder by the sword of the invincible Manuel. With the valour of a soldier he did not unite the skill or prudence of a general: his victories were not productive of any permanent or useful conquest; and his Turkish laurels were blasted in his last unfortunate campaign, in which he lost his army in the mountains of Pisidia, and owed his deliverance to the generosity of

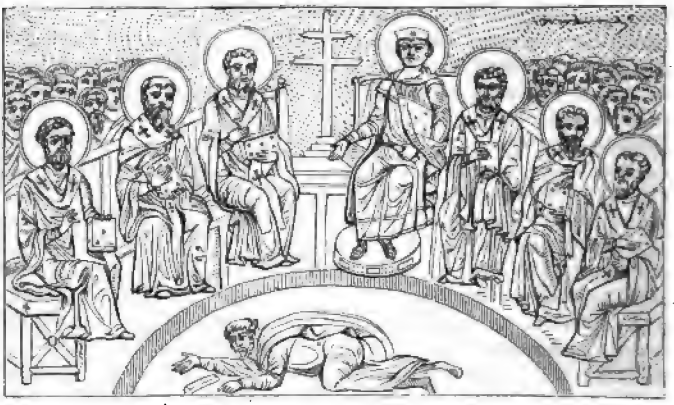
the sultan. But the most singular feature in the character of Manuel is the contrast and vicissitude of labour and sloth, of hardiness and effeminacy. In war he seemed ignorant of peace, in peace he appeared incapable of war. In the field he slept in the sun or in the snow, tired in the longest marches the strength of his men and horses, and shared with a smile the abstinence or diet of the camp. No sooner did he return to Constantinople than he resigned himself to the arts and pleasures of a life of luxury: the expense of his dress, his table, and his palace surpassed the measure of his predecessors, and whole summer days were idly wasted in the delicious isles of the Propontis. By his second wife, Maria of Antioch, he left a son, named Alexius, who at the age of 10 years ascended the Byzantine throne, after his father's death had closed the glories of the Comnenian line.

§ 31. The throne of Alexius II. (A.D. 1181–1183) was soon subverted by Andronicus, younger son of Isaac, and grandson of Alexius Comnenus, one of the most conspicuous characters of the age, whose genuine adventures might form the subject of a very singular romance. During the long reign of Manuel he was exposed to the secret suspicion or open hostility of the emperor; he passed more than 12 years in prison; and was frequently obliged to fly for his life, at one time to the duke of Russia, and at other times to the Mahometan courts. The death of Manuel and the disorders of the minority at length opened the fairest field to his ambition. The emperor was a boy, without vigour, or wisdom, or experience: his mother, the empress Mary, abandoned her person and government to a favourite of the Comnenian name; and his sister, another Mary, whose husband, an Italian, was decorated with the title of Cæsar, excited a conspiracy, and at length an insurrection, against her odious stepmother. The provinces were forgotten, the capital was in flames, and a century of peace and order was overthrown in the vice and weakness of a few months. The general voice called aloud for Andronicus, who entered Constantinople without opposition. In the first months of his administration his designs were veiled by a fair semblance of hypocrisy, and the coronation of Alexius was performed with due solemnity. But the numerous adherents of Andronicus were instructed to maintain that the sinking empire must perish in the hands of a child; and the young emperor was himself constrained to solicit the association of a colleague, who instantly degraded him from the supreme rank. His mother Maria was put to death on the charge of a treasonable correspondence with the king of Hungary; and her son was shortly afterwards strangled with a bowstring.

The government of Andronicus (A.D. 1183–1185) exhibited a singular contrast of vice and virtue. When he listened to his passions,

he was the scourge; when he consulted his reason, the father of his people. His memory was stored with a black list of the enemies and rivals who had traduced his merit, opposed his greatness, or insulted his misfortunes; and the only comfort of his exile was the sacred hope and promise of revenge. The necessary extinction of the young emperor and his mother imposed the fatal obligation of extirpating the friends who hated, and might punish, the assassin; and the repetition of murder rendered him less willing and less able to forgive. The noblest of the Greeks, more especially those who, by descent or alliance, might dispute the Comnenian inheritance, escaped from the monster's den: Nice or Prusa, Sicily or Cyprus, were their places of refuge; and as their flight was already criminal, they aggravated their offence by an open revolt and the Imperial title. Yet Andronicus resisted the daggers and swords of his most formidable enemies: Nice and Prusa were reduced and chastised: the Sicilians were content with the sack of Thessalonica; and the distance of Cyprus was not more propitious to the rebel than to the tyrant. His throne was subverted by a rival without merit, and a people without arms. Isaac Angelus, a descendant in the female line from the great Alexius, was marked as a victim by the prudence or superstition of the emperor. The people espoused his cause, and Isaac, the second of the name, was raised from the sanctuary to the throne. The tyrant, deserted by every one, attempted to fly, but was overtaken, and abandoned by the new sovereign to the numerous sufferers whom he had deprived of a father, a husband, or a friend. After a thousand blows and outrages, Andronicus was hung by the feet between two pillars; and every hand that could reach the public enemy inflicted on his body some mark of ingenious or brutal cruelty, till two friendly or furious Italians, plunging their swords into his body, released him from all human punishment (A.D. 1185).

With the death of Andronicus I shall here terminate the series of the Greek emperors since the time of Heraclius. The branches that sprang from the Comnenian trunk had insensibly withered, and the male line was continued only in the posterity of Andronicus himself, who, in the public confusion, usurped the sovereignty of Trebizond, so obscure in history, and so famous in romance. A private citizen of Philadelphia, Constantine Angelus, had emerged to wealth and honours by his marriage with the daughter of the emperor Alexius. His son Andronicus is conspicuous only by his cowardice. His grandson Isaac II. (A.D. 1185–1195) punished and succeeded the tyrant; but he was dethroned by his own vices and the ambition of his brother; and their discord introduced the Latins to the conquest of Constantinople, the first great period in the fall of the Eastern empire (A.D. 1204).



Second Council of Nice, A.D. 787, held in the presence of the emperor Constantine VI., son of Leo. III. and Irene. See p. 436. From a MS. in the Vatican. (D'Agincourt, tav. 32.)*

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE ICONOCLASTS: REVOLT OF ITALY AND ROME: THE FRANKS: CHARLEMAGNE AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

§ 1. The worship of images. § 2. Persecution of images and the monks by Leo. III. and Constantine V. § 3. Revolt of Italy: Republic of Rome. § 4. Rome attacked by the Lombards. § 5. Her deliverance by Pepin: Conquest of Lombardy by Charlemagne. § 6. Mutual obligations of the popes and the Carlovingian family. § 7. Restoration of images in the East. § 8. Final separation of the popes from the eastern empire: Coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor of Rome and the West. § 9. Reign and character of Charlemagne. § 10. Extent of his empire. § 11. Successors of Charlemagne. § 12. Otho restores the western empire. § 13. Authority of the emperors in the election of the popes: Reformation and claims of the church by Gregory. § 14. Authority of the emperors in Rome: Revolt of Alberic and of the Consul Crescentius. § 15. The Italian republics: Frederic I. and Frederic II. § 16. Independence of the princes of Germany: the Germanic Constitution. § 17. German Architecture.

§ 1. Among the objects of ecclesiastical history by which the decline and fall of the Roman empire were materially affected, we may

* The emperor is represented sitting on a raised seat near the altar, with a stool under his feet. The patriarch of Constantinople, with the bishops and followers of the Council, are seated around. The figure on the ground in front represents an Iconoclast, whose heresy was condemned by the Council.

justly rank the worship of images, so fiercely disputed in the eighth and ninth centuries; since a question of popular superstition produced the revolt of Italy, the temporal power of the popes, and the restoration of the Roman empire in the West.

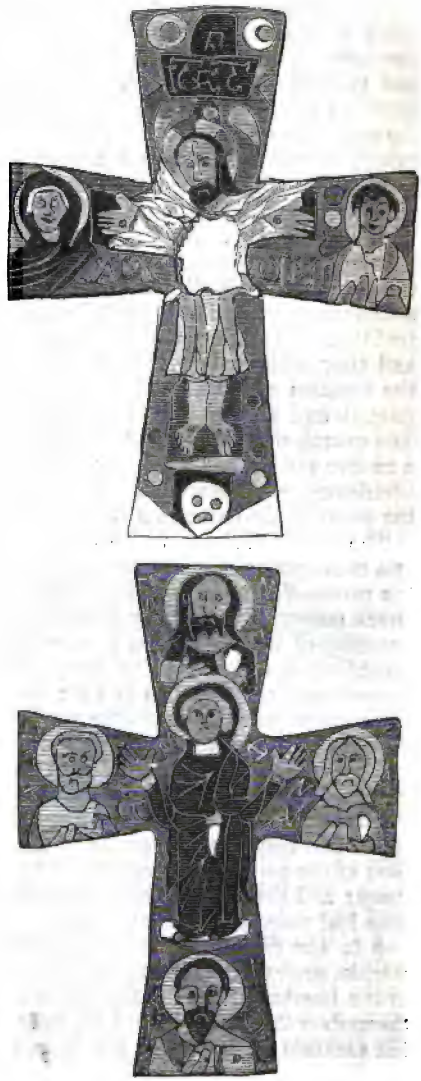
The worship of images had stolen into the church by insensible degrees, and each petty step was pleasing to the superstitious mind, as productive of comfort and innocent of sin. But in the beginning of the eighth century, in the full magnitude of the abuse, the more timorous Greeks were awakened by an apprehension that, under the mask of Christianity, they had restored the religion of their fathers: they heard, with grief and impatience, the name of idolaters—the incessant charge of the Jews and Mahometans, who derived from the Law and the Koran an immortal hatred to graven images and all relative worship. As the worship of images had never been established by any general or positive law, its progress in the Eastern empire had been retarded, or accelerated, by the differences of men and manners, the local degrees of refinement, and the personal characters of the bishops. The splendid devotion was fondly cherished by the levity of the capital and the inventive genius of the Byzantine clergy; while the rude and remote districts of Asia were strangers to this innovation of sacred luxury. Many large congregations of Gnostics and Arians maintained, after their conversion, the simple worship which had preceded their separation; and the Armenians, the most warlike subjects of Rome, were not reconciled, in the twelfth century, to the sight of images. These various denominations of men afforded a fund of prejudice and aversion, of small account in the villages of Anatolia or Thrace, but which, in the fortune of a soldier, a prelate, or an eunuch, might be often connected with the powers of the church and state.

§ 2. Of such adventurers the most fortunate was the emperor Leo III., who, from the mountains of Isauria, ascended the throne of the East. He was ignorant of sacred and profane letters; but his education, his reason, perhaps his intercourse with the Jews and Arabs, had inspired the martial peasant with an hatred of images; and it was held to be the duty of a prince to impose on his subjects the dictates of his own conscience. By his edicts the existence as well as the use of religious pictures were proscribed; the churches of Constantinople and the provinces were cleansed from idolatry; the images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints were demolished, or a smooth surface of plaster was spread over the walls of the edifice. The sect of the Iconoclasts was supported by the zeal and despotism of six emperors, and the East and West were involved in a noisy conflict of 120 years. It was the design of Leo the Isaurian to pronounce the condemnation of images as an article of faith, and by the authority of a general council: but the convocation of such

an assembly was reserved for his son Constantine. It met in the suburbs of Constantinople, and was composed of the respectable number of 338 bishops of Europe and Anatolia; for the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria were the slaves of the caliph, and the Roman pontiff had withdrawn the churches of Italy and the West from the communion of the Greeks. This Byzantine synod, which assumed the rank and powers of the seventh general council (A.D. 754), pronounced and subscribed an unanimous decree, that all visible symbols of Christ, except in the Eucharist, were either blasphemous or heretical; that image-worship was a corruption of Christianity and a renewal of Paganism; that all such monuments of idolatry should be broken or erased; and that those who should refuse to deliver the objects of their private superstition were guilty of disobedience to the authority of the church and of the emperor. The execution of the edicts of Leo and of the decrees of the Council of Constantinople was resisted by frequent tumults in Constantinople and the provinces: the person of Leo was endangered, his officers were massacred, and the popular enthusiasm was quelled by the strongest efforts of the civil and military power. The son of Leo, in the first year of his reign, had undertaken an expedition against the Saracens: during his absence the capital, the palace, and the purple were occupied by his kinsman, Artavasdes, the ambitious champion of the orthodox faith. Constantine flew for refuge to his paternal mountains; but he descended at the head of the bold and affectionate Isaurians; and his final victory confounded the arms and predictions of the fanatics. His long reign was distracted with clamour, sedition, conspiracy, and mutual hatred and sanguinary revenge. In every act of open and clandestine treason the emperor felt the unforgiving enmity of the monks, the faithful slaves of the superstition to which they owed their riches and influence. From the chastisement of individuals he proceeded to the abolition of the order; the public and private worship of images was rigorously proscribed; and it should seem that a solemn abjuration of idolatry was exacted from the subjects, or at least from the clergy, of the Eastern empire.

§ 3. The patient East abjured with reluctance her sacred images; they were fondly cherished, and vigorously defended, by the independent zeal of the Italians. The first assault of Leo against the images of Constantinople had been witnessed by a crowd of strangers from Italy and the West, who related with grief and indignation the sacrilege of the emperor. But on the reception of Leo's proscriptive edict they trembled for their domestic deities; and a strong alternative was proposed to the Roman pontiff, the royal favour as the price of his compliance, degradation and exile as the penalty of his disobedience. Neither zeal nor policy allowed him to hesitate;

and the haughty strain in which Gregory addressed the Emperor displays his confidence in the truth of his doctrine or the powers of resistance (A.D. 728). Without depending on prayers or miracles,



The Byzantine pectoral cross figured in the annexed woodcut consists of two cruciform plates of gold, enamelled and set in silver gilt, united by a hinge, thus forming a box or reliquary. The setting appears more recent than the enamel, and is omitted in the woodcut. On one of the sides Christ is represented on the cross, his head encircled with a cruciform nimbus, his beard black, his feet nailed separately to the under tablet that supports them. Over his head is placed his monogram: the presence of the Father is indicated by the letter Π (initial of Πατήρ). At the foot of the cross is, according to Greek custom, the skull of Adam (in whose tomb the cross was fixed at Golgotha). In the right branch is placed the bust of the Virgin: in the left that of St. John, with the Saviour's address, "Behold thy son, &c.," inscribed. On the other side is a full-length figure of the Virgin: above, St. John the Baptist; below, St. Paul; St. Peter and St. Andrew on the right and left. The fillets of this enamel are about one-ninth of an inch in width, and are slightly attached by their edges to the back of the plate. The form of the letters, the character of the figures, and the style of the piece denote Byzantine workmanship, some antiquaries say of the tenth, others of the twelfth century. — (From Labarte, *Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages*, p. xxiii.)

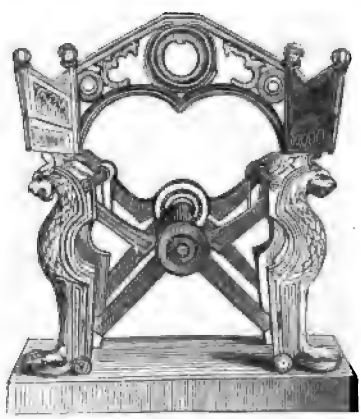
he boldly armed against the public enemy, and his pastoral letters admonished the Italians of their danger and their duty. The Italians swore to live and die in the defence of the pope and the holy images. At Constantinople the Roman bishops, the second and third Gregory, were condemned as the authors of the revolt, and every attempt was made, either by fraud or force, to seize their persons and to strike at their lives. The city was repeatedly visited or assaulted by captains of the guards, and dukes and exarchs of high dignity or secret trust; they landed with foreign troops, they obtained some domestic aid; but these clandestine or open attacks were repelled by the courage and vigilance of the Romans. The Greeks also made an attempt upon Ravenna, but they were defeated with immense loss. Amidst the triumph of the Catholic arms, the Roman pontiff convened a synod of 93 bishops against the heresy of the Iconoclasts. With their consent, he pronounced a general excommunication against all who by word or deed should attack the tradition of the fathers and the images of the saints; but no sooner had they confirmed their own safety, the worship of images, and the freedom of Rome and Italy, than the popes appear to have relaxed, and to have spared the relics of the Byzantine dominion. The exarch was permitted to reside within the walls of Ravenna, a captive rather than a master; and till the Imperial coronation of Charlemagne, the government of Rome and Italy was exercised in the name of the successors of Constantine.

The liberty of Rome, which had been oppressed by the arms and arts of Augustus, was rescued, after 750 years of servitude, from the persecution of Leo the Isaurian. When the sovereignty of the Greek emperors was extinguished, the inhabitants of Rome, by the necessity of their situation, were cast into the rough model of a republican government; they were compelled to elect some judges in peace and some leaders in war; the style of the Roman senate and people was revived, but the spirit was fled; and their new independence was disgraced by the tumultuous conflict of licentiousness and oppression. The want of laws could only be supplied by the influence of religion, and their foreign and domestic counsels were moderated by the authority of the bishop, whom the Romans considered as the first magistrate or prince of the city. The temporal dominion of the popes is now confirmed by the reverence of a thousand years; and their noblest title is the free choice of a people whom they had redeemed from slavery.

§ 4. The disorders of Italy, the nakedness of Rome, and the unwarlike profession of her new chief, were an irresistible temptation to the Lombards. On the first edicts of the emperor, they declared themselves the champions of the holy images: Liutprand invaded the province of Romagna, which had already assumed that dis-

tinctive appellation; the Catholics of the Exarchate yielded without reluctance to his civil and military power; and a foreign enemy was introduced for the first time into the impregnable fortress of Ravenna. That city and fortress were speedily recovered by the active diligence and maritime forces of the Venetians; and those faithful subjects obeyed the exhortation of Gregory himself, in separating the personal guilt of Leo from the general cause of the Roman empire. The Greeks were less mindful of the service than the Lombards of the injury: the two nations, hostile in their faith, were reconciled in a dangerous and unnatural alliance: the king and the exarch marched to the conquest of Spoleto and Rome; the storm evaporated without effect, but the policy of Liutprand alarmed Italy with a vexatious alternative of hostility and truce. His successor Astolphus declared himself the equal enemy of the emperor and the pope: Ravenna was subdued by force or treachery, and this final conquest extinguished the series of the exarchs, who had reigned with a subordinate power since the time of Justinian and the ruin of the Gothic kingdom. Rome was summoned to acknowledge the victorious Lombard as her lawful sovereign. The Romans hesitated; they entreated; they complained; and the threatening barbarians were checked by arms and negotiations, till the popes had engaged the friendship of an ally and avenger beyond the Alps.

§ 5. The successors of Clovis had degenerated from the valour and abilities of their great ancestor; and Dagobert, the son of Clotaire II. (A.D. 628-638), was the last of the Merovingian princes who really deserved the name of king. The power of the kingdom devolved upon the mayors of the palace, who made the office hereditary. Pepin Heristal, mayor and duke of Austrasia, had been succeeded by his son Charles Martel, who, by his signal victory over the Saracens, had saved his country, and perhaps, Europe, from the Mahometan yoke. In his distress the third Gregory had implored the aid of this hero. The ambassadors of the pope were received by Charles with decent reverence; but the greatness of his occupations, and the shortness of his life, prevented his inter-



Chair or Throne of Dagobert.

ference in the affairs of Italy, except by a friendly and ineffectual mediation. His son Pepin, the heir of his power and virtues, assumed the office of champion of the Roman church. At the entreaties of Stephen, the Roman pontiff, Pepin crossed the Alps at the head of a French army. The Lombards, after a weak resistance, obtained an ignominious peace, and swore to restore the possessions, and to respect the sanctity, of the Roman church. But no sooner was Astolphus delivered from the presence of the French arms, than he forgot his promise and resented his disgrace. Pepin again crossed the Alps and his second expedition was not less rapid and fortunate than the first; Rome was again saved, and Astolphus was taught the lessons of justice and sincerity by the scourge of a foreign master. After this double chastisement, the Lombards languished about 20 years in a state of languor and decay. But their minds were not yet humbled to their condition; and instead of affecting the pacific virtues of the feeble, they peevishly harassed the Romans with a repetition of claims, evasions, and inroads, which they undertook without reflection and determined without glory. On either side, their expiring monarchy was pressed by the zeal and prudence of Pope Adrian I., the genius, the fortune, and greatness of Charlemagne the son of Pepin. The passes of the Alps and the walls of Pavia were the only defence of the Lombards; the former were surprised, the latter were invested, by Charlemagne; and after a blockade of 15 months, Desiderius, the last of their native princes, surrendered his sceptre and his capital (A.D. 774). Under the dominion of a foreign king, but in the possession of their national laws, the Lombards became the brethren, rather than the subjects, of the Franks; who derived their blood, and manners, and language from the same Germanic origin.

§ 6. The mutual obligations of the popes and the Carlovingian family form the important link of ancient and modern, of civil and ecclesiastical history. The popes conferred upon the Carlovingian race the dignities of king of France and of patrician of Rome. I. Under the sacerdotal monarchy of St. Peter the nations began to resume the practice of seeking, on the banks of the Tiber, their kings, their laws, and the oracles of their fate. The Franks were perplexed between the name and substance of their government. All the powers of royalty were exercised by Pepin, mayor of the palace; and nothing, except the regal title, was wanting to his ambition. The name and image of royalty was still preserved in the last descendant of Clovis, the feeble Childeric. The mayor and the nobles were bound, by an oath of fidelity, to the royal phantom; and their common ambassadors addressed the Roman pontiff to dispel their scruples or to absolve their promise. The interest of Pope Zachary, the successor of the two Gregories, prompted him to

decide, and to decide in their favour: he pronounced that the nation might lawfully unite, in the same person, the title and authority of king; and that the unfortunate Childeric, a victim of the public safety, should be degraded, shaved, and confined in a monastery for the remainder of his days. The Merovingian race disappeared from the earth; and Pepin was exalted on a buckler by the suffrage of a free people, accustomed to obey his laws and to march under his standard. II. After the recovery of Italy and Africa by the arms of Justinian, the importance and danger of those remote provinces required the presence of a supreme magistrate; he was indifferently styled the exarch or the patrician; and these governors of Ravenna extended their jurisdiction over the Roman city. After the loss of the Exarchate the Roman senate and people successively invested Charles Martel and his posterity with the honours of patrician of Rome. In the time of Charles Martel and of Pepin, the interposition of the Lombard kingdom covered the freedom, while it threatened the safety, of Rome; and the *patriciate* represented only the title, the service, the alliance, of these distant protectors. The power and policy of Charlemagne annihilated an enemy and imposed a master. In the 26 years that elapsed between the conquest of Lombardy and his Imperial coronation, Rome, which had been delivered by the sword, was subject, as his own, to the sceptre of Charlemagne. The people swore allegiance to his person and family: in his name money was coined and justice was administered; and the election of the popes was examined and confirmed by his authority. Except an original and self-inherent claim of sovereignty, there was not any prerogative remaining which the title of emperor could add to the patrician of Rome.

The gratitude of the Carlovingians was adequate to these obligations, and their names are consecrated as the saviours and benefactors of the Roman church. Her ancient patrimony of farms and houses was transformed by their bounty into the temporal dominion of cities and provinces; and the donation of the Exarchate was the first-fruits of the conquests of Pepin. The ample measure of the Exarchate might comprise all the provinces of Italy which had obeyed the emperor and his vicegerent; but its strict and proper limits were included in the territories of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara: its inseparable dependency was the Pentapolis, which stretched along the Adriatic from Rimini to Ancona, and advanced into the midland country as far as the ridges of the Apennines. The Greek emperor had abdicated or forfeited his right to the Exarchate; and the sword of Astolphus was broken by the stronger sword of the Carlovingian. It was not in the cause of the Iconoclast that Pepin had exposed his person and army in a double expedition beyond the Alps: he possessed, and might lawfully alienate his conquests: and to the im-

portunities of the Greeks he piously replied that no human consideration should tempt him to resume the gift which he had conferred on the Roman pontiff for the remission of his sins and the salvation of his soul. The splendid donation was granted in supreme and absolute dominion, and the world beheld for the first time a Christian bishop invested with the prerogatives of a temporal prince—the choice of magistrates, the exercise of justice, the imposition of taxes, and the wealth of the palace of Ravenna. In the dissolution of the Lombard kingdom the inhabitants of the duchy of Spoleto sought a refuge from the storm, declared themselves the servants and subjects of St. Peter, and completed by this voluntary surrender the present circle of the ecclesiastical state.*

§ 7. While the popes established in Italy their freedom and dominion, the images, the first cause of their revolt, were restored in the Eastern empire. Leo IV. maintained with less rigour the religion of his father and grandfather; but his wife, the fair and ambitious Irene, had imbibed the zeal of the Athenians, the heirs of the idolatry, rather than the philosophy, of their ancestors. After the death of her husband, when she reigned in her own name and that of her son, Irene more seriously undertook the ruin of the Iconoclasts; a general council was assembled at Nice (A.D. 787), and it was unanimously declared that the worship of images is agreeable to Scripture and reason, to the fathers and councils of the church. During the five succeeding reigns, a period of 38 years, the contest was maintained with unabated rage and various success between the worshippers and the breakers of the images; and the final victory of the images was achieved by a second female, Theodora, the widow of Theophilus, whom he left the guardian of the empire (A.D. 842). In the West Pope Adrian I. accepted and announced the decrees of the Nicene assembly, which is now revered by the Catholics as the seventh in rank of the general councils.

§ 8. It was after the Nicene synod, and under the reign of the pious Irene, that the popes consummated the separation of Rome and Italy, by the translation of the empire to Charlemagne. They were compelled to choose between the rival nations: religion was not the sole motive of their choice; the difference of language and manners had perpetuated the enmity of the two capitals; and they were alienated from each other by the hostile opposition of 70 years. In that schism the Romans had tasted of freedom, and the popes of sovereignty: their submission would have exposed them to the revenge of a jealous tyrant; and the revolution of Italy had betrayed the impotence, as well as the tyranny,

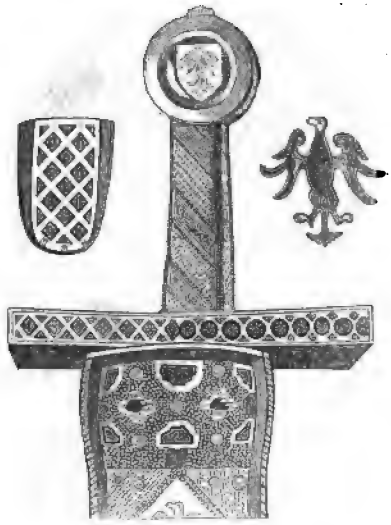
* The celebrated donation of Constantine, by which this emperor resigned to the popes the free and perpetual sovereignty of Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the West, is now admitted to have been a forgery.

of the Byzantine court. Would prudence or gratitude allow the pontiffs to renounce their benefactor? Had they a right to alienate his gift of the Exarchate? Had they power to abolish his government of Rome. The title of patrician was below the merit and greatness of Charlemagne; and it was only by reviving the Western empire that they could pay their obligations or secure their establishment. By this decisive measure they would finally eradicate the claims of the Greeks: from the debasement of a provincial town, the majesty of Rome would be restored; the Latin Christians would be united, under a supreme head, in their ancient metropolis; and the conquerors of the West would receive their crown from the successors of St. Peter. In the last year of the eighth century Charlemagne paid his fourth and last visit to Rome. On the festival of Christmas he appeared in the church of St. Peter; and, to gratify the vanity of Rome, he had exchanged the simple dress of his country for the habit of a patrician. After the celebration of the holy mysteries, the Roman pontiff, Leo III., suddenly placed a precious crown on his head, and the dome resounded with the acclamations of the people, "Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God the great and pacific emperor of the Romans!" The head and body of Charlemagne were consecrated by the royal unction: after the example of the Cæsars, he was saluted or adored by the pontiff; his coronation oath represents a promise to maintain the faith and privileges of the church; and the first-fruits were paid in his rich offerings to the shrine of the apostle.

Crown of Charlemagne. Imperial Treasury, Vienna.

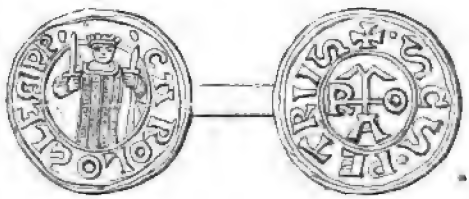
§ 9. The appellation of *great* has been often bestowed, and sometimes deserved, but CHARLEMAGNE (A.D. 768–814) is the only prince in whose favour the title has been indissolubly blended with the name. But without injustice to his fame, I may discern some blemishes in the sanctity and greatness of the restorer of the Western empire. Of his moral virtues, chastity and mercy are not the most conspicuous; and the sons of his brother Carloman, the Merovingian princes of Aquitain, and the 4500 Saxons who were beheaded on the same spot, would have something to allege against the justice and humanity of Charlemagne. The sedentary reader is amazed by his

incessant activity of mind and body; and his subjects and enemies were not less astonished at his sudden presence at the moment when they believed him at the most distant extremity of the empire; neither peace nor war, nor summer nor winter, were a season of repose; and our fancy cannot easily reconcile the annals of his reign with the geography of his expeditions. His military renown must be tried by the scrutiny of his troops, his enemies, and his actions. Alexander conquered with the arms of Philip, but the *two* heroes who preceded Charlemagne bequeathed him their name, their examples, and the companions of their victories. At the head of his veteran and superior armies he oppressed the savage or degenerate nations, who were incapable of confederating for their common safety; nor did he ever encounter an equal antagonist in numbers, in discipline, or in arms. His campaigns are not illustrated by any siege or battle of singular difficulty and success; and he might behold with envy the Saracen trophies of his grandfather. The union and stability of his empire depended on the life of a single man: he imitated the dangerous practice of dividing his kingdoms among his sons; and, after his numerous diets, the whole constitution was left to fluctuate between the disorders of anarchy and despotism. His esteem for the piety and knowledge of the clergy tempted him to intrust that aspiring order with temporal dominion and civil jurisdiction; and his son Lewis, when he was stripped and degraded by the bishops, might accuse, in some measure, the imprudence of his father. His literary merits are attested by the foundation of schools, the introduction of arts, and the works which were published in his name; and the encouragement of learning reflects the purest and most pleasing lustre on Charlemagne. His own studies were tardy, laborious, and imperfect; if he spoke Latin, and understood Greek, he derived the rudiments of knowledge from conversation,



Sword of Charlemagne. Imperial Treasury, Vienna.

rather than from books; and, in his mature age, the emperor strove to acquire the practice of writing, which every peasant now learns in his infancy. The dignity of his person, the length of his reign, the prosperity of his arms, the vigour of his government, and the reverence of distant nations, distinguish him from the royal crowd; and Europe dates a new æra from his restoration of the Western empire.



Denier of Charlemagne. (From Fioravanti's Antiquiores Pontificum Romanorum Denarii, p. 19.) Obverse: figure of emperor, CAROLO R LEO PP (Carolo Regi Leo Papa). Reverse: SCS PETRVS (Sanctus Petrus); Roma in monogram.

§ 10. That empire was not unworthy of its title, and some of the fairest kingdoms of Europe were the patrimony or conquest of a prince who reigned at the same time in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Hungary. I. The Roman province of Gaul had been transformed into the name and monarchy of FRANCE: but, in the decay of the Merovingian line, its limits were contracted by the independence of the *Britons* and the revolt of *Aquitain*. Charlemagne pursued and confined the Britons on the shores of the ocean; and the rebellion of the dukes of Aquitain was punished by the forfeiture of their province, their liberty, and their lives. By the reunion of Aquitain, France was enlarged to its present boundaries, with the additions of the Netherlands and Spain, as far as the Rhine. II. The Saracens had been expelled from France by the grandfather and father of Charlemagne; but they still possessed the greatest part of SPAIN, from the rock of Gibraltar to the Pyrenees. Amidst their civil divisions, an Arabian emir of Saragossa implored his protection. Charlemagne undertook the expedition, restored the emir, and, without distinction of faith, impartially crushed the resistance of the Christians, and rewarded the obedience and service of the Mahometans. In his absence he instituted the *Spanish march*, which extended from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro: Barcelona was the residence of the French governor; he possessed the counties of *Rousillon* and *Catalonia*, and the infant kingdoms of *Navarre* and *Arragon* were subject to his jurisdiction. III. As king of the Lombards and patrician of Rome he reigned over the greatest part of ITALY, a tract of a thousand miles from the Alps to the borders of Calabria. The duchy of *Beneventum*, a Lombard fief, had spread,

at the expense of the Greeks, over the modern kingdom of Naples. But Arrechis, the reigning duke, was only nominally subject to Charlemagne; and Beneventum insensibly escaped from the French yoke. IV. Charlemagne was the first who united GERMANY under the same sceptre. The name of *Oriental France* is preserved in the circle of Franconia; and the people of *Hesse* and *Thuringia* were recently incorporated with the victors by the conformity of religion and government. The *Alemanni*, so formidable to the Romans, were the faithful vassals and confederates of the Franks, and their country was inscribed within the modern limits of *Alsace*, *Swabia*, and *Switzerland*. The *Bavarians*, with a similar indulgence of their laws and manners, were less patient of a master: the repeated treasons of Tasillo justified the abolition of their hereditary dukes, and their power was shared among the counts who judged and guarded that important frontier. But the north of Germany, from the Rhine and beyond the Elbe, was still hostile and pagan; nor was it till after a war of 33 years that the Saxons bowed under the yoke of Christ and of Charlemagne. Beyond the Elbe, the *Slavi*, or Slavonians, of similar manners and various denominations, overspread the modern dominions of Prussia, Poland, and Bohemia. The conquest or conversion of these countries is of a more recent age, but the first union of *Bohemia* with the Germanic body may be justly ascribed to the arms of Charlemagne. V. He retaliated on the Avars, or Huns of Pannonia, the same calamities which they had inflicted on the nations. After a bloody conflict of eight years, the relics of the nation submitted: the royal residence of the chagan was left desolate and unknown: and the treasures, the rapine of 250 years, enriched the victorious troops, or decorated the churches, of Italy and Gaul. After the reduction of Pannonia, the empire of Charlemagne was bounded only by the conflux of the Danube with the Theiss and the Save: the provinces of Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia were an easy though unprofitable accession; and it was an effect of his moderation that he left the maritime cities under the real or nominal sovereignty of the Greeks.

If we trace the outlines of this geographical picture, it will be seen that the empire of the Franks extended, between east and west, from the Ebro to the Elbe or Vistula; between the north and south, from the duchy of Beneventum to the river Eyder, the perpetual boundary of Germany and Denmark. The personal and political importance of Charlemagne was magnified by the distress and division of the rest of Europe. The islands of Great Britain and Ireland were disputed by a crowd of princes of Saxon or Scottish origin; and, after the loss of Spain, the Christian and Gothic kingdom of Alphonso the Chaste was confined to the narrow range of the Asturian mountains. These petty sovereigns revered the power

or virtue of the Carlovingian monarch, implored the honour and support of his alliance, and styled him their common parent, the sole and supreme emperor of the West. He maintained a more equal intercourse with the caliph Harun al Rashid, whose dominion stretched from Africa to India, and accepted from his ambassadors a tent, a water-clock, an elephant, and the keys of the Holy Sepulchre. Two-thirds of the Western empire of Rome were subject to Charlemagne, and the deficiency was amply supplied by his command of the inaccessible or invincible nations of Germany.

§ 11. Had the pope and the Romans revived the primitive constitution, the titles of emperor and Augustus were conferred on Charlemagne for the term of his life; and his successors, on each vacancy, must have ascended the throne by a formal or tacit election. But the association of his son Lewis the Pious (A.D. 814–840) asserts the independent right of monarchy and conquest, and the emperor seems on this occasion to have foreseen and prevented the latent claims of the clergy. The royal youth was commanded to take the crown from the altar, and with his own hands to place it on his head, as a gift which he held from God, his father, and the nation. The same ceremony was repeated, though with less energy, in the subsequent associations of Lothaire and Lewis the Second: the Carlovingian sceptre was transmitted from father to son in a lineal descent of four generations; and the ambition of the popes was reduced to the empty honour of crowning and anointing these hereditary princes, who were already invested with their power and dominions. The pious Lewis survived his brothers, and embraced the whole empire of Charlemagne; but the nations and the nobles, his bishops and his children, quickly discerned that this mighty mass was no longer inspired by the same soul; and the foundations were undermined to the centre, while the external surface was yet fair and entire. After a war, or battle, which consumed 100,000 Franks, the empire was divided by treaty between the three sons of Lewis, who had violated every filial and fraternal duty. The kingdoms of Germany and France were for ever separated; the provinces of Gaul, between the Rhone and the Alps, the Meuse and the Rhine, were assigned, with Italy, to the Imperial dignity of Lothaire I. (A.D. 840–856). In the partition of his share, Lorraine and Arles, two recent and transitory kingdoms, were bestowed on the younger children; and Lewis II., his eldest son (A.D. 856–870), was content with the realm of Italy, the proper and sufficient patrimony of a Roman emperor. On his death, without any male issue, the vacant throne was disputed by his uncles and cousins, and the popes most dexterously seized the occasion of judging the claims and merits of the candidates, and of bestowing on the most obsequious, or most liberal, the Imperial office of advocate of the

Roman church. The dregs of the Carlovingian race no longer exhibited any symptoms of virtue or power, and the ridiculous epithets of the *bald*, the *stammerer*, the *fat*, the *simple*, distinguished the tame and uniform features of a crowd of kings alike deserving of oblivion. By the failure of the collateral branches the whole inheritance devolved to Charles the Fat, the last emperor of his family: his insanity authorised the desertion of Germany, Italy, and France: he was deposed in a diet (A.D. 888), and solicited his daily bread from the rebels by whose contempt his life and liberty had been spared. According to the measure of their force, the governors, the bishops, and the lords usurped the fragments of the falling empire; and some preference was shown to the female or illegitimate blood of Charlemagne. Those who could appear with an army at the gates of Rome were crowned emperors in the Vatican; but their modesty was more frequently satisfied with the appellation of kings of Italy: and the whole term of 74 years may be deemed a vacancy, from the abdication of Charles the Fat to the establishment of Otho I. (A.D. 962).

§ 12. Otho was of the noble race of the dukes of Saxony. His father, Henry the Fowler, was elected, by the suffrage of the nation, to save and institute the kingdom of Germany. Its limits were enlarged on every side by his son, the first and greatest of the Othos. A portion of Gaul, to the west of the Rhine, along the banks of the Meuse and the Moselle, was assigned to the Germans, by whose blood and language it has been tinged since the time of Cæsar and Tacitus. Between the Rhine, the Rhone and the Alps, the successors of Otho acquired a vain supremacy over the broken kingdoms of Burgundy and Arles. In the North, Christianity was propagated by the sword of Otho, the conqueror and apostle of the Slavic nations of the Elbe and Oder; the marches of Brandenburg and Sleswick were fortified with German colonies; and the king of Denmark, the dukes of Poland and Bohemia, confessed themselves his tributary vassals. At the head of a victorious army he passed the Alps, subdued the kingdom of Italy, delivered the pope, and for ever fixed the Imperial crown in the name and nation of Germany. From that memorable æra two maxims of public jurisprudence were introduced by force and ratified by time. I. *That* the prince who was elected in the German diet, acquired from that

Seal of Otho I., appended to a document of the year 956. The inscription is Otto Imp. (erator) Aug. (ustus.)—(Kugler's Atlas, tav. 47.)

instant the subject kingdoms of Italy and Rome. II. But that he might not legally assume the titles of emperor and Augustus till he had received the crown from the hands of the Roman pontiff.

§ 13. The German emperors, in the election of the popes, continued to exercise the powers which had been assumed by the Gothic and Grecian princes. In the Christian aristocracy the principal members of the clergy still formed a senate to assist the administration, and to supply the vacancy, of the bishop. Rome was divided into 28 parishes, and each parish was governed by a cardinal-priest, or presbyter—a title which, however common and modest in its origin, has aspired to emulate the purple of kings. Their number was enlarged by the association of the seven deacons of the most considerable hospitals, the seven palatine judges of the Lateran, and some dignitaries of the church. This ecclesiastical senate was directed by the seven cardinal-bishops of the Roman province, who were less occupied in the suburb dioceses of Ostia, Porto, Velitræ, Tusculum, Præneste, Tibur, and the Sabines, than by their weekly service in the Lateran, and their superior share in the honours and authority of the apostolic see. On the death of the pope these bishops recommended a successor to the suffrage of the college of cardinals, and their choice was ratified or rejected by the applause or clamour of the Roman people. But the election was imperfect; nor could the pontiff be legally consecrated till the emperor, the advocate of the church, had graciously signified his approbation and consent. In the frequent schisms the rival claims were submitted to the sentence of the emperor; and in a synod of bishops he presumed to judge, to condemn, and to punish the crimes of a guilty pontiff. Otho I. imposed a treaty on the senate and people, who engaged to prefer the candidate most acceptable to his majesty: his successors anticipated or prevented their choice: they bestowed the Roman benefice, like the bishoprics of Cologne or Bamberg, on their chancellors or preceptors; and whatever might be the merit of a Frank or Saxon, his name sufficiently attests the interposition of foreign power. These acts of prerogative were most speciously excused by the vices of a popular election. The competitor who had been excluded by the cardinals appealed to the passions or avarice of the multitude; the Vatican and the Lateran were stained with blood; and the most powerful senators, the marquises of Tuscany and the counts of Tusculum, held the apostolic see in a long and disgraceful servitude. The Roman pontiffs of the ninth and tenth centuries were insulted, murdered, and imprisoned by their tyrants; and such was their indigence, after the loss and usurpation of the ecclesiastical patrimonies, that they could neither support the state of a prince, nor exercise the charity of a priest. After a long series of scandal the apostolic see was reformed and exalted by the

austerity and zeal of Gregory VII. (A.D. 1073). That ambitious monk devoted his life to the execution of two projects. I. To fix in the college of cardinals the freedom and independence of election, and for ever to abolish the right or usurpation of the emperors and the Roman people. II. To bestow and resume the Western empire as a fief or benefice of the church, and to extend his temporal dominion over the kings and kingdoms of the earth. After a contest of 50 years the first of these designs was accomplished by the firm support of the ecclesiastical order, whose liberty was connected with that of their chief. But the second attempt, though it was crowned with some partial and apparent success, has been vigorously resisted by the secular power, and finally extinguished by the improvement of human reason.

§. 14 During the disorders of Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries, the supremacy of the emperors of Rome was crushed and annihilated. Content with the titles of emperor and Augustus, the successors of Charlemagne neglected to assert their jurisdiction in the city. In the hour of prosperity their ambition was diverted by more alluring objects; and in the decay and division of the empire they were oppressed by the defence of their hereditary provinces. Amidst the ruins of Italy, Alberic, a son of Marozia, a prostitute, whose influence was founded upon her beauty and wealth, possessed above 20 years the government of Rome, with the title of prince (A.D. 932); and he is said to have gratified the popular prejudice by restoring the office, or at least the title, of consuls and tribunes. In the minority of Otho III., Rome made a bold attempt to shake off the Saxon yoke, and the consul Crescentius was the Brutus of the republic (A.D. 998). From the condition of a subject and an exile he twice rose to the command of the city, oppressed, expelled, and created the popes, and formed a conspiracy for restoring the authority of the Greek emperors. In the fortress of St. Angelo he maintained an obstinate siege, till the unfortunate consul was betrayed by a promise of safety: his body was suspended on a gibbet, and his head was exposed on the battlements of the castle. By a reverse of fortune, Otho, after separating his troops, was besieged three days, without food, in his palace, and a disgraceful escape saved him from the justice or fury of the Romans. The senator Ptolemy was the leader of the people, and the widow of Crescentius enjoyed the pleasure or the fame of revenging her husband by a poison which she administered to her Imperial lover. It was the design of Otho III. to abandon the ruder countries of the North, to erect his throne in Italy, and to revive the institutions of the Roman monarchy. But his successors only once in their lives appeared on the banks of the Tiber to receive their crown in the Vatican. Their absence was contemptible, their presence odious and formid-

able. They descended from the Alps at the head of their barbarians, who were strangers and enemies to the country; and their transient visit was a scene of tumult and bloodshed. A faint remembrance of their ancestors still tormented the Romans; and they beheld with pious indignation the succession of Saxons, Franks, Swabians, and Bohemians, who usurped the purple and prerogatives of the Cæsars.

§ 15. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Lombards rekindled the flame of industry and freedom, and the generous example was at length imitated by the republics of Tuscany. In the Italian cities a municipal government had never been totally abolished; and their first privileges were granted by the favour and policy of the emperors, who were desirous of erecting a plebeian barrier against the independence of the nobles. The legislative authority was inherent in the general assembly; but the executive powers were intrusted to three consuls, annually chosen from the three orders of *captains*, *valvassors*, and commons, into which the republic was divided. Under the protection of equal law the labours of agriculture and commerce were gradually revived; but the martial spirit of the Lombards was nourished by the presence of danger; and as often as the bell was rung or the standard erected, the gates of the city poured forth a numerous and intrepid band, whose zeal in their own cause was soon guided by the use and discipline of arms. At the foot of these popular ramparts the pride of the Cæsars was overthrown; and the invincible genius of liberty prevailed over the two Frederics, the greatest princes of the middle age: the first, superior perhaps in military prowess; the second, who undoubtedly excelled in the softer accomplishments of peace and learning. Ambitious of restoring the splendour of the purple, Frederic I. (A.D. 1152–1190) invaded the republics of Lombardy with the arts of a statesman, the valour of a soldier, and the cruelty of a tyrant. The recent discovery of the Pandects had renewed a science most favourable to despotism; and his venal advocates proclaimed the emperor the absolute master of the lives and properties of his subjects. The obstinate cities were reduced by the terror or the force of his arms; and after the siege and surrender of Milan the buildings of that stately capital were razed to the ground. But Milan soon rose from her ashes; and the league of Lombardy was cemented by distress: their cause was espoused by Venice, Pope Alexander III., and the Greek emperor: the fabric of oppression was overturned in a day; and in the treaty of Constance, Frederic subscribed, with some reservations, the freedom of 24 cities. His grandson contended with their vigour and maturity; but Frederic II. (A.D. 1198–1250) was endowed with some personal andpeculiar advantages. His birth and education

recommended him to the Italians; and in the implacable discord of the two factions the Ghibelins were attached to the emperor, while the Guelfs displayed the banner of liberty and the church. The court of Rome had slumbered when his father Henry VI. was permitted to unite with the empire the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and from these hereditary realms the son derived an ample and ready supply of troops and treasure. Yet Frederic II. was finally oppressed by the arms of the Lombards and the thunders of the Vatican: his kingdom was given to a stranger, and the last of his family was beheaded at Naples on a public scaffold. During 60 years no emperor appeared in Italy, and the name was remembered only by the ignominious sale of the last relics of sovereignty.

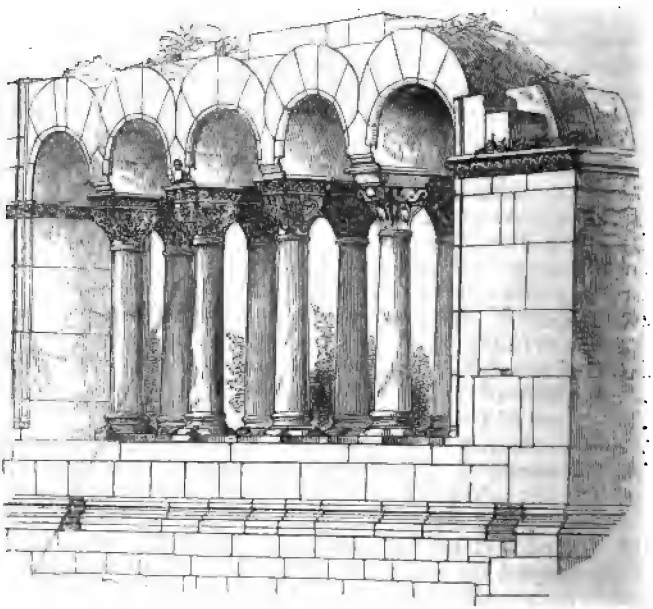
Seal of Frederic II. The inscription is "Fridericus Dei gra(tia) Romano (rum) Rex semp(er) Augustus;" and within, "Et rex Siciliae."—(Kugler's Atlas, tav. 47.)

§ 16. The barbarian conquerors of the West were pleased to decorate their chief with the title of emperor; but it was not their design to invest him with the despotism of Constantine and Justinian. The persons of the Germans were free, their conquests were their own, and their national character was animated by a spirit which survived the servile jurisprudence of the new or the ancient Rome. It would have been a vain and dangerous attempt to impose a monarch on the armed freemen, who were impatient of a magistrate; on the bold, who refused to obey; on the powerful, who aspired to command. The empire of Charlemagne and Otho was distributed among the dukes of the nations or provinces, the counts of the smaller districts, and the margraves of the marches or frontiers, who all united the civil and military authority as it had been delegated to the lieutenants of the first Cæsars. The Roman governors, who for the most part were soldiers of fortune, seduced their mercenary legions, assumed the Imperial purple, and either failed or succeeded in their revolt, without wounding the power and unity of government. If the dukes, margraves, and counts of Germany were less audacious in their claims, the consequences of their success were more lasting and pernicious to the state. Instead of aiming at the supreme rank, they silently laboured to establish and appropriate their provincial independence. Their ambition was seconded by the weight of their estates and vassals, their mutual example and support, the common interest of the subordinate nobility, the change of princes and families, the minorities of Otho the Third and Henry the Fourth, the ambition of the popes, and the vain pursuit of the

fugitive crowns of Italy and Rome. All the attributes of regal and territorial jurisdiction were gradually usurped by the commanders of the provinces; the right of peace and war, of life and death, of coinage and taxation, of foreign alliance and domestic economy. Whatever had been seized by violence was ratified by favour or distress, was granted as the price of a doubtful vote or a voluntary service; whatever had been granted to one could not without injury be denied to his successor or equal; and every act of local or temporary possession was insensibly moulded into the constitution of the Germanic kingdom. In every province the visible presence of the duke or count was interposed between the throne and the nobles; the subjects of the law became the vassals of a private chief; and the standard which *he* received from his sovereign was often raised against him in the field. After the death of Frederic II., Germany was left a monster with a hundred heads. A crowd of princes and prelates disputed the ruins of the empire: the lords of innumerable castles were less prone to obey than to imitate their superiors; and, according to the measure of their strength, their incessant hostilities received the names of conquest or robbery. Such anarchy was the inevitable consequence of the laws and manners of Europe; and the kingdoms of France and Italy were shivered into fragments by the violence of the same tempest. But the Italian cities and the French vassals were divided and destroyed, while the union of the Germans produced, under the name of an empire, a great system of a federative republic. In the frequent and at last the perpetual institution of diets, a national spirit was kept alive, and the powers of a common legislature were exercised down to the French Revolution, by the three branches or colleges of the electors, the princes, and the free and Imperial cities of Germany. I. Seven of the most powerful feudatories were permitted to assume, with a distinguished name and rank, the exclusive privilege of choosing the Roman emperor; and these electors were the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Bradenburg, the count palatine of the Rhine, and the three archbishops of Mentz, of Trèves, and of Cologne. II. The college of princes and prelates purged themselves of a promiscuous multitude: they reduced to four representative votes the long series of independent counts, and excluded the nobles or equestrian order, 60,000 of whom, as in the Polish diets, had appeared on horseback in the field of election. III. The pride of birth and dominion, of the sword and the mitre, wisely adopted the commons as the third branch of the legislature, and, in the progress of society, they were introduced about the same æra into the national assemblies of France, England, and Germany. The Hanseatic League commanded the trade and navigation of the North: the confederates of the Rhine secured the peace and inter-

course of the inland country; the influence of the cities was adequate to their wealth and policy, and their negative invalidated the acts of the two superior colleges of electors and princes.

§ 17. The history of German architecture demands a few words. Charlemagne erected several noble buildings, the remains of which exist to the present day, and which retain more or less the characteristics of the Romanesque style; but in the troubles which followed his death the arts were neglected, and it was not till the reign of Otho I. that architecture again began to be cultivated in Germany. For the next two centuries the progress of the art was steady; and during this time the Germans possessed a national architecture, of which the chief characteristic is the round Gothic style. The capitals of the columns are very beautiful, and may bear comparison with anything of the kind produced in the middle ages. Their general appearance is shown in the remains of the palace of Frederic Barbarossa at Gelnhausen.* The churches are characterized by the multiplication of small circular or octagonal towers, combined with



Arcade of the Palace at Gelnhausen.

* Fergusson, Handbook of Architecture, p. 587.

polygonal domes at the intersections of the transepts with the nave, and the extended use of galleries under the eaves of the roofs both of the apses and of the straight sides.* These peculiarities are exemplified in the annexed drawing of the apse of the Apostles' Church at Cologne. Before the death of Frederic II. the Germans began to adopt the pointed French style, which soon supplanted the round Gothic, and of which the most magnificent example is the cathedral of Cologne.

Apse of Apostles' Church at Cologne.

* Fergusson, p. 563.

The Mosque el Aksah at Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XXVII.

MAHOMET AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

§ 1. Birth and education of Mahomet. § 2. Qualifications of the prophet. § 3. Islam: one God and Mahomet the Apostle of God. § 4. The Koran. § 5. Nocturnal journey of Mahomet to heaven. § 6. The four religious duties of Islam; rewards and punishments. § 7. Mahomet preaches at Mecca. § 8. Is opposed by the Koreish, and driven from Mecca. § 9. Received as Prince of Medina: he declares war against the infidels. § 10. His defensive wars against the Koreish of Mecca. § 11. Mahomet subdues the Jews of Arabia. § 12. Submission of Mecca: Conquest of Arabia.

§ 13. First war of the Mahometans against the Roman empire. § 14. Death of Mahomet. § 15. Private life of Mahomet: his wives and children. § 16. Character of Ali. § 17. Reigns of Abubeker, Omar, and Othman. § 18. Discord of the Turks and Persians. § 19. Reign of Ali. § 20. Reign of Moawiyah: posterity of Mahomet and Ali.

§ 1. After pursuing above 600 years the fleeting Cæsars of Constantinople and Germany, I now descend, in the reign of Heraclius, on the eastern borders of the Greek monarchy. While the state was exhausted by the Persian war, and the church was distracted by the Nestorian and Monophysite sects, Mahomet, with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, erected his throne on the ruins of Christianity and of Rome. The genius of the Arabian prophet, and the spirit of his religion, involve the causes of the decline and fall of the Eastern empire; and our eyes are curiously intent on one of the most memorable revolutions which have impressed a new and lasting character on the nations of the globe.

Mahomet sprung from the tribe of Koreish and the family of Hashem, the most illustrious of the Arabs, the princes of Mecca, and the hereditary guardians of the Caaba.* The grandfather of Mahomet was Abdol Motalleb, the son of Hashem, a wealthy and generous citizen, who relieved the distress of famine with the supplies of commerce. Mecca, which had been fed by the liberality of the father, was saved by the courage of the son. The kingdom of Yemen was subject to the Christian princes of Abyssinia: their vassal Abrahah was provoked by an insult to avenge the honour of the cross; and the holy city was invested by a train of elephants and an army of Africans. A treaty was proposed: and, in the first audience, the grandfather of Mahomet demanded the restitution of his cattle. "And why," said Abrahah, "do you not rather implore my clemency in favour of your temple, which I have threatened to destroy?" "Because," replied the intrepid chief, "the cattle is my own; the Caaba belongs to the gods, and *they* will defend their house from injury and sacrilege." The want of provisions, or the valour of the Koreish, compelled the Abyssinians to a disgraceful retreat: their discomfiture has been adorned with a miraculous

* The antiquity of this celebrated temple at Mecca ascends beyond the Christian æra. It is mentioned incidentally by Diodorus, who speaks (iii. 43) of a famous temple, between the Thadumites and the Sabæans, whose superior sanctity was revered by *all* the Arabians. It enjoyed from the earliest times the rights of sanctuary; and the same rites which are now accomplished by the faithful Musulman were invented and practised by the superstition of the idolaters. At an awful distance they cast away their garments: seven times with hasty steps they encircled the Caaba, and kissed the black stone: seven times they visited and adored the adjacent mountains: seven times they threw stones into the valley of Mina: and the pilgrimage was achieved, as at the present hour, by a sacrifice of sheep and camels, and the burial of their hair and nails in the consecrated ground.

flight of birds, who showered down stones on the heads of the infidels; but the apparent miracle was in reality the small-pox, which broke out in the army of Abrahah. The glory of Abdol Motalleb was crowned with domestic happiness; he became the father of 6 daughters and 13 sons. His best beloved Abdallah, who was the most beautiful and modest of the Arabian youth, married Amina. Their only son, Mahomet, or more properly Mohammed,* was born at Mecca (A.D. 569), four years after the death of Justinian. In his early infancy he was deprived of his father, his mother, and his grandfather; his uncles were strong and numerous; and, in the division of the inheritance, the orphan's share was reduced to five camels and an Æthiopian maid-servant. At home and abroad, in peace and war, Abu Taleb, the most respectable of his uncles, was the guide and guardian of his youth; in his 25th year he entered into the service of Cadijah, a rich and noble widow of Mecca, who soon rewarded his fidelity with the gift of her hand and fortune. By this alliance the son of Abdallah was restored to the station of his ancestors; and the judicious matron was content with his domestic virtues, till, in the 40th year of his age, he assumed the title of a prophet, and proclaimed the religion of the Koran.

§ 2. According to the tradition of his companions, Mahomet was distinguished by the beauty of his person. Before he spoke, the orator engaged on his side the affections of a public or private audience. They applauded his commanding presence, his majestic aspect, his piercing eye, his gracious smile, his flowing beard, his countenance that painted every sensation of the soul, and his gestures that enforced each expression of the tongue. The son of Abdallah was educated in the bosom of the noblest race, in the use of the purest dialect of Arabia: and the fluency of his speech was corrected and enhanced by the practice of discreet and seasonable silence. From his earliest youth he was addicted to religious contemplation: his temperament was melancholy and in the highest degree nervous; and as he wandered in the solitary deserts round Mecca, he suffered from hallucinations of the senses, feared that he was possessed of devils, and frequently contemplated suicide. One day, when he was sunk in despondency, and was on the point of destroying himself, he heard a voice, and, upon raising his head, he beheld between heaven and earth the angel Gabriel, who assured him that he was the prophet of God. Frightened at this apparition, he fell

* Mohammed means "praised," the name given to him by his grandfather on account of the favourable omen attending his birth. When Amina had given birth to the prophet, she sent for his grandfather, and related to him that she had seen in a dream a light proceeding from her body, which illuminated the palaces of Bostra.

into a fit;* and upon recovery he no longer doubted of his prophetic office. The faith which, under the name of *Islam*,† he preached to his family and nation, is compounded of an eternal truth and a necessary fiction, THAT THERE IS ONLY ONE GOD, AND THAT MAHOMET IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD.

§ 3. With the exception of the children of Israel the religions of the world were guilty, at least in the eyes of the prophet, of giving sons, or daughters, or companions to the supreme God. In the rude idolatry of the Arabs the crime is manifest and audacious: the Sabians are poorly excused by the pre-eminence of the first planet,

* There appears no reason to doubt the sincerity of Mahomet in the earlier part of his career. The fits to which he was subject are regarded by some Arabic authors as the principal evidence of his mission; and they are too closely connected with his religion to be passed over in silence. The following account of them is taken from the valuable Life of the Prophet by Dr. Sprenger, compiled from Arabic sources:—"They were preceded by great depression of spirits; he was despondent, and his face was clouded; and they were ushered in by coldness of the extremities and shivering. He shook as if he was suffering from ague, and called out for covering. His mind was in a most painfully excited state. He heard a tinkling, as if bells were ringing, or a humming, as if bees were swarming round his head, and his lips quivered; but this motion was under the control of volition. If the attack proceeded beyond this stage, his eyes became fixed and staring, and the motions of his head became convulsive and automatic. At length perspiration broke out, which covered his face in large drops, and with this ended the attack. Sometimes, however, if he had a violent fit, he fell comatose to the ground, like a person who is intoxicated; and (at least at a later period of his life) his face was flushed, and his respiration stertorous, and he remained in that state for some time. The bystanders sprinkled water in his face; but he himself fancied that he would derive a great benefit from being cupped on the head. This is all the information which I have been able to collect concerning the fits of Mohammed. The fit after which he assumed his office was undoubtedly brought on by long-continued and increasing mental excitement, and by his ascetic exercises. We know that he used frequently to fast, and that he sometimes devoted the greater part of the night to prayers. The bias of the Musalmans is to gloss over the aberration of mind, and the intention to commit suicide, of their prophet. Most of his biographers pass over the transition period in silence. We may, therefore, be justified in stretching the scanty information which we can glean from them to the utmost extent; and in supposing that he was for some time a complete maniac; and that the fit, after which he assumed his office, was a paroxysm of cataleptic insanity. The disease is sometimes accompanied by such interesting physical phenomena, that even in modern times it has given rise to many superstitious opinions. After this paroxysm the fits became habitual, though the moral excitement cooled down, and they assumed more and more an epileptic character."

† *Islám* is the verbal noun, or infinitive, and *Moslim*, which has been corrupted into *Musalman* or *Musulman*, is the participle of the causative form of *salm*, which means immunity, peace. The signification of *Islám* is therefore *to make peace*, or *to obtain immunity*, either by compact, or by doing homage to the stronger, acknowledging his superiority and surrendering to him the object of the dispute.

or intelligence, in their celestial hierarchy; and in the Magian system the conflict of the two principles betrays the imperfection of the conqueror. The Christians of the seventh century had insensibly relapsed into a semblance of paganism; their public and private vows were addressed to the relics and images that disgraced the temples of the East: the throne of the Almighty was darkened by a cloud of martyrs, and saints, and angels, the objects of popular veneration; and the Collyridian heretics, who flourished in the fruitful soil of Arabia, invested the Virgin Mary with the name and honours of a goddess. The creed of Mahomet is free from suspicion or ambiguity; and the Koran is a glorious testimony to the unity of God. The prophet of Mecca rejected the worship of idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle that whatever rises must set, that whatever is born must die, that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish. The God of nature has written his existence on all his works, and his law in the heart of man. To restore the knowledge of the one, and the practice of the other, has been the real or pretended aim of the prophets of every age: the liberality of Mahomet allowed to his predecessors the same credit which he claimed for himself; and the claim of inspiration was prolonged from the fall of Adam to the promulgation of the Koran. Six legislators of transcendent brightness have announced to mankind the six successive revelations of various rites, but of one immutable religion. The authority and station of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses Christ, and Mahomet, rise in just gradation above each other; but whosoever hates or rejects any one of the prophets is numbered with the infidels. For the author of Christianity the Mahometans are taught by the prophet to entertain a high and mysterious reverence. Yet Jesus was a mere mortal; and, at the day of judgment, his testimony will serve to condemn both the Jews, who reject him as a prophet, and the Christians, who adore him as the Son of God. During 600 years the Gospel was the way of truth and salvation; but the Christians insensibly forgot both the laws and the example of their founder: and the evangelic promise of the *Paraclete*, or Holy Ghost, was prefigured in the name, and accomplished in the person of Mahomet, the greatest and the last of the apostles of God.

§ 4. The substance of the Koran, according to Mahomet or his disciples, is uncreated and eternal; subsisting in the essence of the Deity, and inscribed with a pen of light on the table of his everlasting decrees. A paper copy, in a volume of silk and gems, was brought down to the lowest heaven by the angel Gabriel, who successively revealed the chapters and verses to the Arabian prophet. Instead of a perpetual and perfect measure of the divine will, the fragments of the Koran were produced at the discretion of Mahomet;

each revelation is suited to the emergencies of his policy or passions; and all contradiction is removed by the saving maxim that any text of Scripture is abrogated or modified by any subsequent passage. The word of God and of the apostle was diligently recorded by his disciples on palm-leaves and the shoulder-bones of mutton; and the pages, without order or connection, were cast into a domestic chest in the custody of one of his wives. Two years after the death of Mahomet, the sacred volume was collected and published by his friend and successor Abubeker: the work was revised by the caliph Othman, in the thirtieth year of the Hegira; and the various editions of the Koran assert the same miraculous privilege of an uniform and incorruptible text. In the spirit of enthusiasm or vanity, the prophet rests the truth of his mission on the merit of his book; audaciously challenges both men and angels to imitate the beauties of a single page; and presumes to assert that God alone could dictate this incomparable performance. This argument is most powerfully addressed to the devout Arabian, whose mind is attuned to faith and rapture; whose ear is delighted by the music of sounds; and whose ignorance is incapable of comparing the productions of human genius. The harmony and copiousness of the style will not reach, in a version, the European infidel: he will peruse with impatience the endless incoherent rhapsody of fable, and precept, and declamation, which seldom excites a sentiment or an idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds.

§ 5. Mahomet did not claim the power of working miracles; but his votaries are more assured than himself of his miraculous gifts; and his dream of a nocturnal journey, which is only hinted at in the Koran, is seriously described by tradition as a real and corporeal transaction. A mysterious animal, the Borak, conveyed him from the temple of Mecca to that of Jerusalem: with his companion Gabriel he successively ascended the seven heavens, and received and repaid the salutations of the patriarchs and prophets, and the angels, in their respective mansions. Beyond the seventh heaven Mahomet alone was permitted to proceed; he passed the veil of unity, approached within two bow-shots of the throne, and felt a cold that pierced him to the heart when his shoulder was touched by the hand of God. After this familiar though important conversation, he again descended to Jerusalem, remounted the Borak, returned to Mecca, and performed in the tenth part of a night the journey of many thousand years. According to another legend, the apostle confounded in a national assembly the malicious challenge of the Koreish. His resistless word split asunder the orb of the moon: the obedient planet stooped from her station in the sky, accomplished the seven revolutions round the Caaba, saluted Ma-

homet in the Arabian tongue, and, suddenly contracting her dimensions, entered at the collar, and issued forth through the sleeve of his shirt. The vulgar are amused with these marvellous tales; but the gravest of the Musulman doctors imitate the modesty of their master, and indulge a latitude of faith or interpretation.

§ 6. The four practical duties of Islam are pilgrimage, prayer, fasting, and alms. The prophet of Mecca was tempted by prejudice, or policy, or patriotism, to sanctify the rites of the Arabians, and the custom of visiting the holy stone of the Caaba. But the ordinary and constant religious duties of a Musulman are prayer, fasting, and alms; and the believer is encouraged to hope that prayer will carry him half way to God, fasting will bring him to the door of his palace, and alms will gain him admittance. Five times every day the Musulman is bound to offer up his prayers, namely, at daybreak, at noon, in the afternoon, in the evening, and at the first watch of the night, without any dispensation of business or pleasure, time or place. Cleanliness is the key of prayer: the frequent lustration of the hands, the face, and the body, which was practised of old by the Arabs, is solemnly enjoined by the Koran; and a permission is formally granted to supply with sand the scarcity of water. Among the theists, who reject the use of images, it has been found necessary to restrain the wanderings of the fancy, by directing the eye and the thought towards a *kebla* or visible point of the horizon. The prophet was at first inclined to gratify the Jews by the choice of Jerusalem, but he soon returned to a more natural partiality; and five times every day the eyes of the nations at Astracan, at Fez, at Delhi, are devoutly turned to the holy temple of Mecca. Yet every spot for the service of God is equally pure: the Mahometans indifferently pray in their chamber or in the street. As a distinction from the Jews and Christians, the Friday in each week is set apart for the useful institution of public worship: the people is assembled in the mosque; and the imam, some respectable elder, ascends the pulpit, to begin the prayer and pronounce the sermon. Mahomet instituted, in each year, a fast of thirty days; and strenuously recommended the observance as a discipline which purifies the soul and subdues the body, as a salutary exercise of obedience to the will of God and his apostle. During the month of Ramadan, from the rising to the setting of the sun, the Musulman abstains from eating, and drinking, and baths, and perfumes; from all nourishment that can restore his strength, from all pleasure that can gratify his senses. In the revolution of the lunar year, the Ramadan coincides, by turns, with the winter cold and the summer heat; and the patient martyr, without assuaging his thirst with a drop of water, must expect the close of a tedious and sultry day. The interdiction of wine, peculiar to some orders of priests or he[illegible]

mits, is converted by Mahomet alone into a positive and general law; and a considerable portion of the globe has abjured, at his command, the use of that salutary, though dangerous, liquor. The Koran repeatedly inculcates, not as a merit, but as a strict and indispensable duty, the relief of the indigent and unfortunate. Mahomet, perhaps, is the only lawgiver who has defined the precise measure of charity: the standard may vary with the degree and nature of property, as it consists either in money, in corn, or cattle, in fruits or merchandise: but the Musulman does not accomplish the law, unless he bestows a *tenth* of his revenue; and if his conscience accuses him of fraud or deception, the tenth, under the idea of restitution, is enlarged to a *fifth*.

The two articles of belief, and the four practical duties, of Islam, are guarded by rewards and punishments; and the faith of the Musulman is devoutly fixed on the event of the judgment and the last day. At the blast of the trumpet new worlds will start into being: angels, genii, and men will arise from the dead, and the human soul will again be united to the body. The re-union of the soul and body will be followed by the final judgment of mankind. The doom of the infidels is common: the measure of their guilt and punishment is determined by the degree of evidence which they have rejected, by the magnitude of the errors which they have entertained: the eternal mansions of the Christians, the Jews, the Sabians, the Magians, and the idolaters, are sunk below each other in the abyss; and the lowest hell is reserved for the faithless hypocrites who have assumed the mask of religion. After the greater part of mankind have been condemned for their opinions, the true believers only will be judged by their actions. According as the shares of guilt or virtue shall preponderate, the sentence will be pronounced, and all, without distinction, will pass over the sharp and perilous bridge of the abyss; but the innocent, treading in the footsteps of Mahomet, will gloriously enter the gates of paradise, while the guilty will fall into the first and mildest of the seven hells. The term of expiation will vary from 900 to 7000 years; but the prophet has judiciously promised that *all* his disciples, whatever may be their sins, shall be saved by their own faith and his intercession, from eternal damnation. In paradise every pleasure that can gratify the senses, awaits the faithful. Seventy-two *Houris*, or black-eyed girls, of resplendent beauty, will be created for the use of the meanest believer, who will dwell in palaces of marble, clothed in robes of silk, and surrounded by the most costly luxuries.

§ 7. The first and most arduous conquests of Mahomet were those of his wife, his servant, his pupil, and his friend; since he presented himself as a prophet to those who were most conversant with his infirmities as a man. Yet Cadijah believed the words, and che-

rished the glory, of her husband; the obsequious and affectionate Zeid was tempted by the prospect of freedom; the illustrious Ali, the son of Abu Taleb, embraced the sentiments of his cousin with the spirit of a youthful hero; and the wealth, the moderation, the veracity of Abubeker, confirmed the religion of the prophet whom he was destined to succeed. By his persuasion ten of the most respectable citizens of Mecca were introduced to the private lessons of Islam; they yielded to the voice of reason and enthusiasm; they repeated the fundamental creed, "There is but one God, and Mahomet is the Apostle of God;" and their faith, even in this life, was rewarded with riches and honours, with the command of armies and the government of kingdoms. Three years were silently employed in the conversion of fourteen proselytes, the first-fruits of his mission; but in the fourth year he assumed the prophetic office, and, resolving to impart to his family the light of divine truth, he prepared a banquet, a lamb, as it is said, and a bowl of milk, for the entertainment of forty guests of the race of Hashem. "Friends and kinsmen," said Mahomet to the assembly, "I offer you, and I alone can offer, the most precious of gifts, the treasures of this world and of the world to come. God has commanded me to call you to his service. Who among you will support my burden? Who among you will be my companion and my vizir?" No answer was returned, till the silence of astonishment, and doubt, and contempt, was at length broken by the impatient courage of Ali, a youth in the 14th year of his age. "O prophet, I am the man: whosoever rises against thee, I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, rip up his belly. O prophet, I will be thy vizir over them." Mahomet accepted his offer with transport, and Abu Taleb was ironically exhorted to respect the superior dignity of his son. In a more serious tone, the father of Ali advised his nephew to relinquish his impracticable design. "Spare your remonstrances," replied the intrepid fanatic to his uncle and benefactor; "if they should place the sun on my right hand, and the moon on my left, they should not divert me from my course." He persevered ten years in the exercise of his mission; and the religion which has overspread the East and the West advanced with a slow and painful progress within the walls of Mecca.

§ 8. The Koreishites, who had long been jealous of the pre-eminence of the family of Hashem, attempted to crush the reformer. But Abu Taleb, though he did not adopt the religion, protected the person of his nephew; the most helpless or timid of the disciples retired to Æthiopia, and the prophet withdrew himself to various places of strength in the town and country. The death of Abu Taleb at length abandoned Mahomet to the power of his enemies, at the moment when he was deprived of his domestic comforts by

the loss of his faithful and generous Cadijah. Abu Sophian, the chief of the branch of Ommiyah, succeeded to the principality of the republic of Mecca. A zealous votary of the idols, a mortal foe of the line of Hashem, he convened an assembly of the Koreishites and their allies to decide the fate of the apostle. His death was resolved; and they agreed that a sword from each tribe should be buried in his heart, to divide the guilt of his blood, and baffle the vengeance of the Hashemites. An angel or a spy revealed their conspiracy, and flight was the only resource of Mahomet. At the dead of night, accompanied by his friend Abubeker, he silently escaped from his house: the assassins watched at the door; but they were deceived by the figure of Ali, who reposed on the bed, and was covered with the green vestment, of the Apostle. The Koreish respected the piety of the heroic youth; but some verses of Ali which are still extant, exhibit an interesting picture of his anxiety, his tenderness, and his religious confidence. Three days Mahomet and his companion were concealed in the cave of Thor, at the distance of a league from Mecca. The diligence of the Koreish explored every haunt in the neighbourhood of the city: they arrived at the entrance of the cavern; but the providential deceit of a spider's web and a pigeon's nest is supposed to convince them that the place was solitary and inviolate. "We are only two," said the trembling Abubeker. "There is a third," replied the prophet; "it is God himself." No sooner was the pursuit abated than the two fugitives issued from the rock and mounted their camels: on the road to Medina they were overtaken by the emissaries of the Koreish; they redeemed themselves with prayers and promises from their hands. In this eventful moment the lance of an Arab might have changed the history of the world. The flight of the prophet from Mecca to Medina (A.D. 622, April 19) has fixed the memorable æra of the *Hegira*, which at the end of twelve centuries, still discriminates the lunar years of the Mahometan nation.

§ 9. The religion of the Koran might have perished in its cradle had not Medina embraced with faith and reverence the holy outcasts of Mecca. Some of the noblest citizens of Medina, in a pilgrimage to the Caaba, were converted by the preaching of Mahomet; on their return they diffused the belief of God and his prophet, and the new alliance was ratified by their deputies in two secret and nocturnal interviews on a hill in the suburbs of Mecca. They promised in the name of the city, that if Mahomet should be banished they would receive him as a confederate, obey him as a leader, and defend him to the last extremity, like their wives and children. Their treaty was ratified by the people, who unanimously embraced the profession of Islam; and when the prophet made his public entry into Medina, sixteen days after his flight from Mecca, he was

hailed with acclamations of loyalty and devotion. His bravest disciples, who had been scattered by the storm, assembled round his person; and the equal, though various, merit of the Moslems was distinguished by the names of *Mohagerians* and *Ansars*, the fugitives of Mecca, and the auxiliaries of Medina. To eradicate the seeds of jealousy, Mahomet judiciously coupled his principal followers with the rights and obligations of brethren; and when Ali found himself without a peer, the prophet tenderly declared that *he* would be the companion and brother of the noble youth. The expedient was crowned with success; the holy fraternity was respected in peace and war, and the two parties vied with each other in a generous emulation of courage and fidelity.

From his establishment at Medina Mahomet assumed the exercise of the regal and sacerdotal office. A small portion of ground, the patrimony of two orphans, was acquired by gift or purchase; on that chosen spot he built a house and a mosque, more venerable in their rude simplicity than the palaces and temples of the Assyrian caliphs. His seal of gold, or silver, was inscribed with the apostolic title; when he prayed and preached in the weekly assembly, he leaned against the trunk of a palm-tree; and it was long before he indulged himself in the use of a chair or pulpit of rough timber. The choice of an independent people had exalted the fugitive of Mecca to the rank of a sovereign; and he was invested with the just prerogative of forming alliances, and of waging offensive or defensive war. The imperfection of human rights was supplied and armed by the plenitude of divine power: the prophet of Medina assumed, in his new revelations, a fiercer and more sanguinary tone: the means of persuasion had been tried, the season of forbearance was elapsed, and he was now commanded to propagate his religion by the sword, to destroy the monuments of idolatry, and without regarding the sanctity of days or months, to pursue the unbelieving nations of the earth. The fair option of friendship, or submission, or battle, was proposed to the enemies of Mahomet. If they professed the creed of Islam, they were admitted to all the temporal and spiritual benefits of his primitive disciples, and marched under the same banner to extend the religion which they had embraced. The clemency of the prophet was decided by his interest: yet he seldom trampled on a prostrate enemy; and he seems to promise that on the payment of a tribute the least guilty of his unbelieving subjects might be indulged in their worship, or at least in their imperfect faith. In the first months of his reign he practised the lessons of holy warfare, and displayed his white banner before the gates of Medina: the martial apostle fought in person at nine battles or sieges; and fifty enterprises of war were achieved in ten years by himself or his lieutenants. The Arab continued to unite the professions of a merchant

and a robber; and his petty excursions for the defence or the attack of a caravan insensibly prepared his troops for the conquest of Arabia. From all sides the roving Arabs were allured to the standard of religion and plunder: and the enjoyment of wealth and beauty was a feeble type of the joys of paradise prepared for the valiant martyrs of the faith. "The sword," says Mahomet, "is the key of heaven and of hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting or prayer: whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven: at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion, and odoriferous as musk; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim." The intrepid souls of the Arabs were fired with enthusiasm: the picture of the invisible world was strongly painted on their imagination; and the death which they had always despised became an object of hope and desire. The Koran inculcates, in the most absolute sense, the tenets of fate and predestination, which would extinguish both industry and virtue, if the actions of man were governed by his speculative belief. Yet their influence in every age has exalted the courage of the Saracens and Turks. The first companions of Mahomet advanced to battle with a fearless confidence; there is no danger where there is no chance: they were ordained to perish in their beds; or they were safe and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy.

§ 10. During the early years of his reign at Medina, Mahomet had to sustain the formidable attacks of the Koreish. In A.D. 623 he gained a victory over his opponents in the famous vale of Beder, three stations from Medina; but the forces on each side were small, and during the same year Abu Sophian advanced against Medina with a more powerful army. The second battle was fought on Mount Ohud, six miles to the north of Medina: the overwhelming number of the enemy prevailed; the prophet was wounded, and the Musulmans gave way; but the Koreish wanted strength or courage to undertake the siege of Medina. It was attacked in A.D. 625, by an army of 10,000 enemies; and this third expedition is variously named, from the *nations* which marched under the banner of Abu Sophian, from the *ditch* which was drawn before the city, and a camp of three thousand Musulmans. The prudence of Mahomet declined a general engagement; and the war was protracted twenty days, till the final separation of the confederates. A tempest of wind, rain, and hail overturned their tents; their private quarrels were fomented by an insidious adversary; and the Koreish, deserted by their allies, no longer hoped to subvert the throne, or to check the conquests, of their invincible exile.

§ 11. The choice of Jerusalem for the first kebla of prayer discovers the early propensity of Mahomet in favour of the Jews; and

happy would it have been for their temporal interest had they recognised in the Arabian prophet the hope of Israel and the promised Messiah. Their obstinacy converted his friendship into implacable hatred, with which he pursued that unfortunate people to the last moment of his life. After repelling the attacks of the Koreish, Mahomet turned his arms against the ancient and wealthy town of Chaibar, situate six days' journey to the north-east of Medina, and the seat of the Jewish power in Arabia: the territory, a fertile spot in the desert, was covered with plantations and cattle, and protected by eight castles, some of which were esteemed of impregnable strength. After the reduction of the castles the town of Chaibar submitted to the yoke. The chief of the tribe was tortured, in the presence of Mahomet, to force a confession of his hidden treasure: the industry of the shepherds and husbandmen was rewarded with a precarious toleration: they were permitted, so long as it should please the conqueror, to improve their patrimony, in equal shares, for *his* emolument and their own. Under the reign of Omar, the Jews of Chaibar were transplanted to Syria; and the caliph alleged the injunction of his dying master, that one and the true religion should be professed in his native land of Arabia.

§ 12. Five times each day the eyes of Mahomet were turned towards Mecca, and he was urged by the most sacred and powerful motives to revisit, as a conqueror, the city and the temple from whence he had been driven as an exile. In the first expedition against the city he was alarmed by the numbers and resolution of the Koreish, and thought it more prudent to conclude with the Koreish and their allies a truce of ten years, in which he stipulated only, for the ensuing year, the humble privilege of entering the city as a friend, and of remaining three days to accomplish the rites of the pilgrimage. The faith and hope of the pilgrims were rekindled by the prospect of Mecca: their swords were sheathed: seven times in the footsteps of the apostle they encompassed the Caaba: the Koreish had retired to the hills, and Mahomet, after the customary sacrifice, evacuated the city on the fourth day. The people was edified by his devotion; the hostile chiefs were awed, or divided, or seduced; and both Caled and Amrou, the future conquerors of Syria and Egypt, most seasonably deserted the sinking cause of idolatry. The power of Mahomet was increased by the submission of the Arabian tribes; ten thousand soldiers were assembled for the conquest of Mecca; and the idolaters, the weaker party, were easily convicted of violating the truce. Enthusiasm and discipline impelled the march, and preserved the secret, till the blaze of ten thousand fires proclaimed to the astonished Koreish the design, the approach, and the irresistible force of the enemy. The haughty Abu Sophian presented the keys of the city, and confessed that the

son of Abdallah was the apostle of the true God. The victorious exile forgave the guilt, and united the factions, of Mecca. The people of Mecca deserved their pardon by the profession of Islam; and after an exile of seven years, the fugitive missionary was enthroned as the prince and prophet of his native country (A.D. 630). But the 360 idols of the Caaba were ignominiously broken; the house of God was purified and adorned: as an example to future times, the apostle again fulfilled the duties of a pilgrim; and a perpetual law was enacted that no unbeliever should dare to set his foot on the territory of the holy city.

The conquest of Mecca determined the faith and obedience of the Arabian tribes; who, according to the vicissitudes of fortune, had obeyed, or disregarded, the eloquence or the arms of the prophet. Some idolaters still resisted, but they were soon subdued; their temples were demolished, and the same sentence of destruction was executed on all the idols of Arabia. The nation submitted to the God and the sceptre of Mahomet: the opprobrious name of tribute was abolished: the spontaneous or reluctant oblations of alms and tithes were applied to the service of religion; and 114,000, or according to a more probable tradition, 40,000, Moslems, accompanied the last pilgrimage of the apostle.

§ 13. When Heraclius returned in triumph from the Persian war, he entertained, at Emesa, one of the ambassadors of Mahomet, who invited the princes and nations of the earth to the profession of Islam. The first expedition of the Moslems against the Roman empire was the invasion of the territory of Palestine, that extends to the eastward of the Jordan; and the battle of Muta was the first military action which tried the valour of the Moslems against a foreign enemy. Zeid, the slave of the prophet, who was entrusted with the holy banner, was slain, but the valour of Caled, the proselyte of Mecca, withstood and repulsed the superior numbers of the Christians. In the nocturnal council of the camp he was chosen to command: his skilful evolutions of the ensuing day secured either the retreat or the victory of the Saracens; and Caled is renowned among his brethren and his enemies by the glorious appellation of the *Sword of God*. After the conquest of Mecca the sovereign of Arabia affected to anticipate the hostile preparations of Heraclius; and solemnly proclaimed war against the Romans, without attempting to disguise the hardships and dangers of the enterprise. The Moslems were discouraged: they alleged the want of money, or horses, or provisions; the season of harvest, and the intolerable heat of the summer: "Hell is much hotter," said the indignant prophet. He disdained to compel their service: but on his return he admonished the most guilty, by an excommunication of 50 days. Their desertion enhanced the merit of Abubeker, Othman, and the

faithful companions who devoted their lives and fortunes: Mahomet displayed his banner at the head of 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot; but he did not advance further than the grove and fountain of Tabuc, situate ten days' journey from Medina and Damascus (A.D. 631). He declared himself satisfied with the peaceful intentions, he was more probably daunted by the martial array, of the emperor of the East. But the active and intrepid Caled spread around the terror of his name; and the prophet received the submission of the tribes and cities, from the Euphrates to Ailah, at the head of the Red Sea. To his Christian subjects Mahomet readily granted the security of their persons, the freedom of their trade, the property of their goods, and the toleration of their worship. The weakness of their Arabian brethren had restrained them from opposing his ambition; the disciples of Jesus were endeared to the enemy of the Jews; and it was the interest of a conqueror to propose a fair capitulation to the most powerful religion of the earth.

§ 14. Till the age of sixty-three years the strength of Mahomet was equal to the temporal and spiritual fatigues of his mission. During four years the health of the prophet declined; his infirmities increased; but his mortal disease was a fever of fourteen days, which deprived him at intervals of the use of reason. He beheld with temperate firmness the approach of death; enfranchised his slaves; minutely directed the order of his funeral; and moderated the lamentations of his weeping friends, on whom he bestowed the benediction of peace. Till the third day before his death he regularly performed the function of public prayer: the choice of Abubeker to supply his place appeared to mark that ancient and faithful friend as his successor in the sacerdotal and regal office; but he prudently declined the risk and envy of a more explicit nomination. If the slightest credit may be afforded to the traditions of his wives and companions, he maintained, in the bosom of his family, and to the last moments of his life, the dignity of an apostle, and the faith of an enthusiast; described the visits of Gabriel, who bid an everlasting farewell to the earth; and expressed his lively confidence, not only in the mercy, but in the favour, of the Supreme Being. In a familiar discourse he had mentioned his special prerogative, that the angel of death was not allowed to take his soul till he had respectfully asked the permission of the prophet. The request was granted; and Mahomet immediately fell into the agony of his dissolution: his head was reclined on the lap of Ayesha, the best beloved of all his wives; he fainted with the violence of pain; recovering his spirits, he raised his eyes towards the roof of the house, and, with a steady look, though a faltering voice, uttered the last broken, though articulate, words: "O God! . . . pardon my sins . . . . Yes, ... I come, ... among my fellow-citizens

on high;" and thus peaceably expired on a carpet spread upon the floor (A.D. 632). He was piously interred by the hands of his nearest kinsman, on the same spot on which he expired: Medina has been sanctified by the death and burial of Mahomet; and the innumerable pilgrims of Mecca often turn aside from the way, to bow, in voluntary devotion, before the simple tomb of the prophet.

§ 15. The good sense of Mahomet despised the pomp of royalty; the apostle of God submitted to the menial offices of the family; he kindled the fire, swept the floor, milked the ewes, and mended with his own hands his shoes and his woollen garment. Disdaining the penance and merit of an hermit, he observed, without effort or vanity, the abstemious diet of an Arab and a soldier. The interdiction of wine was confirmed by his example; his hunger was appeased with a sparing allowance of barley-bread: he delighted in the taste of milk and honey; but his ordinary food consisted of dates and water. Mahomet espoused 17 or 15 wives; and eleven are enumerated who occupied at Medina their separate apartments round the house of the apostle. What is singular enough, they were all widows, excepting only Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker. The youth, the beauty, the spirit of Ayesha gave her a superior ascendant: she was beloved and trusted by the prophet; and after his death, the daughter of Abubeker was long revered as the mother of the faithful. But during the twenty-four years of his marriage with Cadijah, her youthful husband abstained from the right of polygamy, and the pride or tenderness of the venerable matron was never insulted by the society of a rival. After her death he placed her in the rank of the four perfect women, with the sister of Moses, the mother of Jesus, and Fatima, the best beloved of his daughters. "Was she not old?" said Ayesha, with the insolence of a blooming beauty; "has not God given you a better in her place?" "No, by God," said Mahomet, with an effusion of honest gratitude, "there never can be a better! She believed in me when men despised me; she relieved my wants when I was poor and persecuted by the world."

In the indulgence of polygamy, the founder of a religion and empire might aspire to multiply the chances of a numerous posterity and a lineal succession. The hopes of Mahomet were fatally disappointed. Cadijah alone, and Mary, his Egyptian concubine, bore him any children. But the four sons of Cadijah died in their infancy, and Ibrahim, the son of Mary, lived only fifteen months. Cadijah had likewise given him four daughters, who were married to the most faithful of his disciples: the three eldest died before their father; but Fatima, who possessed his confidence and love, became the wife of her cousin Ali, and the mother of an illustrious

progeny. The merit and misfortunes of Ali and his descendants will lead me to anticipate, in this place, the series of the Saracen caliphs, a title which describes the commanders of the faithful as the vicars and successors of the apostle of God.*

§ 16. The birth, the alliance, the character of Ali, which exalted him above the rest of his countrymen, might justify his claim to the vacant throne of Arabia. The son of Abu Taleb was, in his own right, the chief of the family of Hashem, and the hereditary prince or guardian of the city and temple of Mecca. The light of prophecy was extinct; but the husband of Fatima might expect the inheritance and blessing of her father: the Arabs had sometimes been patient of a female reign; and the two grandsons of the prophet had often been fondled in his lap, and shown in the pulpit, as the hope of his age, and the chief of the youth of paradise. From the first hour of his mission to the last rites of his funeral, the apostle was never forsaken by a generous friend, whom he delighted to name his brother, his vicegerent, and the faithful Aaron of a second Moses. The son of Abu Taleb was afterwards reproached for neglecting to secure his interest by a solemn declaration of his right, which would have silenced all competition, and sealed his succession by the decrees of Heaven. But the unsuspecting hero confided in himself: the jealousy of empire, and perhaps the fear of opposition, might suspend the resolutions of Mahomet; and the bed of sickness was besieged by the artful Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker, and the enemy of Ali.

§ 17. The silence and death of the prophet restored the liberty of the people; and his companions convened an assembly to deliberate on the choice of his successor. The hereditary claim and lofty spirit of Ali were offensive to an aristocracy of elders, desirous of bestowing and resuming the sceptre by a free and frequent election; the Koreish could never be reconciled to the proud pre-eminence of the line of Hashem: the ancient discord of the tribes was rekindled; the *fugitives* of Mecca and the *auxiliaries* of Medina asserted their respective merits; and the rash proposal of choosing two independent caliphs would have crushed in their infancy the religion and empire of the Saracens. The tumult was appeased by the disinterested resolution of Omar, who, suddenly renouncing his own pretensions, stretched forth his hand and declared himself the first subject of the mild and venerable Abubeker. After a reign of two years (A.D. 632–634) the aged caliph was summoned by the angel of death. In his testament, with the tacit approbation of the companions, he bequeathed the sceptre to the firm and intrepid virtue of Omar. After a reign of 10 years (A.D. 634–644) Omar received a mortal wound from the hand of an assassin: he rejected with

* Caliph in Arabic means "successor."

equal impartiality the names of his son and of Ali, refused to load his conscience with the sins of his successor, and devolved on six of the most respectable companions the arduous task of electing a commander of the faithful. Their choice fell upon Othman, the secretary of Mahomet (A.D. 644–656); nor was it till after the third caliph, 24 years after the death of the prophet, that Ali was invested by the popular choice with the regal and sacerdotal office.

§ 18. The religious discord of the friends and enemies of Ali has been renewed in every age of the Hegira, and is still maintained in the immortal hatred of the Persians and Turks. The former, who are branded with the appellation of *Shiites* or sectaries, have enriched the Mahometan creed with a new article of faith; and if Mahomet be the apostle, his companion Ali is the vicar of God. In their private converse, in their public worship, they bitterly execrate the three usurpers who intercepted his indefeasible right to the dignity of Imam and Caliph. The *Sonnites*, who are supported by the general consent and orthodox tradition of the Musulmans, entertain a more impartial, or at least a more decent opinion. They respect the memory of Abubeker, Omar, Othman, and Ali, the holy and legitimate successors of the prophet. But they assign the last and most humble place to the husband of Fatima, in the persuasion that the order of succession was determined by the degrees of sanctity. An historian who balances the four caliphs with a hand unshaken by superstition will calmly pronounce that their manners were alike pure and exemplary; that their zeal was fervent, and probably sincere; and that, in the midst of riches and power, their lives were devoted to the practice of moral and religious duties. But the public virtues of Abubeker and Omar, the prudence of the first, the severity of the second, maintained the peace and prosperity of their reigns. The feeble temper and declining age of Othman were incapable of sustaining the weight of conquest and empire. The spirit of discord went forth in the provinces; the deputies of the rebels assembled at Medina, and despatched a haughty mandate to their sovereign, requiring him to execute justice or to descend from the throne. The caliph had lost the only guard of his predecessors, the esteem and confidence of the Moslems: during a siege of six weeks his water and provisions were intercepted, and the feeble gates of the palace were protected only by the scruples of the more timorous rebels. Forsaken by those who had abused his simplicity, the helpless and venerable caliph expected the approach of death: the brother of Ayesha marched at the head of the assassins; and Othman, with the Koran in his lap, was pierced with a multitude of wounds. A tumultuous anarchy of five days was appeased by the inauguration of Ali.

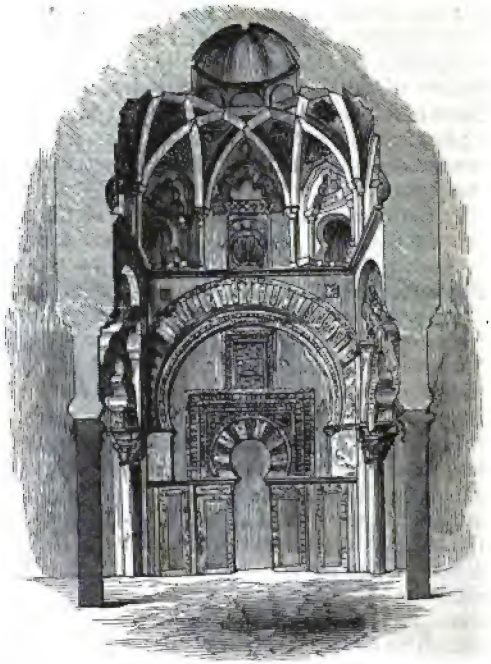
§ 19. A life of prayer and contemplation had not chilled the

martial activity of Ali; but in a mature age, after a long experience of mankind, he still betrayed in his conduct the rashness and indiscretion of youth. In the first days of his reign he neglected to secure, either by gifts or fetters, the doubtful allegiance of Telha and Zobeir, two of the most powerful of the Arabian chiefs. They escaped from Medina to Mecca, and from thence to Bassora, where they erected the standard of revolt. They were accompanied in their flight by Ayesha, the widow of the prophet, who cherished to the last hour of her life an implacable hatred against the husband and the posterity of Fatima. The caliph encountered and defeated the superior numbers of the rebels under the walls of Bassora. Their leaders, Telba and Zobeir, were slain in the first battle that stained with civil blood the arms of the Moslems. After passing through the ranks to animate the troops, Ayesha had chosen her post amidst the dangers of the field. In the heat of the action, seventy men who held the bridle of her camel were successively killed or wounded; and the cage, or litter, in which she sat was stuck with javelins and darts like the quills of a porcupine. The venerable captive sustained with firmness the reproaches of the conqueror, and was speedily dismissed to her proper station, at the tomb of Mahomet, with the respect and tenderness that was still due to the widow of the apostle. After this victory Ali marched against a more formidable adversary; against Moawiyah, the son of Abu Sophian, who had assumed the title of caliph, and whose claim was supported by the forces of Syria and the interest of the house of Ommiyah. In the plain along the western bank of the Euphrates, Ali drove back the forces of his adversary; but the certain victory was snatched from his grasp by the disobedience and enthusiasm of his troops. Their conscience was awed by the solemn appeal to the books of the Koran which Moawiyah exposed on the foremost lances; and Ali was compelled to yield to a disgraceful truce and an insidious compromise. He retreated with sorrow and indignation to Cufa; his party was discouraged; the distant provinces of Persia, of Yemen, and of Egypt were subdued or seduced by his crafty rival; and the stroke of fanaticism, which was aimed against the three chiefs of the nation, was fatal only to the cousin of Mahomet. In the temple of Mecca three Charijites* discoursed of the disorders of the church and state: they soon agreed that the deaths of Ali, of Moawiyah, and of his friend Amrou, the viceroy of Egypt, would restore the peace and unity of religion. Each of the assassins chose his victim, poisoned his dagger, devoted his life, and secretly repaired to the scene of action. Their resolution was equally desperate: but the first mistook the person of Amrou, and stabbed the

* Charijites (deserters, rebels) was the name given to all those who revolted from the lawful Imam.

deputy who occupied his seat; Moawiyah was dangerously hurt by the second; the lawful caliph, in the mosque of Cufa, received a mortal wound from the hand of the third. He expired in the 63rd year of his age (A.D. 661), and mercifully recommended to his children that they would despatch the murderer by a single stroke. The sepulchre of Ali was concealed from the tyrants of the house of Ommiyah; but in the fourth age of the Hegira, a tomb, a temple, a city, arose near the ruins of Cufa. Many thousands of the Shiites repose in holy ground at the feet of the vicar of God; and the desert is vivified by the numerous and annual visits of the Persians, who esteem their devotion not less meritorious than the pilgrimage of Mecca.

§ 20. The persecutors of Mahomet usurped the inheritance of his children. After the death of Ali, Moawiyah negotiated the abdication of his son Hassan, who retired without a sigh from the palace of Cufa to an humble cell near the tomb of his grandfather. The aspiring wishes of the caliph were finally crowned by the important change of an elective to an hereditary kingdom. Some murmurs of freedom or fanaticism attested the reluctance of the Arabs; but the designs of Moawiyah were conducted with vigour and address: and his son Yezid, a feeble and dissolute youth, was proclaimed as the commander of the faithful and the successor of the apostle of God. Hosein, the younger brother of Hassan, was murdered at a later period (A.D. 680); and on the annual festival of his martyrdom, in the devout pilgrimage to his sepulchre, his Persian votaries abandon their souls to the religious frenzy of sorrow and indignation. The twelve IMAMS, or pontiffs, of the Persian creed, are Ali, Hassan, Hosein, and the lineal descendants of Hosein to the ninth generation. In the lapse of two or three centuries, the posterity of Abbas, the uncle of Mahomet, had multiplied to the number of 33,000: the race of Ali might be equally prolific; and in the various conditions of princes, or doctors, or nobles, or merchants, or beggars, a swarm of the genuine or fictitious descendants of Mahomet and Ali is honoured with the appellation of sheikhs, or sherifs, or emirs. In the Ottoman empire they are distinguished by a green turban; receive a stipend from the treasury; are judged only by their chief; and, however debased by fortune or character, still assert the proud pre-eminence of their birth. A family of 300 persons, the pure and orthodox branch of the caliph Hassan, is preserved without taint or suspicion in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and still retains, after the revolutions of twelve centuries, the custody of the temple and the sovereignty of their native land. The fame and merit of Mahomet would ennoble a plebeian race, and the ancient blood of the Koreish transcends the recent majesty of the kings of the earth.



Interior of Sanctuary at Cordova. rebuilt by the Caliph Hakeem, A.D. 965.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONQUESTS OF THE ARABS OR SARACENS. EMPIRE OF THE CALIPHS.

§ 1. Conquests of the Saracens: division of the subject. § 2. I. Conquest of Persia. § 3. II. Conquest of Syria. § 4. III. Conquest of Egypt: the Alexandrian library. § 5. IV. Conquest of Africa. § 6. V. Conquest of Spain. § 7. Empire of the Caliphs. § 8. Limits of the Arabian conquests. § 9. First siege of Constantinople by the Arabs. § 10. Second siege of Constantinople. § 11. Invention and use of the Greek fire. § 12. Invasion of France by the Saracens: their defeat by Charles Martel. § 13. Fall of the Ommiades: elevation of the Abbassides. § 14. Revolt of Spain: triple division of the Caliphate. § 15. Magnificence of the Caliphs. § 16. Introduction of learning among the Arabs. § 17. Their real progress in the sciences. § 18. Wars of Harun al Rashid.

§ 19. The Arabs subdue Crete and Sicily. § 20. Invasion of Rome by the Saracens: reign of Pope Leo IV. § 21. Disorders of the Turkish guards. § 22. Sect of the Carmathians. § 23. The independent dynasties. § 24. Fallen state of the caliphs of Bagdad. § 25. Conquests of Nicephorus, Phocas, and John Zimisces.

§ 1. In the victorious days of the Roman republic it had been the aim of the senate to confine their councils and legions to a single war, and completely to suppress a first enemy before they provoked the hostilities of a second. These timid maxims of policy were disdained by the magnanimity or enthusiasm of the Arabian caliphs. With the same vigour and success they invaded the successors of Augustus and those of Artaxerxes; and the rival monarchies at the same instant became the prey of an enemy whom they had been so long accustomed to despise. One hundred years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca the arms and the reign of his successors extended from India to the Atlantic Ocean, over the various and distant provinces which may be comprised under the names of, I. Persia; II. Syria; III. Egypt; IV. Africa; and V. Spain. The first caliphs ascended the throne in a venerable or mature age; and their conquests were gained by their lieutenants. Except the presence of Omar at the siege of Jerusalem, their longest expeditions were the frequent pilgrimage from Medina to Mecca; and they calmly received the tidings of victory as they prayed or preached before the sepulchre of the prophet.

§ 2. I. *Conquest of Persia*, A.D. 630-651.—In the first year of the first caliph, Yezdegerd, the grandson of Chosroes, was placed upon the Persian throne; and the date of the accession of the last king of Persia coincides with an astronomical period, called the era of Yezdegerd (June 16, A.D. 632). Soon after his accession the Saracens poured into his dominions; and the fate of the Persian monarchy was virtually decided by the battle of Cadesia (A.D. 636), a city upon the Tigris. After this victory the wealthy province of Irak, or Assyria, submitted to the caliph, and his conquests were firmly established by the speedy foundation of Bassora, which was planted upon the western bank of the united channel of the Euphrates and the Tigris, midway between the junction and the mouth of three famous streams. In the following year Ctesiphon or Madayn was taken and sacked by the Saracens; and the capital of the Sassanian kings was gradually deserted. The Saracens disliked the air and situation of the place, and Omar was advised by his general to remove the seat of government to the western side of the Euphrates, where the city of *Cufa* rapidly arose.

The sack of Ctesiphon was followed by the successive reduction of the provinces of the Persian empire; and at the end of a few years the authority of the caliphs was acknowledged throughout the

entire dominions of the Sassanian monarchs. Yezdegerd, who had fled beyond the Oxus as far as the Jaxartes, returned with an army of Turks to conquer the inheritance of his fathers. The fortunate Moslems, without unsheathing their swords, were the spectators of his ruin and death. The grandson of Chosroes was betrayed by his servant, insulted by the seditious inhabitants of Merou, and oppressed, defeated, and pursued by his barbarian allies. He reached the banks of a river, but was overtaken and slaughtered by the Turkish cavalry, in the 19th year of his unhappy reign (A.D. 651).

After the fall of the Persian kingdom, the river Oxus divided the territories of the Saracens and of the Turks. This narrow boundary was soon overleaped by the spirit of the Arabs; the governors of Chorasan extended their successive inroads; but the final conquest of Transoxiana, as well as of Spain, was reserved for the glorious reign of the inactive Walid, and the name of Catibah, the camel-driver, declares the origin and merit of his successful lieutenant. While one of his colleagues displayed the first Mahometan banner on the banks of the Indus, the spacious regions between the Oxus, the Jaxartes, and the Caspian Sea were reduced by the arms of Catibah to the obedience of the prophet and of the caliph (A.D. 710). A tribute of two millions of pieces of gold was imposed on the infidels; the Musulman chief pronounced a sermon in the new mosque of Carizme; and the emperors of China solicited the friendship of the victorious Arabs.

§ 3. II. *Conquest of Syria*, (A.D. 632-639.—The command of the army destined to invade Syria was delegated by Abubeker to Abu Obeidah, one of the companions of Mahomet; whose zeal and devotion were assuaged, without being abated, by the singular mildness and benevolence of his temper. But in all the emergencies of war the soldiers demanded the superior genius of Caled: and whoever might be the choice of the prince, the *Sword of God* was both in fact and fame the foremost leader of the Saracens. They commenced the campaign by the capture of Bosra, and then advanced against Damascus. The forces which Heraclius sent under the command of his general Werdan, to repel the invaders of Syria, were defeated in two great battles, first on the plain of Aiznadin in the south of Palestine (A.D. 634, July 30), and a second time on the banks of the Yermuk, which flows into the lake of Tiberias (A.D. 634, August 22). The loss of the latter battle was followed by the capture of Damascus (A.D. 635, January). Emesa or Hems, and Heliopolis or Baalbec, the former the metropolis of the plain, the latter the capital of the valley, next fell into the hands of the Saracens; and Jerusalem, after a siege of four months, surrendered to the followers of the prophet (A.D. 637). The caliph Omar came in person to receive the capitulation of Jerusalem. By his command

the ground of the temple of Solomon was prepared for the foundation of a mosque; and, during a residence of ten days, he regulated the present and future state of his Syrian conquests.

In the life of Heraclius the glories of the Persian war are clouded on either hand by the disgrace and weakness of his more early and his later days. In the hour of adversity his superstition was agitated by the omens and dreams of a falling crown; and after bidding an eternal farewell to Syria, he secretly embarked with a few attendants, and absolved the faith of his subjects (A.D. 638). Antioch purchased its safety with 300,000 pieces of gold; Cæsarea surrendered; the remainder of the province no longer presumed to dispute the will of the conqueror; and Syria bowed under the sceptre of the caliphs 700 years after Pompey had despoiled the last of the Macedonian kings (A.D. 639).

§ 4. III. *Conquest of Egypt*, A.D. 639–641.—From his camp in Palestine Amrou had surprised or anticipated the caliph's leave for the invasion of Egypt. After a siege of 30 days he took possession of Farmah or Pelusium; and then advanced against Memphis, situated on the western side of the Nile, at a small distance to the south of the Delta. The banks of the Nile were united by two bridges of 60 and 30 boats, connected in the middle stream by the small island of Rouda. The eastern extremity of the bridge was terminated by the town of Babylon and the camp of a Roman legion, which protected the passes of the river and the second capital of Egypt. This important fortress, which might fairly be described as a part of Memphis or *Misrah*, was taken by Amrou after a siege of some months. The spot was afterwards recommended to the conqueror by the easy communication with the gulf and the peninsula of Arabia; the remains of Memphis were deserted; and the tents of the Arabs were converted into permanent habitations. A new city arose in their camp on the eastward bank of the Nile; and the contiguous quarters of Babylon and Fostat are confounded in their present decay by the appellation of Old Misrah, or Cairo, of which they form an extensive suburb. But the name of Cairo, the town of victory, more strictly belongs to the modern capital, which was founded in the tenth century by the Fatimite caliphs.

Yet the Arabs, after a glorious and profitable enterprise, must have retreated to the desert, had they not found a powerful alliance in the heart of the country. The persecution of the Coptic Christians or Jacobites by the emperors of Constantinople had converted a sect into a nation, and alienated Egypt from the religion and government of Constantinople. The Saracens were received as the deliverers of the Jacobite church; and a secret and effectual treaty was opened during the siege of Memphis between a victorious army

and a people of slaves. The Copts agreed to pay a stipulated tribute, and swore allegiance to the caliph. In the march from Memphis to Alexandria, the lieutenant of Omar intrusted his safety to the zeal and gratitude of the Egyptians: the roads and bridges were diligently repaired; and in every step of his progress he could depend on a constant supply of provisions and intelligence. The Greeks of Egypt, whose numbers could scarcely equal a tenth of the natives, were overwhelmed by the universal defection; they had ever been hated, they were no longer feared; the magistrate fled from his tribunal, the bishop from his altar; and the distant garrisons were surprised or starved by the surrounding multitudes.

The siege of Alexandria by the Saracens was perhaps their most arduous and important enterprise. The first trading city in the world was abundantly replenished with the means of subsistence and defence. Her numerous inhabitants fought for the dearest of human rights, religion and property; and the enmity of the natives seemed to exclude them from the common benefit of peace and toleration. The sea was continually open; and if Heraclius had been awake to the public distress, fresh armies of Romans and barbarians might have been poured into the harbour to save the second capital of the empire, The efforts of the Arabs were not inadequate to the difficulty of the attempt and the value of the prize. From the throne of Medina the eyes of Omar were fixed on the camp and city: his voice excited to arms the Arabian tribes and the veterans of Syria; and the merit of a holy war was recommended by the peculiar fame and fertility of Egypt. At length, after a siege of 14 months, and a loss of 23,000 men, the Saracens prevailed; the Greeks embarked their dispirited and diminished numbers, and the standard of Mahomet was planted on the walls of the capital of Egypt (A.D. 641). The intelligence of this disgraceful and calamitous event affected the declining health of the emperor; and Heraclius died of a dropsy about seven weeks after the loss of Alexandria. Under the minority of his grandson the clamours of a people deprived of their daily sustenance compelled the Byzantine court to undertake the recovery of the capital of Egypt. In the space of four years the harbour and fortifications of Alexandria were twice occupied by a fleet and army of Romans. But they were twice expelled by the valour of Amrou, who was recalled by the domestic peril from the distant wars of Tripoli and Nubia.

The celebrated story of the fate of the Alexandrian library, as it is described by the Arabic historians, must not be passed over in silence. The spirit of Amrou was more curious and liberal than that of his brethren, and in his leisure hours the Arabian chief was pleased with the conversation of John, the last disciple of Ammonius, and who derived the surname of *Philoponus* from his laborious

studies of grammar and philosophy. Emboldened by this familiar intercourse, Philoponus presumed to solicit a gift, inestimable in *his* opinion, contemptible in that of the barbarians—the royal library, which alone, among the spoils of Alexandria, had not been appropriated by the visit and the seal of the emperor. Amrou was inclined to gratify the wish of the grammarian, but his rigid integrity refused to alienate the minutest object without the consent of the caliph: and the well-known answer of Omar was inspired by the ignorance of a fanatic. "If these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useless, and need not be preserved: if they disagree, they are pernicious, and ought to be destroyed." The sentence was executed with blind obedience: the volumes of paper or parchment were distributed to the 4000 baths of the city; and such was their incredible multitude, that six months were barely sufficient for the consumption of this precious fuel.*

§ 5. IV. *The Conquest of Africa*, A.D. 647–709.—The conquest of Africa was first intrusted to Abdallah, the foster-brother of the caliph Othman, who had lately supplanted the conqueror and lieutenant of Egypt (A.D. 647); but though he gained some signal victories in a campaign of 15 months, the Saracens did not obtain a solid establishment till the reign of the caliph Moawiyah. His first lieutenant acquired a just renown; but the title of conqueror of Africa is more justly due to his successor Akbah. He penetrated as far as the Atlantic, and founded the city of Cairoan, to curb the levity of the barbarians, and to serve as a place of refuge against the accidents of war (A.D. 670–675). The further conquest of Africa was interrupted by the civil discord of the Arabian monarchy. The sea-coast still remained in the hands of the Greeks; and it was not till the reign of the caliph Abdalmalek, that the Greeks were expelled from Africa (A.D. 692–698). Carthage was delivered to the flames, and the colony of Dido and Cæsar lay desolate above 200 years, till a part of the old circumference was repeopled by the first of the Fatimite caliphs. In the beginning of the 16th century the second capital of the West was represented by a mosque, a college without students, 25 or 30 shops, and the huts of 500 peasants. Even that paltry village was swept away by the Spaniards whom Charles V. had stationed in the fortress of the Goletta.

After the expulsion of the Greeks, the Moors, or Berbers, in the interior provinces maintained a disorderly resistance to the religion and power of the successors of Mahomet. They were at length finally subdued by the activity of Musa (A.D. 709). Thirty thousand of the barbarian youth were enlisted in the troops; and

* This tale is rejected by Gibbon, but has been accepted by several subsequent writers of authority.

the pious labours of Musa, to inculcate the knowledge and practice of the Koran, accustomed the Africans to obey the apostle of God and the commander of the faithful. In their climate and government, their diet and habitation, the wandering Moors resembled the Bedoweens of the desert. With the religion they were proud to adopt the language, name, and origin of the Arabs; the blood of the strangers and natives was insensibly mingled; and from the Euphrates to the Atlantic the same nation might seem to be diffused over the sandy plains of Asia and Africa.

§ 6. V. *Conquest of Spain*, A.D. 711–713.—The Gothic kings of Spain had possession of the fortress of Ceuta; one of the Columns of Hercules, which is divided by a narrow strait from the opposite pillar or point of Europe. A small portion of Mauritania was still wanting to the African conquest; but Musa, in the pride of victory, was repulsed from the walls of Ceuta, by the vigilance and courage of Count Julian, the general of the Goths. From his disappointment and perplexity Musa was relieved by an unexpected message of the Christian chief, who offered his place, his person, and his sword to the successors of Mahomet, and solicited the disgraceful honour of introducing their arms into the heart of Spain. If we inquire into the cause of his treachery, the Spaniards will repeat the popular story of his daughter Cava; of a virgin who was seduced, or ravished, by her sovereign; of a father who sacrificed his religion and country to the thirst of revenge. The passions of princes have often been licentious and destructive; but this well-known tale, romantic in itself, is indifferently supported by external evidence; and the history of Spain will suggest some motives of interest and policy more congenial to the breast of a veteran statesman. After the decease or deposition of Witiza, his two sons were supplanted by the ambition of Roderic, a noble Goth, whose father the duke or governor of a province, had fallen a victim to the preceding tyranny. It is probable that Julian was involved in the disgrace of the sons of the late monarch; that, too feeble to meet his sovereign in arms, he sought the aid of a foreign power; and his rash invitation of the Moors and Arabs produced the calamities of 800 years. In A.D. 711, 5000 veterans and volunteers were embarked under the command of Tarik, a dauntless and skilful soldier, who surpassed the expectation of his chief; and the necessary transports were provided by the industry of their too faithful ally. The Saracens landed at the pillar or point of Europe; the corrupt and familiar appellation of Gibraltar (*Gebel al Tarik*) describes the mountain of Tarik; and the entrenchments of his camp were the first outlines of those fortifications which, in the hands of our countrymen, resisted the art and power of the house of Bourbon. Roderic assembled an army formidable in numbers; and

the battle which determined the fate of the kingdom was fought near the town of Xeres, in the neighbourhood of Cadiz. The Saracens were victorious; and the remains of the Gothic army were scattered or destroyed in the flight and pursuit of the three following days. Amidst the general disorder Roderic started from his car, and mounted Orelia, the fleetest of his horses; but he escaped from a soldier's death to perish more ignobly in the waters of the Bætis or Guadalquivir. His diadem, his robes, and his courser were found on the bank; but as the body of the Gothic prince was lost in the waves, the pride and ignorance of the caliph must have been gratified with some meaner head, which was exposed in triumph before the palace of Damascus. The battle of Xeres was followed by the rapid conquest of Spain. Tarik marched without delay to the royal city of Toledo, which yielded to his arms upon obtaining a fair and reasonable capitulation. From Toledo, the Arabian leader spread his conquests to the north, over the modern realms of Castile and Leon. Beyond the Asturian mountains, the maritime town of Gijon was the term of the lieutenant of Musa, who had performed, with the speed of a traveller, his victorious march of 700 miles, from the rock of Gibraltar to the Bay of Biscay. The failure of land compelled him to retreat; and he was recalled to Toledo, to excuse his presumption of subduing a kingdom in the absence of his general. On the intelligence of this rapid success, the applause of Musa degenerated into envy; and in the following year (A.D. 712) he passed over in person from Mauritania to Spain. Some enemies yet remained for his sword. The tardy repentance of the Goths had compared their own numbers and those of the invaders; the cities from which the march of Tarik had declined considered themselves impregnable; and the bravest patriots defended the fortifications of Seville and Merida. They were successively besieged and reduced by the labour of Musa, who transported his camp from the Bætis to the Anas, from the Guadalquivir to the Guadiana.

A province is assimilated to the victorious state by the introduction of strangers and the imitative spirit of the natives; and Spain, which had been successively tinctured with Punic, and Roman, and Gothic blood, imbibed, in a few generations, the name and manners of the Arabs. Under their sway Spain became one of the most prosperous countries in Europe. The most powerful of the Ommiades, who reigned in Spain, derived from the kingdom the annual tribute of 12 millions and 45,000 dinars, or pieces of gold, about 6 millions of sterling money; a sum which, in the tenth century, most probably surpassed the united revenues of the Christian monarchs.

§ 7. At the end of the first century of the Hegira the caliphs

were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe. Their prerogative was not circumscribed, either in right or in fact by the power of the nobles, the freedom of the commons, the privileges of the church, the votes of a senate, or the memory of a free constitution. The authority of the companions of Mahomet expired with their lives; and the chiefs or emirs of the Arabian tribes left behind in the desert the spirit of equality and independence. The regal and sacerdotal characters were united in the successors of Mahomet; and if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conquest over the nations of the East, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accustomed to applaud in their tyrants the acts of violence and severity that were exercised at their own expense. Under the last of the Ommiades the Arabian empire extended two hundred days' journey from east to west, from the confines of Tartary and India to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. And if we retrench the sleeve of the robe, as it is styled by their writers, the long and narrow province of Africa, the solid and compact dominion from Fargana to Aden, from Tarsus to Surat, will spread on every side to the measure of four or five months of the march of a caravan. We should vainly seek the indissoluble union and easy obedience that pervaded the government of Augustus and the Antonines; but the progress of the Mahometan religion diffused over this ample space a general resemblance of manners and opinions. The language and laws of the Koran were studied with equal devotion at Samarcand and Seville: the Moor and the Indian embraced as countrymen and brothers in the pilgrimage of Mecca; and the Arabian language was adopted as the popular idiom in all the provinces to the westward of the Tigris.

§ 8. When the Arabs first issued from the desert they must have been surprised at the ease and rapidity of their own success. But when they advanced in the career of victory to the banks of the Indus and the summit of the Pyrenees, when they had repeatedly tried the edge of their scimitars and the energy of their faith, they might be equally astonished that any nation could resist their invincible arms, that any boundary should confine the dominion of the successor of the prophet. The confidence of soldiers and fanatics may indeed be excused, since the calm historian of the present hour, who strives to follow the rapid course of the Saracens, must study to explain by what means the church and state were saved from this impending, and, as it should seem, from this inevitable danger. The greatest part of the temperate zone was subject to the Mahometan conquerors, the Greeks were exhausted by the calamities of war and the loss of their fairest provinces, and the barbarians of Europe might justly tremble at the precipitate fall of the Gothic

monarchy. In this inquiry I shall unfold the events that rescued our ancestors of Britain, and our neighbours of Gaul, from the civil and religious yoke of the Koran; that protected the majesty of Rome, and delayed the servitude of Constantinople; that invigorated the defence of the Christians, and scattered among their enemies the seeds of division and decay.

§ 9. Forty-six years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca his disciples appeared in arms under the walls of Constantinople (A.D. 668). The command of the expedition was entrusted by the caliph Moawiyah to Sophian, a veteran warrior, but the troops were encouraged by the example and presence of Yezid, the son and presumptive heir of the commander of the faithful. The Greeks had little to hope, nor had their enemies any reasons to fear, from the courage and vigilance of the reigning emperor, who disgraced the name of Constantine, and imitated only the inglorious years of his grandfather Heraclius. Without delay or opposition, the naval forces of the Saracens passed through the unguarded channel of the Hellespont, and the troops were disembarked near the palace of Hebdomon, seven miles from the city. But the besiegers had formed an insufficient estimate of the strength and resources of Constantinople. The solid and lofty walls were guarded by numbers and discipline: the spirit of the Romans was rekindled by the last danger of their religion and empire; and the Saracens were dismayed by the strange and prodigious effects of artificial fire. This firm and effectual resistance diverted their arms to the more easy attempts of plundering the European and Asiatic coasts of the Propontis; and, after keeping the sea from the month of April to that of September, on the approach of winter they retreated fourscore miles from the capital, to the isle of Cyzicus, in which they had established their magazine of spoil and provisions. So patient was their perseverance, or so languid were their operations, that they repeated in the six following summers the same attack and retreat, with a gradual abatement of hope and vigour, till the mischance of shipwreck and disease, of the sword and of fire, compelled them to relinquish the fruitless enterprise (A.D. 675).

§ 10. The second siege of Constantinople was undertaken by the caliph Soliman. His brother Moslemah, at the head of 120,000 Arabs and Persians, crossed over from Asia to Europe at the well-known passage of Abydus, on the Hellespont. His huge fleet, consisting of 1800 ships, proceeded towards the mouth of the Bosporus; and the same fatal night had been fixed by the Saracen chief for a general assault by sea and land. To allure the confidence of the enemy the emperor Leo the Isaurian had thrown aside the chain that usually guarded the entrance of the harbour; the fire-ships of

the Greeks were launched against them; the Arabs, their arms, and vessels were involved in the same flames; and the fleet that had threatened to extirpate the Roman name was entirely destroyed. A still more fatal and irreparable loss was that of the caliph Soliman, who died in his camp near Kinnisrin or Chalcis in Syria, as he was preparing to lead against Constantinople the remaining forces of the East. The brother of Moslemah was succeeded by a kinsman and an enemy; and the siege was continued through the winter by the neglect, rather than by the resolution, of the caliph Omar. The winter proved uncommonly rigorous: above an hundred days the ground was covered with deep snow, and the natives of the sultry climes of Egypt and Arabia lay torpid and almost lifeless in their frozen camp. They revived on the return of spring; a second effort had been made in their favour, and their distress was relieved by the arrival of two numerous fleets laden with corn, and arms, and soldiers. But the Greek fires were again kindled, and, if the destruction was less complete, it was owing to the experience which had taught the Moslems to remain at a safe distance, or to the perfidy of the Egyptian mariners, who deserted with their ships to the emperor of the Christians. The calamities of famine and disease were soon felt by the troops of Moslemah. The spirit of conquest, and even of enthusiasm, was extinct: the Saracens could no longer straggle beyond their lines, either single or in small parties, without exposing themselves to the merciless retaliation of the Thracian peasants. An army of Bulgarians was attracted from the Danube by the gifts and promises of Leo; and these savage auxiliaries made some atonement for the evils which they had inflicted on the empire by the defeat and slaughter of 22,000 Asiatics. At length, after a siege of 13 months (A.D. 717, 718), the hopeless Moslemah received from the caliph the welcome permission of retreat. The march of the Arabian cavalry over the Hellespont and through the provinces of Asia was executed without delay or molestation; but an army of their brethren had been cut in pieces on the side of Bithynia, and the remains of the fleet were so repeatedly damaged by tempest and fire, that only five galleys entered the port of Alexandria to relate the tale of their various and almost incredible disasters.

§ 11. In the two sieges the deliverance of Constantinople may be chiefly ascribed to the novelty, the terrors, and the real efficacy of the *Greek fire*. The important secret of compounding and directing this artificial flame was imparted by Callinicus, a native of Heliopolis in Syria, who deserted from the service of the caliph to that of the emperor. The skill of a chemist and engineer was equivalent to the succour of fleets and armies; and this discovery or improvement of the military art was fortunately reserved for the

distressful period when the degenerate Romans of the East were incapable of contending with the warlike enthusiasm and youthful vigour of the Saracens. It would seem that the principal ingredient of the Greek fire was the *naphtha*, or liquid bitumen, a light, tenacious, and inflammable oil, which springs from the earth, and catches fire as soon as it comes in contact with the air. The naphtha was mingled, I know not by what methods or in what proportions, with sulphur and with the pitch that is extracted from evergreen firs. From this mixture, which produced a thick smoke and a loud explosion, proceeded a fierce and obstinate flame, which not only rose in perpendicular ascent, but likewise burnt with equal vehemence in descent or lateral progress; instead of being extinguished, it was nourished and quickened by the element of water; and sand, urine, or vinegar, were the only remedies that could damp the fury of this powerful agent, which was justly denominated by the Greeks the *liquid* or the *maritime* fire. For the annoyance of the enemy, it was employed with equal effect by sea and land, in battles or in sieges. It was either poured from the rampart in large boilers, or launched in red-hot balls of stone and iron, or darted in arrows and javelins, twisted round with flax and tow, which had deeply imbibed the inflammable oil; sometimes it was deposited in fireships, the victims and instruments of a more ample revenge, and was most commonly blown through long tubes of copper, which were planted on the prow of a galley, and fancifully shaped into the mouths of savage monsters, that seemed to vomit a stream of liquid and consuming fire. This important art was preserved at Constantinople, as the palladium of the state: the galleys and *artillery* might occasionally be lent to the allies of Rome; but the composition of the Greek fire was concealed with the most jealous scruple, and the terror of the enemies was increased and prolonged by their ignorance and surprise. The secret was confined, above 400 years, to the Romans of the East; and at the end of the eleventh century, the Pisans, to whom every sea and every art were familiar, suffered the effects, without understanding the composition, of the Greek fire. It was at length either discovered or stolen by the Mahometans; and, in the holy wars of Syria and Egypt, they retorted an invention, contrived against themselves, on the head of the Christians. The use of the Greek, or, as it might now be called, of the Saracen fire, was continued to the middle of the fourteenth century, when the scientific or casual compound of nitre, sulphur, and charcoal effected a new revolution in the art of war and the history of mankind.

§ 12. Constantinople and the Greek fire might exclude the Arabs from the eastern entrance of Europe; but in the West, on the side of the Pyrenees, the provinces of Gaul were threatened and invaded by the conquerors of Spain. In the course of several campaigns

(A.D. 718, seq.) the Saracens subdued the south of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhône, which assumed the manners and religion of Arabia. But these narrow limits were scorned by the spirit of Abdalrahman, or Abderame, who had been restored by the caliph Hashem to the wishes of the soldiers and people of Spain. That veteran and daring commander adjudged to the obedience of the prophet whatever yet remained of France or of Europe; and prepared to execute the sentence, at the head of a formidable host, in the full confidence of surmounting all opposition either of nature or of man. Eudes, the intrepid duke of Aquitain, who had withstood the former invasions of the Saracens, sustained a defeat, so fatal to the Christians, that, according to their sad confession, God alone could reckon the number of the slain. The victorious Saracen overran the provinces of Aquitain: his standards were planted on the walls, or at least before the gates, of Tours and of Sens; and his detachments overspread the kingdom of Burgundy as far as the well-known cities of Lyons and Besançon. A victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire; the repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland; the Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames.

From such calamities was Christendom delivered by the genius and fortune of one man. Charles, the illegitimate son of the elder Pepin, was content with the titles of mayor or duke of the Franks; but he deserved to become the father of a line of kings. In a laborious administration of 24 years he restored and supported the dignity of the throne, and the rebels of Germany and Gaul were successively crushed by the activity of a warrior who in the same campaign could display his banner on the Elbe, the Rhône, and the shores of the ocean. In the public danger he was summoned by the voice of his country; and as soon as he had collected his forces, he sought and found the enemy in the centre of France, between Tours and Poitiers. His well-conducted march was covered by a range of hills, and Abderame appears to have been surprised by his unexpected presence. The nations of Asia, Africa, and Europe advanced with equal ardour to an encounter which would change the history of the world (A.D. 732). In the first six days of desultory combat the horsemen and archers of the East maintained their advantage; but in the closer onset of the seventh day the Orientals were oppressed by the strength and stature of the Germans, who, with stout hearts and *iron* hands, asserted the civil and religious freedom of their posterity. The epithet of ***Martel***, the *hammer*, which had been added to the name of Charles, is expressive of his weighty and irresistible strokes: the valour of Eudes

was excited by emulation; and their companions, in the eye of history, are the true Peers and Paladins of French chivalry. After a bloody field, in which Abderame was slain, the Saracens, in the close of the evening, retired to their camp. In the disorder and despair of the night the various tribes of Yemen and Damascus, of Africa and Spain, were provoked to turn their arms against each other: the remains of their host were suddenly dissolved, and each *emir* consulted his safety by an hasty and separate retreat. The victory of the Franks was complete and final; Aquitain was recovered by the arms of Eudes; and the Arabs were soon driven beyond the Pyrenees by Charles Martel and his valiant race.

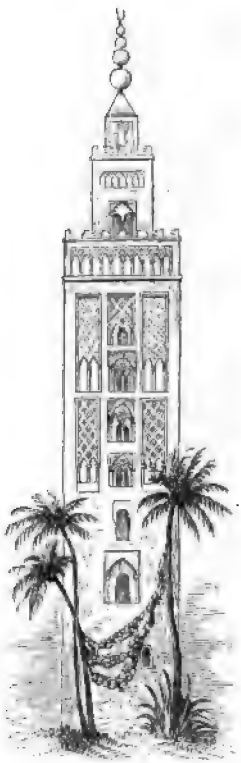
§ 13. The loss of an army or a province, in the Western world, was less painful to the court of Damascus than the rise and progress of a domestic competitor. Except among the Syrians, the caliphs of the house of Ommiyah had never been the objects of the public favour. The life of Mahomet recorded their perseverance in idolatry and rebellion: their conversion had been reluctant, their elevation irregular and factious, and their throne was cemented with the most holy and noble blood of Arabia. The eyes and wishes of the faithful were turned towards the line of Hashem and the kindred of the apostle of God. Of these the Fatimites were either rash or pusillanimous; but the descendants of Abbas cherished, with courage or discretion, the hopes of their rising fortunes. From an obscure residence in Syria, they secretly despatched their agents and missionaries, who preached in the Eastern provinces their hereditary indefeasible right; and Abu Moslem, the author, as he is named, of the *call* of the Abbassides, took up arms in their cause, and expelled the governor of Chorasan from the city and palace of Meru. In the visible separation of parties, the *green* was consecrated to the Fatimites; the Ommiades were distinguished by the *white;* and the *black*, as the most adverse, was naturally adopted by the Abbassides. From the Indus to the Euphrates, the East was convulsed by the quarrel of the white and the black factions; but the Abbassides were most frequently victorious. Mervan, the fourteenth and last of the house of Ommiyah, sustained an irretrievable defeat on the Zab, and was slain in Egypt, where the remains of the white faction were finally vanquished (A.D. 750). The merciless inquisition of the conqueror eradicated the most distant branches of the hostile race: their bones were scattered, their memory was accursed, and the martyrdom of Hossein was abundantly revenged on the posterity of his tyrants. By the event of the civil war the dynasty of the Abbassides was firmly established; and Abdallah, surnamed Al Saffah (the Sanguinary) was acknowledged as the successor of the prophet.

§ 14. This revolution tended to dissolve the power and unity of the empire of the Saracens. In the proscription of the Ommiades,

(A.D. 718, seq.) the Saracens sub[illegible]man, alone escaped the rage the mouth of the Garonne to th[illegible]ndering exile from the banks of manners and religion of A[illegible]ount Atlas. His presence in the scorned by the spirit of A[illegible]d the zeal of the white faction. The restored by the caliph F[illegible]bassides had been first vindicated by the people of Spain. The[illegible]been pure from civil arms; and the servants the obedience of the[illegible]still held, by a precarious tenure, the inhe- Europe; and pre[illegible]and the offices of government. Strongly midable host, [illegible]titude, indignation, and fear, they invited Abdal- either of na[illegible]the throne of his ancestors; and, in his desperate who had [illegible]extremes of rashness and prudence were almost the defeat, [illegible]acclamations of the people saluted his landing on the fessio[illegible]; and, after a successful struggle, Abdalrahman tory [illegible]the throne of Cordova, and was the father of the Om- w[illegible]of Spain, who reigned above 250 years from the Atlantic to [illegible]Pyrenees. Instead of opening a door to the conquest of Europe, Spain was dissevered from the trunk of the monarchy, engaged in perpetual hostility with the East, and inclined to peace and friendship with the Christian sovereigns of Constantinople and France. The example of the Ommiades was imitated by the real or fictitious progeny of Ali, the Edrissites of Mauritania, and the more powerful Fatimites of Africa and Egypt. In the tenth century the chair of Mahomet was disputed by three caliphs or commanders of the faithful, who reigned at Bagdad, Cairoan, and Cordova, excommunicated each other, and agreed only in a principle of discord, that a sectary is more odious and criminal than an unbeliever.

§ 15. Mecca was the patrimony of the line of Hashem, yet the Abbassides were never tempted to reside either in the birthplace or the city of the prophet. Damascus was disgraced by the choice, and polluted with the blood of the Ommiades; and, after some hesitation, Almansor, the brother and successor of Al Saffah, laid the foundations of Bagdad, the Imperial seat of his posterity during a reign of 500 years. The chosen spot is on the eastern bank of the Tigris, about 15 miles above the ruins of Modain: the double wall was of a circular form; and in this city, amidst the riches of the East, the Abbassides soon disdained the abstinence and frugality of the first caliphs, and aspired to emulate the magnificence of the Persian kings. In the West the Ommiades of Spain supported with equal pomp the title of commander of the faithful. But the luxury of the caliphs relaxed the nerves, and terminated the progress of the Arabian empire. Temporal and spiritual conquest had been the sole occupation of the first successors of Mahomet; and after supplying themselves with the necessaries of life, the whole revenue was scrupulously devoted to that salutary work. The Abbassides were impoverished by the multitude of their wants

their contempt of economy. Instead of pursuing the great ct of ambition, their leisure, their affections, the powers of their were diverted by pomp and re: the rewards of valour were zzled by women and eunuchs, the royal camp was encumbered by the luxury of the palace. A similar temper was diffused among the subjects of the caliph. Their stern enthusiasm was softened by time and prosperity: they sought riches in the occupations of industry, fame in the pursuits of literature, and happiness in the tranquility of domestic life. War was no longer the passion of the Saracens; and the increase of pay, the repetition of donatives, were insufficient to allure the posterity of those voluntary champions who had crowded to the standard of Abubeker and Omar for the hopes of spoil and of paradise.



Giralda, Seville, 185 feet high.

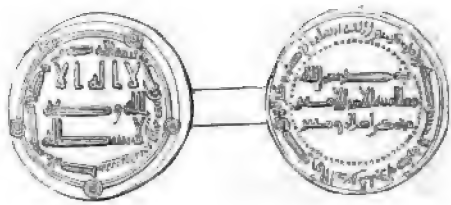
§ 16. Under the reign of the Ommiades the studies of the Moslems were confined to the interpretation of the Koran, and the eloquence and poetry of their native tongue. After their civil and domestic wars, the subjects of the Abbassides, awakening from this mental lethargy, found leisure and felt curiosity for the acquisition of profane science. This spirit was first encouraged by the caliph Almansor, who, besides his knowledge of the Mahometan law, had applied himself with success to the study of astronomy. But when the sceptre devolved to Almamon, the seventh of the Abbassides, he completed the designs of his grandfather, and invited the Muses from their ancient seats. His ambassadors at Constantinople, his agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, collected the volumes of Grecian science: at his command they were translated by the most skilful interpreters into the Arabic language; and his subjects were exhorted assiduously to peruse these instructive writings. The zeal and curiosity of Almamon were imitated by succeeding princes of the line of Abbas: their rivals, the Fatimites of Africa and the Ommiades of Spain, were the patrons of the learned, as well as the

commanders of the faithful; the same royal prerogative was claimed by their independent emirs of the provinces; and their emulation diffused the taste and the rewards of science from Samarcand and Bochara to Fez and Cordova. The age of Arabian learning continued about 500 years, till the great eruption of the Monguls, and was coeval with the darkest and most slothful period of European annals; but since the sun of science has arisen in the West, it should seem that the Oriental studies have languished and declined.

§ 17. In the libraries of the Arabians, as in those of Europe, the far greater part of the innumerable volumes were possessed only of local value or imaginary merit. The works of speculation or science may be reduced to the four classes of philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and physic. The sages of Greece were translated and illustrated in the Arabic language, and some treatises, now lost in the original, have been recovered in the versions of the East, which possessed and studied the writings of Aristotle and Plato, of Euclid and Apollonius, of Ptolemy, Hippocrates and Galen. The Arabians adopted the philosophy of the Stagirite, which was restored by the Mahometans of Spain to the Latin schools. The mathematics are distinguished by a peculiar privilege, that, in the course of ages, they may always advance and can never recede. But the ancient geometry, if I am not misinformed, was resumed in the same state by the Italians of the fifteenth century; and whatever may be the origin of the name, the science of algebra is ascribed to the Grecian Diophantus by the modest testimony of the Arabs themselves. They cultivated with more success the sublime science of astronomy; the costly instruments of observation were supplied by the caliph Almamon, and the land of the Chaldæans still afforded the same spacious level, the same unclouded horizon. In the plains of Sinaar, and a second time in those of Cufa, his mathematicians accurately measured a degree of the great circle of the earth, and determined at 24,000 miles the entire circumference of our globe. From the reign of the Abbassides to that of the grand-children of Tamerlane, the stars, without the aid of glasses, were diligently observed; and the astronomical tables of Bagdad, Spain, and Samarcand correct some minute errors, without daring to renounce the hypothesis of Ptolemy, without advancing a step towards the discovery of the solar system. In the Eastern courts, the truths of science could be recommended only by ignorance and folly, and the astronomer would have been disregarded, had he not debased his wisdom or honesty by the vain predictions of astrology. But in the science of medicine the Arabians have been deservedly applauded. The names of Mesua and Geber, of Razis and Avicenna, are ranked with the Grecian masters; in the city of Bagdad 860 physicians

were licensed to exercise their lucrative profession: in Spain, the life of the Catholic princes was intrusted to the skill of the Saracens, and the school of Salerno, their legitimate offspring, revived in Italy and Europe the precepts of their healing art. The *science* of chemistry owes its origin and improvement to the industry of the Saracens. They first invented and named the alembic for the purposes of distillation, analysed the substances of the three kingdoms of nature, tried the distinction and affinities of alcalis and acids, and converted the poisonous minerals into soft and salutary medicines. But the most eager search of Arabian chemistry was the transmutation of metals, and the elixir of immortal health: the reason and the fortunes of thousands were evaporated in the crucibles of alchymy, and the consummation of the great work was promoted by the worthy aid of mystery, fable, and superstition.

§ 18. In the bloody conflict of the Ommiades and Abbassides the Greeks had stolen the opportunity of avenging their wrongs and enlarging their limits. But a severe retribution was exacted by Mahdi, the third caliph of the new dynasty, who seized, in his turn, the favourable opportunity, while a woman and a child, Irene and Constantine, were seated on the Byzantine throne. An army of 95,000 Persians and Arabs was sent from the Tigris to the Thracian Bosporus, under the command of Harun, or Aaron, the second son of the commander of the faithful. His encampment on the opposite heights of Chrysopolis, or Scutari, informed Irene, in her palace of Constantinople, of the loss of her troops and provinces. With the consent or connivance of their sovereign, her ministers subscribed an ignominious peace; and the exchange of some royal gifts could not disguise the annual tribute of 70,000 dinars of gold, which was imposed on the Roman empire. Five years after this expedition, Harun ascended the throne of his father and his elder brother; the most powerful and vigorous monarch of his race, illustrious in the West as the ally of Charlemagne, and familiar to the most childish readers as the perpetual hero of the Arabian tales. His title to the



Silver Coin: Dirhem of the Abbasside Harun al Rashid, from the British Museum.

Translation of the Inscription.—Obverse: "There is no deity but God alone; he hath no companion. In the name of God, this dirhem was struck at El-Basrah, in the year [of the Flight] 182."—Reverse: "Mohammed is the apostle of God. By the command of the Emeer El-Emeen Mohammad, son of the Prince of the Faithful. Mohammad is the apostle of God, whom he hath sent with the direction and the religion of truth, that he should exalt it over every religion, though the associators be averse."

were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe. Their prerogative was not circumscribed, either in right or in fact by the power of the nobles, the freedom of the commons, the privileges of the church, the votes of a senate, or the memory of a free constitution. The authority of the companions of Mahomet expired with their lives; and the chiefs or emirs of the Arabian tribes left behind in the desert the spirit of equality and independence. The regal and sacerdotal characters were united in the successors of Mahomet; and if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conquest over the nations of the East, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accustomed to applaud in their tyrants the acts of violence and severity that were exercised at their own expense. Under the last of the Ommiades the Arabian empire extended two hundred days' journey from east to west, from the confines of Tartary and India to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. And if we retrench the sleeve of the robe, as it is styled by their writers, the long and narrow province of Africa, the solid and compact dominion from Fargana to Aden, from Tarsus to Surat, will spread on every side to the measure of four or five months of the march of a caravan. We should vainly seek the indissoluble union and easy obedience that pervaded the government of Augustus and the Antonines; but the progress of the Mahometan religion diffused over this ample space a general resemblance of manners and opinions. The language and laws of the Koran were studied with equal devotion at Samarcand and Seville: the Moor and the Indian embraced as countrymen and brothers in the pilgrimage of Mecca; and the Arabian language was adopted as the popular idiom in all the provinces to the westward of the Tigris.

§ 8. When the Arabs first issued from the desert they must have been surprised at the ease and rapidity of their own success. But when they advanced in the career of victory to the banks of the Indus and the summit of the Pyrenees, when they had repeatedly tried the edge of their scimitars and the energy of their faith, they might be equally astonished that any nation could resist their invincible arms, that any boundary should confine the dominion of the successor of the prophet. The confidence of soldiers and fanatics may indeed be excused, since the calm historian of the present hour, who strives to follow the rapid course of the Saracens, must study to explain by what means the church and state were saved from this impending, and, as it should seem, from this inevitable danger. The greatest part of the temperate zone was subject to the Mahometan conquerors, the Greeks were exhausted by the calamities of war and the loss of their fairest provinces, and the barbarians of Europe might justly tremble at the precipitate fall of the Gothic

monarchy. In this inquiry I shall unfold the events that rescued our ancestors of Britain, and our neighbours of Gaul, from the civil and religious yoke of the Koran; that protected the majesty of Rome, and delayed the servitude of Constantinople; that invigorated the defence of the Christians, and scattered among their enemies the seeds of division and decay.

§ 9. Forty-six years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca his disciples appeared in arms under the walls of Constantinople (A.D. 668). The command of the expedition was entrusted by the caliph Moawiyah to Sophian, a veteran warrior, but the troops were encouraged by the example and presence of Yezid, the son and presumptive heir of the commander of the faithful. The Greeks had little to hope, nor had their enemies any reasons to fear, from the courage and vigilance of the reigning emperor, who disgraced the name of Constantine, and imitated only the inglorious years of his grandfather Heraclius. Without delay or opposition, the naval forces of the Saracens passed through the unguarded channel of the Hellespont, and the troops were disembarked near the palace of Hebdomon, seven miles from the city. But the besiegers had formed an insufficient estimate of the strength and resources of Constantinople. The solid and lofty walls were guarded by numbers and discipline: the spirit of the Romans was rekindled by the last danger of their religion and empire; and the Saracens were dismayed by the strange and prodigious effects of artificial fire. This firm and effectual resistance diverted their arms to the more easy attempts of plundering the European and Asiatic coasts of the Propontis; and, after keeping the sea from the month of April to that of September, on the approach of winter they retreated fourscore miles from the capital, to the isle of Cyzicus, in which they had established their magazine of spoil and provisions. So patient was their perseverance, or so languid were their operations, that they repeated in the six following summers the same attack and retreat, with a gradual abatement of hope and vigour, till the mischance of shipwreck and disease, of the sword and of fire, compelled them to relinquish the fruitless enterprise (A.D. 675).

§ 10. The second siege of Constantinople was undertaken by the caliph Soliman. His brother Moslemah, at the head of 120,000 Arabs and Persians, crossed over from Asia to Europe at the well-known passage of Abydus, on the Hellespont. His huge fleet, consisting of 1800 ships, proceeded towards the mouth of the Bosporus; and the same fatal night had been fixed by the Saracen chief for a general assault by sea and land. To allure the confidence of the enemy the emperor Leo the Isaurian had thrown aside the chain that usually guarded the entrance of the harbour; the fire-ships of

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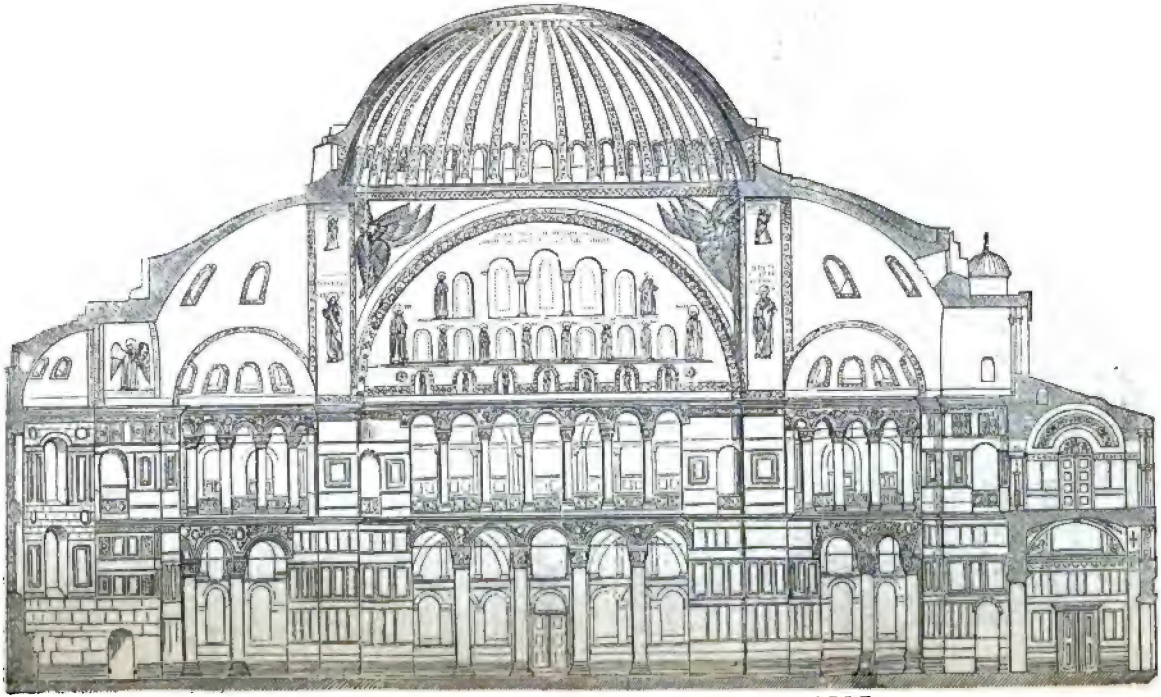
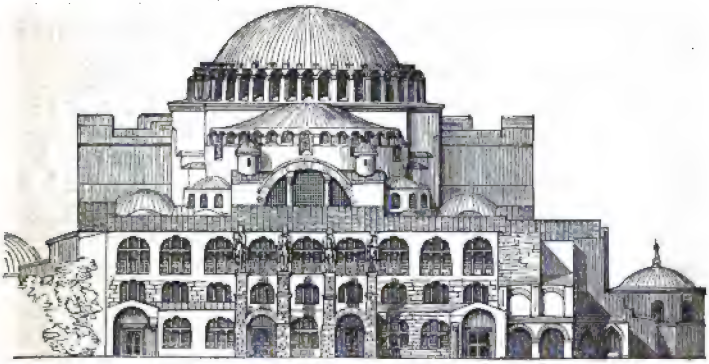


SECTION OF ST. SOPHIA AT CONSTANTINOPLE.



St. Sophia, at Constantinople.

CHAPTER XXIX.

STATE OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE IN THE TENTH CENTURY: THE PAULICIANS.

§ 1. Works of Constantine Porphyrogenitus: Embassy of Liutprand. § 2. The themes or provinces of the empire. § 3. General wealth and populousness. § 4. Revenue of the Greek empire. § 5. Palace of Constantinople: furniture and attendance. § 6. Honours and titles of the imperial family. § 7. Officers of the palace, the state and the army. § 8. Ceremonies of the court. § 9. Despotic power of the emperor. § 10. Naval and military forces. § 11. Oblivion of the Latin language: the Greek emperors and their subjects retain and assert the name of Romans. § 12. Period of ignorance: revival of Greek learning: decay of taste and genius. § 13. Byzantine architecture. § 14. Origin of the PAULICIANS. § 15. The simplicity of their belief and worship. § 16. Persecution and revolt of the Paulicians. § 17. Their transplantation from Armenia to Thrace. § 18. Their introduction into Italy and France. § 19. Persecution of the Albigeois.

§ 1. A RAY of historic light seems to beam from the darkness of the tenth century. We open with curiosity and respect the royal volumes of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which he composed at a mature age for the instruction of his son, and which promise to unfold the state of the Eastern empire, both in peace and war, both at home and abroad. In the first of these works he minutely describes the pompous ceremonies of the church and palace of Constantinople, according to his own practice and that of his predecessors. In the second he attempts an accurate survey of the pro-

vinces, the *themes*, as they were then denominated, both of Europe and Asia. The system of Roman tactics, the discipline and order of the troops, and the military operations by land and sea, are explained in the third of these didactic collections, which may be ascribed to Constantine or his father Leo. In the fourth, of the administration of the empire, he reveals the secrets of the Byzantine policy, in friendly or hostile intercourse with the nations of the earth. The ambassador of the great Otho, a bishop of Cremona, has painted the state of Constantinople about the middle of the tenth century: his style is glowing, his narrative lively, his observation keen; and even the prejudices and passions of Liutprand are stamped with an original character of freedom and genius. From this scanty fund of foreign and domestic materials I shall investigate the form and substance of the Byzantine empire; the provinces and wealth, the civil government and military force, the literature and architecture of the Greeks in a period of 600 years, from the reign of Heraclius to the successful invasion of the Franks or Latins.

§ 2. The provinces under the obedience of the emperors were cast into a new mould; and the jurisdiction of the presidents, the consulars, and the counts was superseded by the institution of the *themes*, or military governments, which prevailed under the successors of Heraclius, and are described by the pen of the royal author. Of the 29 themes, 12 were in Europe and 17 in Asia. In the 11th century the relics of Italy were swept away by the Norman adventurers, and almost all the Asiatic branches were dissevered from the Roman trunk by the Turkish conquerors. After these losses the emperors of the Comnenian family continued to reign from the Danube to Peloponnesus, and from Belgrade to Nice, Trebizond, and the winding stream of the Meander. The spacious provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece were obedient to their sceptre; the possession of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete was accompanied by the 50 islands of the Ægean or Holy Sea,* and the remnant of their empire transcends the measure of the largest of the European kingdoms.

§ 3. The same princes might assert, with dignity and truth, that of all the monarchs of Christendom they possessed the greatest city, the most ample revenue, the most flourishing and populous state. With the decline and fall of the empire the cities of the West had decayed and fallen; nor could the ruins of Rome, or the mud walls, wooden hovels, and narrow precincts of Paris and London, prepare the Latin stranger to contemplate the situation and extent of Constantinople, her stately palaces and churches, and the arts and luxury of an innumerable people. Her treasures might attract, but her virgin strength had repelled, and still promised to repel, the

* Ἅγιος πέλαγος, as it is styled by the modern Greeks, whence the corrupt name of Archipelago.

audacious invasion of the Persian and Bulgarian, the Arab and the Russian. The provinces were less fortunate and impregnable, and few districts, few cities, could be discovered which had not been violated by some fierce barbarian, impatient to despoil, because he was hopeless to possess. Yet the subjects of the Byzantine empire were still the most dexterous and diligent of nations; their country was blessed by nature with every advantage of soil, climate, and situation; and, in the support and restoration of the arts, their patient and peaceful temper was more useful than the warlike spirit and feudal anarchy of Europe. Even the tribes of barbarians who had seated themselves in arms on the territory of the empire were gradually reclaimed to the laws of the church and state, and, as long as they were separated from the Greeks, their posterity supplied a race of faithful and obedient soldiers.*

§ 4. The vague and scanty memorials of the times will not afford any just estimate of the taxes, the revenue, and the resources of the Greek empire. A Jewish traveller, who visited the East in the 12th century, is lost in his admiration of the Byzantine riches. "It is here," says Benjamin of Tudela, "in the queen of cities, that the tributes of the Greek empire are annually deposited, and the lofty towers are filled with precious magazines of silk, purple, and gold. It is said that Constantinople pays each day to her sovereign 20,000 pieces of gold, which are levied on the shops, taverns, and markets, on the merchants of Persia and Egypt, of Russia and Hungary, of Italy and Spain, who frequent the capital by sea and land." In all pecuniary matters the authority of a Jew is doubtless respectable; but as the 365 days would produce a yearly income exceeding 7,000,000 sterling, I am tempted to retrench at least the numerous festivals of the Greek calendar. The mass of treasure that was saved by Theodora and Basil II. will suggest a splendid, though indefinite, idea of their supplies and resources. The mother of Michael, before she retired to a cloister, had accumulated 109,000 pounds of gold and 300,000 of silver. The avarice of Basil is not less renowned than his valour and fortune: his victorious armies were paid and rewarded without breaking into the mass of 200,000, pounds of gold (about 8,000,000 sterling), which he had buried in the subterraneous vaults of the palace.

§ 5. The great palace of the emperors was fixed during 11 centuries in the same position, between the hippodrome, the cathedral of St. Sophia, and the gardens, which descended by many a terrace to the shores of the Propontis. A new building was erected by the

* Among the barbarians who settled in the empire, we may mention the Slavonians, who formed the bulk of the population of Greece, and especially of the Peloponessus, for several centuries.

emperor Theophilus after the model of a palace which the caliph of Bagdad had recently constructed on the banks of the Tigris. It was accompanied with gardens and with five churches, one of which was conspicuous for size and beauty. The long series of the apartments were adapted to the seasons, and decorated with marble and porphyry, with painting, sculpture, and mosaics, with a profusion of gold, silver, and precious stones. The fanciful magnificence of Theophilus employed the skill and patience of such artists as the times could afford; but the taste of Athens would have despised their frivolous and costly labours; a golden tree, with its leaves and branches, which sheltered a multitude of birds warbling their artificial notes, and two lions of massy gold, and of the natural size, who looked and roared like their brethren of the forest. The successors of Theophilus, of the Basilian and Comnenian dynasties, were not less ambitious of leaving some memorial of their residence; and the portion of the palace most splendid and august was dignified with the title of the golden *triclinium*.

§ 6. Above a thousand years, from Vespasian to Alexius Comnenus, the *Cæsar* was the second person, or at least the second degree, after the supreme title of *Augustus* was more freely communicated to the sons and brothers of the reigning monarch. To reward the piety of his brother Isaac, without giving himself an equal, the crafty Alexius interposed a new and supereminent dignity. The happy flexibility of the Greek tongue allowed him to compound the names of Augustus and Emperor (Sebastos and Autocrator), and the union produced the sonorous title of *Sebastocrator*. He was exalted above the Cæsar on the first step of the throne: and he was only distinguished from the sovereign by some peculiar ornaments of the head and feet. Beside and below the Cæsar the fancy of Alexius created the *Panhypersebastos* and the *Protosebastos*, whose sound and signification will satisfy a Grecian ear. They imply a superiority and a priority above the simple name of Augustus; and this sacred and primitive title of the Roman prince was degraded to the kinsmen and servants of the Byzantine court. The successors of Alexius imparted to their favourite sons or brothers the more lofty appellation of Lord or *Despot*, which was illustrated with new ornaments and prerogatives, and placed immediately after the person of the emperor himself. The five titles of, 1. *Despot;* 2. *Sebastocrator;* 3. *Cæsar;* 4. *Panhypersebastos;* and 5. *Protosebastos;* were usually confined to the princes of his blood: they were the emanations of his majesty; but as they exercised no regular functions, their existence was useless, and their authority precarious.

§ 7. But in every monarchy the substantial powers of government must be divided and exercised by the ministers of the palace and treasury, the fleet and army. The titles alone can differ; and

in the revolution of ages, the counts and præfects, the prætor and quæstor, insensibly descended, while their servants rose above their heads to the first honours of the state. 1. In a monarchy, which refers every object to the person of the prince, the care and ceremonies of the palace form the most respectable department. The *Curopalata*, so illustrious in the age of Justinian, was supplanted by the *Protovestiare*, whose primitive functions were limited to the custody of the wardrobe. From thence his jurisdiction was extended over the numerous menials of pomp and luxury; and he presided with his silver wand at the public and private audience. 2. In the ancient system of Constantine, the name of *Logothete*, or accountant, was applied to the receivers of the finances: the principal officers were distinguished as the Logothetes of the domain, of the posts, the army, the private and public treasure; and the *great Logothete*, the supreme guardian of the laws and revenues, is compared with the chancellor of the Latin monarchies. His discerning eye pervaded the civil administration; and he was assisted, in due subordination, by the eparch or præfect of the city, the first secretary, and the keepers of the privy seal, the archives, and the red or purple ink which was reserved for the sacred signature of the emperor alone. The introductor and interpreter of foreign ambassadors were the great *Chiauss* and the *Dragoman*, two names of Turkish origin, and which are still familiar to the Sublime Porte. 3. From the humble style and service of guards, the *Domestics* insensibly rose to the station of generals; the military themes of the East and West, the legions of Europe and Asia, were often divided, till the *great Domestic* was finally invested with the universal and absolute command of the land forces. 4. The naval powers were under the command of the *great Duke;* in his absence they obeyed the *great Drungaire* of the fleet; and, in *his* place, the *Emir*, or *Admiral*, a name of Saracen extraction, but which has been naturalised in all the modern languages of Europe.

§ 8. The most lofty titles, and the most humble postures, which devotion has applied to the Supreme Being, have been prostituted by flattery and fear to creatures of the same nature with ourselves. The mode of *adoration*, of falling prostrate on the ground and kissing the feet of the emperor, was borrowed by Diocletian from Persian servitude; but it was continued and aggravated till the last age of the Greek monarchy. When Liutprand, the ambassador of Otho, approached the throne, the birds of the golden tree began to warble their notes, which were accompanied by the roarings of the two lions of gold. With his two companions Liutprand was compelled to bow and to fall prostrate; and thrice he touched the ground with his forehead. He arose; but in the short interval the throne had been hoisted by an engine from the floor to the ceiling,

the Imperial figure appeared in new and more gorgeous apparel, and the interview was concluded in haughty and majestic silence.

§ 9. The emperor possessed despotic power. The legislative and executive powers were centered in his person, and the last remains of the authority of the senate were finally eradicated by Leo the Philosopher. A lethargy of servitude had benumbed the minds of the Greeks; in the wildest tumults of rebellion they never aspired to the idea of a free constitution; and the private character of the prince was the only source and measure of their public happiness. Superstition riveted their chains; in the church of St. Sophia he was solemnly crowned by the patriarch; at the foot of the altar they pledged their passive and unconditional obedience to his government and family. The Greek ecclesiastics were themselves the subjects of the civil magistrates: at the nod of a tyrant the bishops were created, or transferred, or deposed, or punished with an ignominious death: and the patriarch of Constantinople condemned, what he secretly envied, the temporal greatness of his Roman brother.

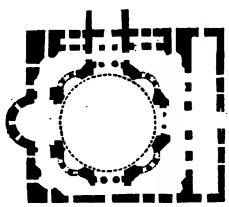
§ 10. The wealth of the Greeks enabled them to purchase the service of the poorer nations, and to maintain a naval power for the protection of their coasts and the annoyance of their enemies. The command of the Mediterranean, from the mouth of the Tanais to the Columns of Hercules, was always claimed, and often possessed, by the successors of Constantine. The *Dromones*, or light galleys of the Byzantine empire, were content with two tier of oars; each tier was composed of 25 benches; and two rowers were seated on each bench, who plied their oars on either side of the vessel. The invention of the Greek fire did not, like that of gunpowder, produce a total revolution in the art of war. To these liquid combustibles the city and empire of Constantine owed their deliverance; and they were employed in sieges and sea-fights with terrible effect. But they were either less improved, or less susceptible of improvement: the engines of antiquity, the catapultæ, balistæ, and battering-rams, were still of most frequent and powerful use in the attack and defence of fortifications; nor was the decision of battles reduced to the quick and heavy *fire* of a line of infantry, whom it were fruitless to protect with armour against a similar fire of their enemies. Steel and iron were still the common instruments of destruction and safety; and the helmets, cuirasses, and shields of the tenth century did not, either in form or substance, essentially differ from those which had covered the companions of Alexander or Achilles. The *bands*, or regiments, were usually 300 strong; and, as a medium between the extremes of 4 and 16, the foot soldiers were formed 8 deep; but the cavalry charged in four ranks, from the reasonable consideration that the weight of the front could not be increased by any pressure of the hindmost horses.

§ 11. The final revolt and separation of Italy was accomplished about two centuries after the conquests of Justinian, and from his reign we may date the gradual oblivion of the Latin tongue. That legislator had composed his Institutes, his Code, and his Pandects in a language which he celebrates as the proper and public style of the Roman government, the consecrated idiom of the palace and senate of Constantinople, of the camps and tribunals of the East. But this foreign dialect was unknown to the people and soldiers of the Asiatic provinces, it was imperfectly understood by the greater part of the interpreters of the laws and the ministers of the state. After a short conflict, nature and habit prevailed over the obsolete institutions of human power: for the general benefit of his subjects Justinian promulgated his novels in the two languages, the several parts of his voluminous jurisprudence were successively translated, the original was forgotten, the version was studied, and the Greek obtained a legal as well as popular establishment in the Byzantine monarchy. The birth and residence of succeeding princes estranged them from the Roman idiom; the silent revolution was accomplished before the death of Heraclius, and the ruins of the Latin speech were darkly preserved in the terms of jurisprudence and the acclamations of the palace. After the restoration of the Western empire by Charlemagne and the Othos, the names of Franks and Latins acquired an equal signification and extent, and these haughty barbarians asserted, with some justice, their superior claim to the language and dominion of Rome. They insulted the aliens of the East who had renounced the dress and idiom of Romans, and their reasonable practice will justify the frequent application of Greeks. But this contemptuous application was indignantly rejected by the prince and people to whom it is applied. Whatsoever changes had been introduced by the lapse of ages, they alleged a lineal and unbroken succession from Augustus and Constantine; and, in the lowest period of degeneracy and decay, the name of ROMANS adhered to the last fragments of the empire of Constantinople.

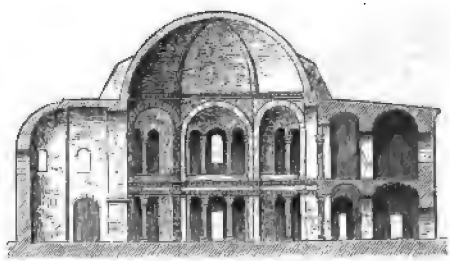
§ 12. After the fall of Paganism, the loss of Syria and Egypt, and the extinction of the schools of Alexandria and Athens, the studies of the Greeks insensibly retired to some regular monasteries, and, above all, to the royal college of Constantinople. But the seventh and eighth centuries were a period of discord and darkness; in the reign of Leo the Isaurian the library was burnt, and the college was abolished; the Iconoclasts are represented as the foes of antiquity, and a savage ignorance and contempt of letters has disgraced the princes of the Heraclean and Isaurian dynasties. In the ninth century we trace the first dawnings of the restoration of science. The Cæsar Bardas, the uncle of Michael the Third, was the generous protector of letters. At the pressing entreaty of the

Cæsar, his friend, the celebrated Photius, renounced the freedom of a secular and studious life, ascended the patriarchal throne, and was alternately excommunicated and absolved by the synods of the East and West. By the confession even of priestly hatred, no art or science, except poetry, was foreign to this universal scholar. While he exercised the office of protospathaire, or captain of the guards, Photius was sent ambassador to the caliph of Bagdad. The tedious hours of exile, perhaps of confinement, were beguiled by the hasty composition of his *Library*, a living monument of erudition and criticism. Two hundred and fourscore writers, historians, orators, philosophers, theologians, are reviewed without any regular method; he abridges their narrative or doctrine, appreciates their style and character, and judges even the fathers of the church with a discreet freedom which often breaks through the superstition of the times. The emperor Basil, who lamented the defects of his own education, intrusted to the care of Photius his son and successor Leo the Philosopher, and the reign of that prince, and of his son Constantine Porphyrogenitus, forms one of the most prosperous æras of the Byzantine literature. By their munificence the treasures of antiquity were deposited in the Imperial library; by their pens, or those of their associates, they were imparted in such extracts and abridgments as might amuse the curiosity, without oppressing the indolence, of the public. Besides the *Basilica*, or code of laws, the arts of husbandry and war, of feeding or destroying the human species, were propagated with equal diligence; and the history of Greece and Rome was digested into 53 heads or titles, of which two only (of embassies, and of virtues and vices) have escaped the injuries of time. I shall not expatiate on the works of the Byzantine Greeks, who, by the assiduous study of the ancients, have deserved, in some measure, the remembrance and gratitude of the moderns. The scholars of the present age may still enjoy the benefit of the philosophical common-place book of Stobæus, the grammatical and historic lexicon of Suidas, the Chiliads of Tzetzes, which comprise 600 narratives in 12,000 verses, and the commentaries on Homer of Eustathius archbishop of Thessalonica, who, from his horn of plenty, has poured the names and authorities of 400 writers. From these originals, and from the numerous tribe of scholiasts and critics, some estimate may be formed of the literary wealth of the twelfth century. Constantinople was enlightened by the genius of Homer and Demosthenes, of Aristotle and Plato; and in the enjoyment or neglect of our present riches we must envy the generations that could still peruse the history of Theopompus, the orations of Hyperides, the comedies of Menander, and the odes of Alcæus and Sappho. The frequent labour of illustration attests not only the existence but the popularity of the

Grecian classics; the general knowledge of the age may be deduced from the example of two learned females, the empress Eudocia and the princess Anna Comnena, who cultivated, in the purple, the arts of rhetoric and philosophy. But the Greeks of Constantinople, while they read, praised, and compiled, seemed alike incapable of thought and action. In the revolution of ten centuries, not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity or promote the happiness of mankind. Not a single composition of history, philosophy, or literature, has been saved from oblivion by the intrinsic beauties of style or sentiment, of original fancy, or even of successful imitation. The prose of the Byzantine writers is soaring to the vicious affectation of poetry; their poetry is sinking below the flatness and insipidity of prose. The tragic, epic, and lyric muses were silent and inglorious: the bards of Constantinople seldom rose above a riddle or epigram, a panegyric or tale; they forgot even the rules of prosody; and with the melody of Homer yet sounding in their ears, they confound all measure of feet and syllables in the impotent strains which have received the name of *political* or city verses.



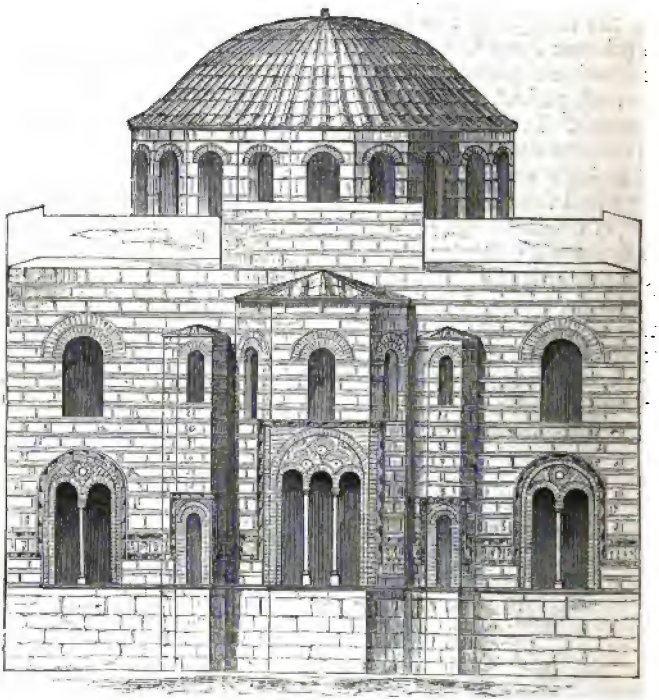
Church of Sergius and Bacchus.



Section of Church of Sergius and Bacchus.

§ 13. Constantinople became the seat of a peculiar style of architecture, which is known by the name of Byzantine, and which was practised by the Greek church both in Europe and Asia throughout the whole of the middle ages. The Byzantine buildings are characterised by a dome, by the abundant use of polychromy, and by a profusion of gold mosaics. This style dates from the time of Justinian; and Constantinople still possesses two buildings, the greater and the lesser St. Sophia, erected by this emperor. The grand cathedral of St. Sophia has been already minutely described;* and its external and internal appearance are exhibited in the drawings at the head of this chapter. The lesser St. Sophia, more correctly called the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, from having been dedicated to those martyrs, is externally a rectangle, 87 feet by 108,

* See pp. 302–304.



Church of Panagia Lycodemo, at Athens.

and internally a large square chamber surmounted in the centre by a dome 47 feet in diameter. To the west is the narthex, and opposite the apse.* Most of the Byzantine churches are small; the outside is plain; and the decoration is confined to the paintings and mosaics of the interior. The church of Panagia Lycodemo (St. Nicodemus) at Athens, which is 62 feet long and 45 feet broad, may be taken as the type, both in size and appearance, of many hundred Byzantine churches.† In Asia one of the best preserved specimens of this style of architecture is the church of St. Sophia at Trebizond. It is rich outside in most of the peculiarities of the Byzantine style, and in the interior it contains very perfect remains of frescoes, of which the colours are exceedingly brilliant.

* Fergusson, Handbook of Architecture, p. 946.
† Fergusson, p. 960.

Exterior of St. Sophia, at Trebizond.

Interior of St. Sophia, at Trebizond.

§ 14. The history of the PAULICIANS, whose exile scattered over the West the seeds of reformation, demands a few words. The obscure remnant of the Gnostics had been driven from the capitals of the East and West, and confined to the villages and mountains along the borders of the Euphrates. The numerous sects were finally lost in the odious name of Manichæans; and these heretics, who presumed to reconcile the doctrines of Zoroaster and Christ, were pursued by the two religions with equal and unrelenting hatred. Under the grandson of Heraclius, in the neighbourhood of Samosata, a reformer arose, esteemed by the Paulicians as the chosen messenger of truth (about A.D. 660). In his humble dwelling of Mananalis, Constantine entertained a deacon who returned from Syrian captivity, and received the inestimable gift of the New Testament, which was already concealed from the vulgar by the clergy. These books became the measure of his studies and the rule of his faith; but he attached himself with peculiar devotion to the writings and character of St. Paul; and the name of the Paulician is derived from the apostle of the Gentiles. The founders of the sect agreed with their Gnostic brethren in the universal contempt for the Old Testament, the books of Moses and the prophets; but they sincerely condemned the memory and opinions of the Manichæans, and complained of the injustice which impressed that invidious name on the simple votaries of St. Paul and of Christ.

§ 15. The worship and the belief of the Paulicians were equally simple. They rejected the use of all images and relics: in the practice, or at least in the theory, of the sacraments, they were inclined to abolish all visible objects of worship, and the words of the Gospel were, in their judgment, the baptism and communion of the faithful. They believed in the mystery of the Trinity: but instead of confessing the human nature and substantial sufferings of Christ, they amused their fancy with a celestial body that passed through the virgin like water through a pipe; with a fantastic crucifixion that eluded the vain and impotent malice of the Jews. They likewise held the eternity of matter; a stubborn and rebellious substance, the origin of a second principle, of an active being, who has created the visible world, and exercises his temporal reign till the final consummation of death and sin.

§ 16. The apostolic labours of Constantine and of his disciple Sylvanus soon multiplied the number of his disciples. The remnant of the Gnostic sects, and especially the Manichæans of Armenia, were united under his standard; many Catholics were converted or seduced by his arguments; and he preached with success in the regions of Pontus and Cappadocia, which had long since imbibed the religion of Zoroaster. The new sect was loosely spread over the provinces of Asia Minor to the westward of

the Euphrates; and six of their principal congregations represented the churches to which St. Paul had addressed his epistles. They were soon exposed to the persecution of the Roman government; and in a calamitous period of 150 years, their patience sustained whatever zeal could inflict; and power was insufficient to eradicate the obstinate vegetation of fanaticism and reason. The most furious and desperate of rebels are the sectaries of a religion long persecuted, and at length provoked. In an holy cause they are no longer susceptible of fear or remorse: the justice of their arms hardens them against the feelings of humanity; and they revenge their father's wrongs on the children of their tyrants. Such have been the Hussites of Bohemia and the Calvinists of France, and such, in the ninth century, were the Paulicians of Armenia and the adjacent provinces. Carbeas, a valiant Paulician, who commanded the guards of the general of the East, was provoked by the sanguinary prosecution of Theodora, to renounce the allegiance of anti-Christian Rome. A Saracen emir introduced Carbeas to the caliph; and the commander of the faithful extended his sceptre to the implacable enemy of the Greeks. In the mountains between Siwas and Trebizond he founded or fortified the city of Tephrice, and the neighbouring hills were covered with the Paulician fugitives, who now reconciled the use of the Bible and the sword. During more than thirty years Asia was afflicted by the calamities of foreign and domestic war: in their hostile inroads the disciples of St. Paul were joined with those of Mahomet; and the peaceful Christians, who were delivered into barbarous servitude, might justly accuse the intolerant spirit of their sovereign. The valour and ambition of Chrysocheir, the successor of Carbeas, embraced a wider circle of rapine and revenge. In alliance with his faithful Moslems, he boldly penetrated into the heart of Asia; the troops of the frontier and the palace were repeatedly overthrown; and the edicts of persecution were answered by the pillage of Nice and Nicomedia, of Ancyra and Ephesus. At length Chrysocheir was surprised and slain; and with him the glory of the Paulicians faded and withered. The emperor Basil, the Macedonian, who had previously been compelled to retire from the impregnable Tephrice, now undertook a second expedition: the city was deserted by the heretics, who sued for mercy or escaped to the borders. The city was ruined, but the spirit of independence survived in the mountains: the Paulicians defended, above a century, their religion and liberty, infested the Roman limits, and maintained their perpetual alliance with the enemies of the empire and the Gospel.

§ 17. About the middle of the eighth century, Constantine, surnamed Copronymus by the worshippers of images, had made an expedition into Armenia, and found, in the cities of Melitene and

Theodosiopolis, a great number of Paulicians, his kindred heretics. As a favour or punishment, he transplanted them from the banks of the Euphrates to Constantinople and Thrace; and by this emigration their doctrine was introduced and diffused in Europe. If the sectaries of the metropolis were soon mingled with the promiscuous mass, those of the country struck a deep root in a foreign soil. The Paulicians of Thrace resisted the storms of persecution, maintained a secret correspondence with their Armenian brethren, and gave aid and comfort to their preachers, who solicited, not without success, the infant faith of the Bulgarians. In the tenth century they were restored and multiplied by a more powerful colony which John Zimisces transported from the Chalybian hills to the valley of Mount Hæmus. Their exile in a distant land was softened by a free toleration: the Paulicians held the city of Philippopolis and the keys of Thrace; they occupied a line of villages and castles in Macedonia and Epirus; and many native Bulgarians were associated to the communion of arms and heresy. As long as they were awed by power and treated with moderation, their voluntary bands were distinguished in the armies of the empire; and the courage of these *dogs*, ever greedy of war, ever thirsty of human blood, is noticed with astonishment, and almost with reproach, by the pusillanimous Greeks. The same spirit rendered them arrogant and contumacious: they were easily provoked by caprice or injury; and their privileges were often violated by the faithless bigotry of the government and clergy. Alexius Comnenus wrested the important station of Philippopolis from their hands; and the contumacious leaders were secured in a dungeon, or banished from their country. But after the departure and death of Alexius they soon resumed their civil and religious laws. In the beginning of the thirteenth century their pope or primate (a manifest corruption) resided on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and governed by his vicars the filial congregations of Italy and France. From that æra a minute scrutiny might prolong and perpetuate the chain of tradition. At the end of the last age the sect or colony still inhabited the valleys of Mount Hæmus, where their ignorance and poverty were more frequently tormented by the Greek clergy than by the Turkish government. The modern Paulicians have lost all memory of their origin; and their religion is disgraced by the worship of the cross, and the practice of bloody sacrifice, which some captives have imported from the wilds of Tartary.

§ 18. In the West the first teachers of the Manichæan theology had been repulsed by the people or suppressed by the prince. The favour and success of the Paulicians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries must be imputed to the strong, though secret discontent which armed the most pious Christians against the church of Rome.

The sectaries found their way into every part of Europe, and their opinions were silently propagated in Rome, Milan, and the kingdoms beyond the Alps. It was soon discovered that many thousand Catholics of every rank, and of either sex, had embraced the Manichæan heresy; and the flames which consumed twelve canons of Orleans was the first act and signal of persecution. The Bulgarians, a name so innocent in its origin, so odious in its application, spread their branches over the face of Europe. United in common hatred of idolatry and Rome, they were connected by a form of episcopal and presbyterian government: their various sects were discriminated by some fainter or darker shades of theology; but they generally agreed in the two principles—the contempt of the Old Testament, and the denial of the body of Christ either on the cross or in the Eucharist.

§ 19. It was in the country of the Albigeois, in the southern provinces of France, that the Paulicians were most deeply implanted; and the same vicissitudes of martyrdom and revenge which had been displayed in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates were repeated in the thirteenth century on the banks of the Rhône. The laws of the Eastern emperors were revived by Frederic the Second. The insurgents of Tephrice were represented by the barons and cities of Languedoc: Pope Innocent III. surpassed the sanguinary fame of Theodora. It was in cruelty alone that her soldiers could equal the heroes of the Crusades, and the cruelty of her priests was far excelled by the founders of the Inquisition—an office more adapted to confirm than to refute the belief of an evil principle. The visible assemblies of the Paulicians, or Albigeois, were extirpated by fire and sword; and the bleeding remnant escaped by flight, concealment, or Catholic conformity. But the invincible spirit which they had kindled still lived and breathed in the Western world. In the state, in the church, and even in the cloister, a latent succession was preserved of the disciples of St. Paul, who protested against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the Bible as the rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the visions of the Gnostic theology. The struggles of Wickliff in England, of Huss in Bohemia, were premature and ineffectual; but the names of Zuinglius, Luther, and Calvin are pronounced with gratitude as the deliverers of nations.

Cathedral at Tchernigow, near Kiew, founded A.D. 1024.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE BULGARIANS, HUNGARIANS, AND RUSSIANS.

§ 1. Division of the subject. § 2. Origin and conquest of the Bulgarians. § 3. Origin of the Hungarians. § 4. Their conquests. § 5. Origin of the Russians. § 6. The Varangians of Constantinople. § 7. The two ancient capitals and trade of Russia. § 8. Naval expeditions of the Russians against Constantinople. § 9. Reign of Swatoslaus. § 10. Conversion of Russia. § 11. Christianity of the North.

§ 1. UNDER the reign of Constantine, the grandson of Heraclius, the ancient barrier of the Danube, so often violated and so often restored, was irretrievably swept away by a new deluge of barbarians. Their progress was favoured by the caliphs, their unknown and accidental auxiliaries: the Roman legions were occupied in Asia; and after the loss of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, the Cæsars were twice reduced to the danger and disgrace of defending their capital against the Saracens. The history of the barbarians, who, between the seventh and the twelfth century, descended from the plains of Scythia, in transient inroad or perpetual emigration, is related under the heads of—I. *Bulgarians*, II. *Hungarians*, and, III.

Russians. The conquests of the, IV. NORMANS, and the monarchy of the, V. TURKS, will naturally terminate in the memorable Crusades to the Holy Land and the double fall of the city and empire of Constantinople.

§ 2. I. The BULGARIANS, as we have already remarked,* were the remains of the Huns, who, after their defeat on the death of Attila, retreated eastward to the Euxine and the lake Mæotis. They were defeated by Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, on his march to Italy. In the sixth century the Bulgarians were subject to the Avars; but about A.D. 670 the Bulgarians crossed the Danube, followed by various Slavonic tribes, Servians, Bosnians, Rascians, Croatians, &c., and founded the Bulgarian kingdom between this river and the Hæmus. The name of the conquerors still continues in the country where they settled, but their language, which was akin to the Turkish, has long since given way to that of the Slavonians. The Bulgarians successively acquired by war or treaty, the Roman provinces of Dardania, Thessaly, and the two Epirus; and, in their prosperous age, the obscure town of Lychnidus, or Achrida, was honoured with the throne of a king and a patriarch. Among the Slavonian allies of the Bulgarians, the Chrobatians, or Croats, who now attend the motions of an Austrian army, founded a powerful kingdom in Dalmatia (A.D. 900, &c). This kingdom was shared by eleven *Zoupans*, or feudatory lords; and their united forces were numbered at 60,000 horse and 100,000 foot. A long sea-coast, indented with capacious harbours, covered with a string of islands, and almost in sight of the Italian shores, disposed both the natives and strangers to the practice of navigation. The Croats became dangerous pirates; and it was not before the close of the tenth century that the freedom and sovereignty of the Gulf were effectually vindicated by the Venetian republic.

The glory of the Bulgarians was confined to the ninth and tenth centuries. They slew in battle Nicephorus, who had invaded their country (A.D. 811); and the skull of this emperor, enchased with gold, was often replenished in the feasts of victory. This savage cup was deeply tinctured with the manners of the Scythian wilderness, but the Bulgarians were softened before the end of the same century by a peaceful intercourse with the Greeks, the possession of a cultivated region, and the introduction of the Christian worship. The nobles of Bulgaria were educated in the schools and palace of Constantinople, and Simeon, a youth of the royal line, was instructed in the rhetoric of Demosthenes and the logic of Aristotle. During his reign of more than 40 years (A.D. 888-932), Bulgaria assumed a rank among the civilised powers of the earth. He defeated the Greeks, formed the siege of Constantinople, and, in a personal con-

* See p. 334.

ference with the emperor, imposed the conditions of peace. After the death of Simeon the nations were again in arms, his feeble successors were divided and extinguished, and, in the beginning of the eleventh century, the second Basil, who was born in the purple, deserved the appellation of conqueror of the Bulgarians. The Bulgarians were swept away from their settlements, and circumscribed within a narrow province; and the surviving chiefs bequeathed to their children the advice of patience and the duty of revenge.

§ 3. II. When the black swarm of HUNGARIANS first hung over Europe, they were mistaken by fear and superstition for the Gog and Magog of the Scriptures, the signs and forerunners of the end of the world. Their real origin has been the subject of much dispute, and many writers have supposed them to be the descendants of the Huns; but their language proves that they belong to the Finnish or Tschudish race, which formerly occupied the northern regions of Asia and Europe. Their original abode was in the country called Ugria, or Jugoria, in the southern part of the Uralian mountains, which is now inhabited by the Voguls and Ostiaks, who are the eastern branches of the Finnish race. *Magyar* is the national denomination of the Hungarians; but the Russians gave them the name of Ugri, as originating from Ugria; and this name has been corrupted into Ungri and Hungarians. The consanguinity of the Hungarians and Laplanders displays the powerful energy of climate on the children of a common parent; the lively contrast between the bold adventurers who are intoxicated with the wines of the Danube, and the wretched fugitives who are immersed beneath the snows of the polar circle.

The Hungarians were a nomadic race: but they were indebted to fishing as well as to the chase for a part of their subsistence. Their tents were of leather, their garments of fur; they shaved their hair and scarified their faces, and, except the merit and fame of military prowess, all that is valued by mankind appeared vile and contemptible to these barbarians, whose native fierceness was stimulated by the consciousness of numbers and freedom. In the abuse of victory they astonished Europe, yet smarting from the wounds of the Saracen and the Dane: mercy they rarely asked, and more rarely bestowed: both sexes were accused as equally inaccessible to pity; and their appetite for raw flesh might countenance the popular tale that they drank the blood and feasted on the hearts of the slain.

§ 4. After many wanderings, the Hungarians approached the common limits of the French and Byzantine empires. Their first conquests and final settlements extended on either side of the Danube above Vienna, below Belgrade, and beyond the measure of the Roman province of Pannonia, or the modern kingdom of Hungary (A.D. 889). That ample and fertile land was loosely occupied by the Moravians,

a Slavonian name and tribe, which were driven by the invaders into the compass of a narrow province. The Hungarians extended their ravages over the provinces of Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia; nor could any distance be secure against an enemy who, almost at the same instant, laid in ashes the Helvetian monastery of St. Gall, and the city of Bremen on the shores of the northern ocean. Above thirty years the Germanic empire, or kingdom, was subject to the ignominy of tribute. They invaded France and Italy; burned the royal city of Pavia to the ground (A.D. 294); and in their annual excursions from the Alps to the neighbourhood of Rome and Capua, the churches that yet escaped resounded with a fearful litany: "Oh! save and deliver us from the arrows of the Hungarians!" But the saints were deaf or inexorable: and the torrent rolled forwards till it was stopped by the extreme land of Calabria. A composition was offered and accepted for the head of each Italian subject; and ten bushels of silver were poured forth in the Hungarian camp. On the side of the East the Hungarians were opposed in doubtful conflict by the equal arms of the Bulgarians, whose faith forbade an alliance with the pagans, and whose situation formed the barrier of the Byzantine empire. The barrier was overturned; the emperor of Constantinople beheld the waving banners of the Hungarians; and one of their boldest warriors presumed to strike a battle-axe into the golden gate. The arts and treasures of the Greeks diverted the assault; but the Hungarians might boast in their retreat that they had imposed a tribute on the spirit of Bulgaria and the majesty of the Cæsars. At this disastrous æra of the ninth and tenth centuries, Europe was afflicted by a triple scourge from the North, the East, and the South: the Norman, the Hungarian, and the Saracen sometimes trod the same ground of desolation; and these savage foes might have been compared by Homer to the two lions growling over the carcase of a mangled stag.

The deliverance of Germany and Christendom was achieved by the Saxon princes Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great, who, in two memorable battles, for ever broke the power of the Hungarians (A.D. 934 and 955). Adversity suggested the counsels of moderation and peace: the robbers of the West acquiesced in a sedentary life; and the next generation was taught, by a discerning prince, that far more might be gained by multiplying and exchanging the produce of a fruitful soil. The native race was mingled with new colonies of Scythian or Slavonian origin: many thousands of robust and industrious captives had been imported from all the countries of Europe; and after the marriage of Geisa with a Bavarian princess, he bestowed honours and estates on the nobles of Germany. The son of Geisa was invested with the regal title, and the house of Arpad reigned 300 years in the kingdom of Hungary. But the

freeborn barbarians were not dazzled by the lustre of the diadem, and the people asserted their indefeasible right of choosing, deposing, and punishing the hereditary servant of the state.

§ 5. III. The name of RUSSIANS was first divulged in the ninth century, by an embassy from Theophilus, emperor of the East, to the emperor of the West, Lewis, the son of Charlemagne. The Greeks were accompanied by the envoys of the great duke, or chagan, or *czar* of the Russians. In their journey to Constantinople they had traversed many hostile nations, and they hoped to escape the dangers of their return by requesting the French monarch to transport them by sea to their native country. A closer examination detected their origin: they were the brethren of the Swedes and Normans, whose name was already odious and formidable in France; and it might justly be apprehended that these Russian strangers were not the messengers of peace, but the emissaries of war. They were detained while the Greeks were dismissed; and Lewis expected a more satisfactory account, that he might obey the laws of hospitality or prudence according to the interest of both empires. The Scandinavian origin of the princes of Russia may be confirmed and illustrated by the national annals* and the general history of the North. The Normans, who had been so long concealed by a veil of impenetrable darkness, suddenly burst forth in the spirit of naval and military enterprise. The vast, and as it is said, the populous, regions of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, were crowded with independent chieftains and desperate adventurers. Piracy was the exercise, the trade, the glory, and the virtue of the Scandinavian youth. Impatient of a bleak climate and narrow limits, they ascended their vessels and explored every coast that promised either spoil or settlement. The Baltic was the first scene of their naval achievements; they visited the eastern shores, the silent residence of Finnish and Slavonian tribes; and the primitive inhabitants of the lake Ladoga paid a tribute, the skins of white squirrels, to these strangers, whom they saluted with the title of *Varangians*,† but whose national name was *Russians*. Their superiority in arms, discipline, and renown, commanded the fear and reverence of the natives. In their wars against the more inland savages the Varangians condescended to serve as friends and auxiliaries, and gradually, by choice or conquest, obtained the dominion of a people whom they were qualified to protect. Their tyranny was expelled, their valour was again recalled, till at length Ruric, a Scandinavian chief (A.D. 862), became the father of a dynasty which reigned above 700 years.

* Nestor, the first and best of these ancient annalists, was a monk of Kiew, who died in the beginning of the 12th century.

† The name *Varangians*, a corruption of the Sclavonic *Warjazi*, is said to signify allies, and to come from the word *wara*, a compact or alliance.

§ 6. As long as the descendants of Ruric were considered as aliens and conquerors, they ruled by the sword of the Varangians, and supplied their numbers with fresh streams of adventurers from the Baltic coast. But when the Scandinavian chiefs had struck a deep and permanent root in the soil, they mingled with the Slavonic inhabitants in blood, religion, and language, and the first Waladimir had the merit of delivering his country from these foreign mercenaries. They had seated him on the throne; his riches were insufficient to satisfy their demands; but they listened to his pleasing advice, that they should seek, not a more grateful, but a more wealthy, master; that they should embark for Greece, where, instead of the skins of squirrels, silk and gold would be the recompense of their service. At the same time the Russian prince admonished his Byzantine ally to disperse and employ, to recompence and restrain, these impetuous children of the North. Contemporary writers have recorded the introduction, name, and character of the *Varangians:* each day they rose in confidence and esteem; the whole body was assembled at Constantinople to perform the duty of guards; and their strength was recruited by a numerous band of their countrymen from the island of Thule. On this occasion the vague appellation of Thule is applied to England; and the new Varangians were a colony of English and Danes who fled from the yoke of the Norman conqueror. The habits of pilgrimage and piracy had approximated the countries of the earth; these exiles were entertained in the Byzantine court; and they preserved, till the last age of the empire, the inheritance of spotless loyalty, and the use of the Danish or English tongue. With their broad and double-edged battle-axes on their shoulders, they attended the Greek emperor to the temple, the senate, and the hippodrome; he slept and feasted under their trusty guard; and the keys of the palace, the treasury, and the capital were held by the firm and faithful hands of the Varangians.

§ 7. Amidst the darkness of early Russian history we can discern two principal states, one in the north of the country, of which Novogorod was the capital, and the other in the south on the Dnieper, of which Kiew was the chief town. The rule of the Varangian conquerors was at first confined to the northern state; but their power gradually increased, and Kiew was annexed to their dominions. From an early period the two capitals were the centre of an important trade. From the neighbourhood of Novogorod the Russians descended the streams that fall into the Borysthenes; their canoes, of a single tree, were laden with slaves of every age, furs of every species, the spoil of their beehives, and the hides of their cattle; and the whole produce of the North was collected and discharged in the magazines of Kiew. The month of June was the ordinary season of the departure of the fleet; the timber of the canoes was framed

into the oars and benches of more solid and capacious boats; and they proceeded down the Borysthenes to the Black Sea. If they steered along the coast, the Danube was accessible; with a fair wind they could reach in 36 or 40 hours the opposite shores of Anatolia; and Constantinople admitted the annual visit of the strangers of the North. They returned at the stated season with a rich cargo of corn, wine, and oil, the manufactures of Greece, and the spices of India.

§ 8. But the same communication which had been opened for the benefit, was soon abused for the injury of mankind. In a period of 190 years the Russians made four attempts to plunder the treasures of Constantinople; the event was various, but the motive, the means, and the object were the same in these naval expeditions. The Russian traders had seen the magnificence, and tasted the luxury, of the city of the Cæsars. A marvellous tale, and a scanty supply, excited the desires of their savage countrymen: the Varangian princes unfurled the banners of piratical adventure, and their bravest soldiers were drawn from the nations that dwelt in the northern isles of the ocean. The Greek appellation of *monoxyla*, or single canoes, might be justly applied to the bottom of their vessels. It was scooped out of the long stem of a beech or willow, but the slight and narrow foundation was raised and continued on either side with planks, till it attained the length of 60 and the height of about 12 feet. These boats were built without a deck, but with two rudders and a mast; to move with sails and oars; and to contain from 40 to 70 men, with their arms, and provisions of fresh water and salt fish. The first trial of the Russians was made with 200 boats; but when the national force was exerted they might arm against Constantinople 1000 or 1200 vessels. In their first enterprise (A.D. 865), under the princes of Kiew, they passed the Bosporus without opposition, and occupied the port of Constantinople, in the absence of the emperor Michael, the son of Theophilus. Through a crowd of perils he landed at the palace-stairs, and immediately repaired to a church of the Virgin Mary. By the advice of the patriarch, her garment, a precious relic, was drawn from the sanctuary and dipped in the sea; and a seasonable tempest, which determined the retreat of the Russians, was devoutly ascribed to the mother of God. The silence of the Greeks may inspire some doubt of the truth, or at least of the importance, of the second attempt by Oleg, the guardian of the sons of Ruric (A.D. 904). A strong barrier of arms and fortifications defended the Bosporus; they were eluded by the usual expedient of drawing the boats over the isthmus; and this simple operation is described in the national chronicles as if the Russian fleet had sailed over dry land with a brisk and favourable gale. The leader of the

third armament (A.D. 941), Igor, the son of Ruric, had chosen a moment of weakness and decay, when the naval powers of the empire were employed against the Saracens. But if courage be not wanting, the instruments of defence are seldom deficient. Fifteen broken and decayed galleys were boldly launched against the enemy; but instead of the single tube of Greek fire usually planted on the prow, the sides and stern of each vessel were abundantly supplied with that liquid combustible. The engineers were dexterous; the weather was propitious; many thousand Russians, who chose rather to be drowned than burnt, leaped into the sea; and those who escaped to the Thracian shore were inhumanly slaughtered by the peasants and soldiers. Yet one-third of the canoes escaped into shallow water; and the next spring Igor was again prepared to retrieve his disgrace and claim his revenge. After a long peace, Jaroslaus, the great grand-son of Igor, resumed the same project of a naval invasion (A.D. 1043). A fleet, under the command of his son, was repulsed at the entrance of the Bosporus, by the same artificial flames. But in the rashness of pursuit the vanguard of the Greeks was encompassed by an irresistible multitude of boats and men; their provision of fire was probably exhausted; and 24 galleys were either taken, sunk, or destroyed.

The memory of these Arctic fleets, that seemed to descend from the polar circle, left a deep impression of terror on the Imperial city. By the vulgar of every rank it was asserted and believed that an equestrian statue in the square of Taurus was secretly inscribed with a prophecy, how the Russians, in the last days, should become masters of Constantinople. In our own time a Russian armament, instead of sailing from the Borysthenes, has circumnavigated the continent of Europe; and the Turkish capital has been threatened by a squadron of strong and lofty ships of war, each of which, with its naval science and thundering artillery, could have sunk or scattered an hundred canoes, such as those of their ancestors. Perhaps the present generation may yet behold the accomplishment of the prediction—of a rare prediction—of which the style is ambiguous, and the date unquestionable.

§ 9. By land the Russians were less formidable than by sea; and the nations from the Volga to the Danube were subdued or repelled by the arms of Swatoslaus, the son of Igor, the son of Oleg, the son of Ruric (A.D. 955–972). By an embassy from Nicephorus, the Greek emperor, Swatoslaus, was moved to undertake the conquest of Bulgaria. An army of 60,000 men was assembled and embarked; they sailed from the Borysthenes to the Danube; their landing was effected on the Mœsian shore; and, after a sharp encounter, the swords of the Russians prevailed against the arrows of the Bulgarian horse. The vanquished king sunk into the grave: his

children were made captive; and his dominions, as far as Mount Hæmus, were subdued or ravished by the northern invaders. But instead of relinquishing his prey, and performing his engagements, the Russian prince pursued his march as far as Adrianople; a formal summons to evacuate the Roman province was dismissed with contempt; and Swatoslaus fiercely replied that Constantinople might soon expect the presence of an enemy and a master. Nicephorus could no longer expel the mischief which he had introduced; but his throne and wife were inherited by John Zimisces, who, in a diminutive body, possessed the spirit and abilities of an hero. Swatoslaus was defeated in several battles, and retired to the strong post of Dristra, on the banks of the Danube, where he was surrounded by the forces of the emperor. After a siege of 65 days Swatoslaus yielded to his adverse fortune; and the liberal terms which he obtained announce the prudence of the victor, who respected the valour and apprehended the despair of an unconquered mind. The great duke of Russia bound himself, by solemn imprecations, to relinquish all hostile designs; a safe passage was opened for his return; the liberty of trade and navigation was restored; a measure of corn was distributed to each of his soldiers; and the allowance of 22,000 measures attests the loss and the remnant of the barbarians. After a painful voyage they again reached the mouth of the Borysthenes; but their provisions were exhausted; the season was unfavourable; they passed the winter on the ice; and, before they could prosecute their march, Swatoslaus was surprised and oppressed by the neighbouring tribes, with whom the Greeks entertained a perpetual and useful correspondence.

§ 10. Photius of Constantinople, a patriarch whose ambition was equal to his curiosity, congratulates himself and the Greek church on the conversion of the Russians (A.D. 864). His triumph was transient and premature. The seed of the Gospel was sown on a barren soil: many were the apostates; the converts were few, and the baptism of Olga may be fixed as the æra of Russian Christianity (A.D. 955). A female, perhaps of the basest origin, who could revenge the death and assume the sceptre of her husband Igor, must have been endowed with those active virtues which command the fear and obedience of barbarians. In a moment of foreign and domestic peace she sailed from Kiew to Constantinople, where she received in the sacrament of baptism the venerable name of the empress Helena. After her return to Kiew and Novogorod, she firmly persisted in her new religion; but her labours in the propagation of the Gospel were not crowned with success; and both her family and nation adhered to the gods of their fathers. Her son Swatoslaus was apprehensive of the scorn and ridicule of his companions; and her grandson Wolodomir devoted his youthful zeal to

multiply and decorate the monuments of ancient worship. Yet the lessons and example of the pious Olga had made a deep, though secret, impression on the minds of the prince and people: the Greek missionaries continued to preach, to dispute, and to baptize; and the ambassadors or merchants of Russia compared the idolatry of the woods with the elegant superstition of Constantinople. But the conversion of Wolodomir was determined, or hastened, by his desire of a Roman bride. At the same time, and in the city of Cherson, the rites of baptism and marriage were celebrated by the Christian pontiff (A.D. 988); the city he restored to the emperor Basil, the brother of his spouse; but the brazen gates were transported, as it is said, to Novogorod, and erected before the first church as a trophy of his victory and faith. The edict of Wolodomir had proclaimed that all who should refuse the rites of baptism would be treated as the enemies of God and their prince; and the rivers were instantly filled with many thousands of obedient Russians, who acquiesced in the truth and excellence of a doctrine which had been embraced by the great duke.

§ 11. In the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries of the Christian æra the reign of the Gospel and of the church was extended over Bulgaria, Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Russia. A laudable ambition excited the monks both of Germany and Greece to visit the tents and huts of the barbarians; the first conversions were free and spontaneous; and an holy life and an eloquent tongue were the only arms of the missionaries. The leaders of nations held it lawful and pious to impose the Catholic faith on their subjects and neighbours: the coast of the Baltic, from Holstein to the gulf of Finland, was invaded under the standard of the cross; and the reign of idolatry was closed by the conversion of Lithuania in the 14th century. The conversion of the North imparted many temporal benefits both to the old and the new Christians. The admission of the barbarians into the pale of civil and ecclesiastical society delivered Europe from the depredations, by sea and land, of the Normans, the Hungarians, and the Russians, who learned to spare their brethren and cultivate their possessions. The establishment of law and order was prompted by the influence of the clergy; and the rudiments of art and science were introduced into the savage countries of the globe. The liberal piety of the Russian princes engaged in their service the most skilful of the Greeks to decorate the cities and instruct the inhabitants: the dome and the paintings of St. Sophia were rudely copied in the churches of Kiew and Novogorod: the writings of the fathers were translated into the Slavonic idiom; and 300 noble youths were invited or compelled to attend the lessons of the college of Jaroslaus.

Church of San Giovanni degli Eremiti at Palermo, built by King Roger, A.D. 1132.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE NORMANS.

§ 1. Conflicts of the Saracens, Latins, and Greeks in Italy. § 2. New province of the Greeks in Italy. § 3. Origin of the Normans in Italy. § 4. The Normans serve in Sicily: their conquest of Apulia. § 5. Expedition of Pope Leo IX. against the Normans. § 6. Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia: his character, ambition, and success. § 7. His Italian conquests. § 8. School of Salerno: trade of Amalfii. § 9. Conquest of Sicily by the Normans under Roger. § 10. Robert invades the eastern empire. § 11.

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*The Moorish element, so predominant in this building, is not surprising, when we consider the superiority of the Saracens in art and civilisation, not only to their new rulers, the Normans, but also to all the other inhabitants of Sicily. See Fergusson, Handbook of Architecture, p. 810.

The emperor Henry III. invades Italy, but flies before Robert. § 12. Second expedition of Robert into Greece: his death. § 13. Reign of Roger, first king of Sicily. § 14. The emperor Manuel reduces Apulia and Calabria: last war of the Greeks and Normans. § 15. Conquest of Sicily by the emperor Henry VI.: final extinction of the Normans.

§ 1. THE three great nations of the world, the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks, encountered each other on the theatre of Italy (A.D. 840-1017). The southern provinces, which now compose the kingdom of Naples, were subject, for the most part, to the Lombard dukes and princes of Beneventum—so powerful in war, that they checked for a moment the genius of Charlemagne—so liberal in peace, that they maintained in their capital an academy of 32 philosophers and grammarians. The division of this flourishing state produced the rival principalities of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua; and the thoughtless ambition or revenge of the competitors invited the Saracens to the ruin of their common inheritance. During a calamitous period of 200 years Italy was exposed to a repetition of wounds, which the invaders were not capable of healing by the union and tranquillity of a perfect conquest. Their frequent and almost annual squadrons issued from the port of Palermo, and were entertained with too much indulgence by the Christians of Naples: the more formidable fleets were prepared on the African coast; and even the Arabs of Andalusia were sometimes tempted to assist or oppose the Moslems of an adverse sect. A colony of Saracens had been planted at Bari, which commands the entrance of the Adriatic gulf; and their impartial depredations provoked the resentment and conciliated the union of the two emperors. An offensive alliance was concluded between Basil the Macedonian, the first of his race, and Lewis the great-grandson of Charlemagne. The fortress of Bari was invested by the infantry of the Franks, and by the cavalry and galleys of the Greeks; and, after a defence of four years, the Arabian emir submitted to the clemency of Lewis, who commanded in person the operations of the siege (A.D. 871).

§ 2. The death of Lewis, and the decay of the Carlovingian house, secured to the Greek emperors, Basil and his son Leo, the advantage of the reduction of Bari. The Italians of Apulia and Calabria were persuaded or compelled to acknowledge their supremacy, and an ideal line from Mount Garganus to the bay of Salerno leaves the far greater part of the kingdom of Naples under the dominion of the Eastern empire. Beyond that line the dukes or republics of Amalfi and Naples, who had never forfeited their voluntary allegiance, rejoiced in the neighbourhood of their lawful sovereign; and Amalfi was enriched by supplying Europe with the produce and manufactures of Asia. But the Lombard princes of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua were reluctantly torn from the communion of the Latin

world, and too often violated their oaths of servitude and tribute. The city of Bari rose to dignity and wealth as the metropolis of the new theme or province of Lombardy; the title of patrician, and afterwards the singular name of *Catapan*, was assigned to the supreme governor; and the policy both of the church and state was modelled in exact subordination to the throne of Constantinople. As long as the sceptre was disputed by the princes of Italy, their efforts were feeble and adverse; and the Greeks resisted or eluded the forces of Germany which descended from the Alps under the Imperial standard of the Othos. The first and greatest of these Saxon princes was compelled to relinquish the siege of Bari: the second, after the loss of his stoutest bishops and barons, escaped with honour from the bloody field of Crotona (A.D. 983).

§ 3. The establishment of the Normans in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily is an event most romantic in its origin, and in its consequences most important both to Italy and the Eastern empire. The broken provinces of the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens were exposed to every invader, and every sea and land were invaded by the adventurous spirit of the Scandinavian pirates. After a long indulgence of rapine and slaughter, a fair and ample territory was accepted, occupied, and named, by the Normans of France: they renounced their gods for the God of the Christians; and the dukes of Normandy acknowledged themselves the vassals of the successors of Charlemagne and Capet. The savage fierceness which they had brought from the snowy mountains of Norway was refined, without being corrupted, in a warmer climate: the companions of Rollo insensibly mingled with the natives; they imbibed the manners, language, and gallantry of the French nation; and, in a martial age, the Normans might claim the palm of valour and glorious achievements. Of the fashionable superstitions, they embraced with ardour the pilgrimages of Rome, Italy, and the Holy Land. In one of these pious visits to the cavern of Mount Garganus in Apulia, which had been sanctified by the apparition of the archangel Michael, they were accosted by a stranger in the Greek habit, but who soon revealed himself as a rebel, a fugitive, and a mortal foe of the Greek empire. His name was Melo: a noble citizen of Bari, who, after an unsuccessful revolt, was compelled to seek new allies and avengers of his country. The bold appearance of the Normans revived his hopes and solicited his confidence: they listened to the complaints, and still more to the promises of the patriot. On their return to Normandy they kindled a spark of enterprise, and a small but intrepid band was freely associated for the deliverance of Apulia (A.D. 1016). They passed the Alps by separate roads, and in the disguise of pilgrims: but in the neighbourhood of Rome they were saluted by the chief of Bari, who

supplied the more indigent with arms and horses, and instantly led them to the field of action. In the first conflict their valour prevailed; but in the second engagement they were overwhelmed by the numbers and military engines of the Greeks, and indignantly retreated with their faces to the enemy. The unfortunate Melo ended his life a suppliant at the court of Germany: his Norman followers, excluded from their native and their promised land, wandered among the hills and valleys of Italy, and earned their daily subsistence by the sword. To that formidable sword the princes of Capua, Beneventum, Salerno, and Naples alternately appealed in their domestic quarrels; the superior spirit and discipline of the Normans gave victory to the side which they espoused; and their cautious policy observed the balance of power, lest the preponderance of any rival state should render their aid less important and their service less profitable. Their first asylum was a strong camp in the depth of the marshes of Campania; but they were soon endowed by the liberality of the duke of Naples with a more plentiful and permanent seat. Eight miles from his residence, as a bulwark against Capua, the town of Aversa was built and fortified for their use (A.D. 1029); and they enjoyed as their own the corn and fruits, the meadows and groves, of that fertile district. The report of their success attracted every year new swarms of pilgrims and soldiers: the poor were urged by necessity; the rich were excited by hope; and the brave and active spirits of Normandy were impatient of ease and ambitious of renown. The first leader of the Normans was Count Rainulf; and in the origin of society, pre-eminence of rank is the reward and the proof of superior merit.

§ 4. Since the conquest of Sicily by the Arabs, the Grecian emperors had been anxious to regain that valuable possession; but their efforts, however strenuous, had been opposed by the distance and the sea. After a reign of 200 years, the Saracens were ruined by their divisions. The emir disclaimed the authority of the king of Tunis; the people rose against the emir; the cities were usurped by the chiefs; and the weaker of two rival brothers implored the friendship of the Christians. In every service of danger the Normans were prompt and useful; and five hundred *knights*, or warriors on horseback, were enrolled under the standard of Maniaces, governor of Lombardy (A.D. 1038). Before their landing the brothers were reconciled; the union of Sicily and Africa was restored; and the island was guarded to the water's edge. The Normans led the van, and the Arabs of Messina felt the valour of an untried foe. In two other battles the Normans were equally distinguished, and they essentially promoted the success of Maniaces, who reduced the greater part of Sicily, under the obedience of the emperor. But his military fame was sullied by ingratitude and tyranny. In the

division of the spoil the deserts of his brave auxiliaries were forgotten; and neither their avarice nor their pride could brook this injurious treatment. Yet they dissembled till they had obtained a safe passage to the Italian continent: their brethren of Aversa sympathised in their indignation, and the province of Apulia was invaded as the forfeit of the debt (A.D. 1040–1043). Above 20 years after the first emigration, the Normans took the field with no more than 700 horse and 500 foot. They defeated the Imperial troops in two successive battles; the duke of Lombardy was made prisoner; the Apulians acquiesced in a new dominion; and the four places of Bari, Otranto, Brundusium, and Tarentum were alone saved in the shipwreck of the Grecian fortunes. From this æra we may date the establishment of the Norman power, which soon eclipsed the infant colony of Aversa. Twelve counts were chosen by the popular suffrage; and age, birth, and merit were the motives of their choice. The tributes of their peculiar districts were appropriated to their use; and each count erected a fortress in the midst of his lands, and at the head of his vassals. In the centre of the province the common habitation of Melphi was reserved as the metropolis and citadel of the republic; a house and separate quarter was allotted to each of the twelve counts; and the national concerns were regulated by this military senate. The first of his peers, their president and general, was entitled Count of Apulia; and this dignity was conferred on William of the iron arm.

§ 5. The Normans of Apulia were seated on the verge of the two empires, and, according to the policy of the hour, they accepted the investiture of their lands from the sovereigns of Germany or Constantinople. But the firmest title of these adventurers was the right of conquest: they neither loved nor trusted; they were neither trusted nor beloved; the contempt of the princes was mixed with fear, and the fear of the natives was mingled with hatred and resentment. Every object of desire tempted and gratified the rapaciousness of the strangers, and the avarice of their chiefs was only coloured by the more specious names of ambition and glory. The twelve counts were sometimes joined in a league of injustice; in their domestic quarrels they disputed the spoils of the people; the virtues of William were buried in his grave; and Drogo, his brother and successor, was better qualified to lead the valour, than to restrain the violence, of his peers. Under the reign of Constantine Monomachus, the policy, rather than benevolence, of the Byzantine court attempted to relieve Italy from this adherent mischief, more grievous than a flight of barbarians. The Latin powers were solicited against the common enemy, and an offensive alliance was formed of the pope and the two emperors of the East and West. But the power of Constantine was distracted by a Turkish war, the

mind of the emperor Henry III. was feeble and irresolute, and the pope Leo IX., who had crossed the Alps to solicit the assistance of the emperor, returned with only a guard of 700 Swabians and some volunteers of Lorraine. In his long progress from Mantua to Beneventum a vile and promiscuous multitude of Italians was enlisted under the holy standard. Drogo had been murdered in a church by the emissaries of the Greek emperor; but his spirit survived in his brother Humphrey, the third count of Apulia. In the neighbourhood of Civitella the Normans attacked, broke, routed, and pursued the Italian multitudes, who fought without discipline and fled without shame. The Germans fought with bravery, but after a severe conflict they were encompassed by the squadrons returning from the pursuit, and died in their ranks with the esteem of their foes and the satisfaction of revenge. The gates of Civitella were shut against the flying pope, and he was overtaken by the pious conquerors, who kissed his feet to implore his blessing and the absolution of their sinful victory (A.D. 1053). The pope listened to the offers of a beneficial treaty, deserted an alliance which he had preached as the cause of God, and ratified the past and future conquests of the Normans. By whatever hands they had been usurped, the provinces of Apulia and Calabria were a part of the donation of Constantine and the patrimony of St. Peter: the grant and the acceptance confirmed the mutual claims of the pontiff and the adventurers. They promised to support each other with spiritual and temporal arms; a tribute or quit-rent of twelve pence was afterwards stipulated for every plough-land, and since this memorable transaction the kingdom of Naples has remained above 700 years a fief of the Holy See.

§ 6. Robert Guiscard sprang from a race of *valvassors* or *bannerets*, of the diocese of Coutances, in the Lower Normandy; the castle of Hauteville was their honourable seat; and his father Tancred was conspicuous in the court and army of the duke. Two marriages made him the father of twelve sons, who were educated at home by the impartial tenderness of his second wife. But a narrow patrimony was insufficient for this numerous and daring progeny: two only remained to perpetuate the race and cherish their father's age: their ten brothers, as they successively attained the vigour of manhood, departed from the castle, passed the Alps, and joined the Apulian camp of the Normans. The elder were prompted by native spirit: their success encouraged their younger brethren; and the three first in seniority, William, Drogo, and Humphrey, deserved to be the chiefs of their nation and the founders of the new republic. Robert was the eldest of the seven sons of the second marriage, and even the reluctant praise of his foes has endowed him with the heroic qualities of a soldier and a statesman.

His lofty stature surpassed the tallest of his army; his limbs were cast in the true proportion of strength and gracefulness; and to the decline of life he maintained the patient vigour of health and the commanding dignity of his form. His complexion was ruddy, his shoulders were broad, his hair and beard were long and of a flaxen colour, his eyes sparkled with fire, and his voice, like that of Achilles, could impress obedience and terror amidst the tumult of battle. His boundless ambition was founded on the consciousness of superior worth; in the pursuit of greatness he was never arrested by the scruples of justice, and seldom moved by the feelings of humanity; though not insensible of fame, the choice of open or clandestine means was determined only by his present advantage. The surname of *Guiscard** was applied to this master of political wisdom, which is too often confounded with the practice of dissimulation and deceit, and Robert is praised by the Apulian poet for excelling the cunning of Ulysses and the eloquence of Cicero. After the death of Humphrey the tender age of his sons excluded them from the command; they were reduced to a private estate by the ambition of their guardian and uncle; and Guiscard was exalted on a buckler, and saluted count of Apulia and general of the republic. With an increase of authority and of force, he resumed the conquest of Calabria, and soon aspired to a rank that should raise him for ever above the heads of his equals. Nicholas the Second conferred on Robert and his posterity the ducal title, with the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and all the lands, both in Italy and Sicily, which his sword could rescue from the schismatic Greeks and the unbelieving Saracens. The Normans confirmed by their suffrage the judgment of the vicar of Christ: the soldiers hailed with joyful acclamations their valiant duke; and the counts, his former equals, pronounced the oath of fidelity with hollow smiles and secret indignation (A.D. 1060). After this inauguration Robert styled himself, "By the grace of God and St. Peter, duke of Apulia, Calabria, and hereafter of Sicily;" and it was the labour of 20 years to deserve and realise these lofty appellations.

§ 7. The Italian conquests of Robert correspond with the limits of the present kingdom of Naples; and the countries united by his arms have not been dissevered by the revolutions of 700 years. The monarchy has been composed of the Greek provinces of Calabria and Apulia, of the Lombard principality of Salerno, the republic of Amalfi, and the inland dependencies of the large and ancient duchy of Beneventum. Three districts only were exempted from the common law of subjection—the first for ever, and the two last till the middle of the succeeding century. The city and immediate

* The Norman writers and editors most conversant with their own idiom interpret *Guiscard* or *Wiscard* by *Callidus*, a cunning man.

territory of Benevento had been transferred, by gift or exchange, from the German emperor to the Roman pontiff; and although this holy land was sometimes invaded, the name of St. Peter was finally more potent than the sword of the Normans. Their first colony of Aversa subdued and held the state of Capua, and her princes were reduced to beg their bread before the palace of their fathers. The dukes of Naples, the present metropolis, maintained the popular freedom under the shadow of the Byzantine empire.

§ 6. Among the new acquisitions of Guiscard the science of Salerno and the trade of Amalfi may detain for a moment the curiosity of the reader. I. At Salerno a school, the first that arose in the darkness of Europe, was consecrated to the healing art: the conscience of monks and bishops was reconciled to that salutary and lucrative profession; and a crowd of patients of the most eminent rank and most distant climates invited or visited the physicians of Salerno. They were protected by the Norman conquerors; and Guiscard, though bred in arms, could discern the merit and value of a philosopher. After a pilgrimage of 39 years, Constantine, an African Christian, returned from Bagdad, a master of the language and learning of the Arabians; and Salerno was enriched by the practice, the lessons, and the writings of the pupil of Avicenna. II. Seven miles to the west of Salerno, and 30 to the south of Naples, the obscure town of Amalfi displayed the power and rewards of industry. The land, however fertile, was of narrow extent; but the sea was accessible and open: the inhabitants first assumed the office of supplying the western world with the manufactures and productions of the East: and this useful traffic was the source of their opulence and freedom. The government was popular, under the administration of a duke and the supremacy of the Greek emperor. Fifty thousand citizens were numbered in the walls of Amalfi; nor was any city more abundantly provided with gold, silver, and the objects of precious luxury. The mariners who swarmed in her port excelled in the theory and practice of navigation and astronomy; and the discovery of the compass, which has opened the globe, is due to their ingenuity or good fortune. Their trade was extended to the coasts, or at least to the commodities, of Africa, Arabia, and India; and their settlements in Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, acquired the privileges of independent colonies. After 300 years of prosperity Amalfi was oppressed by the arms of the Normans, and sacked by the jealousy of Pisa; but the poverty of the present inhabitants is yet dignified by the remains of an arsenal, a cathedral, and the palaces of royal merchants.

§ 9. Roger, the twelfth and last of the sons of Tancred, had been long detained in Normandy by his own and his father's age. He

accepted the welcome summons; hastened to the Apulian camp; and deserved at first the esteem, and afterwards the envy, of his elder brother. Their valour and ambition were equal; but the youth, the beauty, the elegant manners, of Roger, engaged the disinterested love of the soldiers and people. With his brother's sanction and support, Roger undertook the conquest of Sicily, of which the Greeks had been unable to keep possession. After a war of 30 years (A.D. 1060–1090), Roger, with the title of great count, obtained the sovereignty of the largest and most fruitful island of the Mediterranean. A remnant of Christian natives had promoted the success of the Normans: they were rewarded by the triumph of the cross. The island was restored to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff; new bishops were planted in the principal cities; and the clergy was satisfied by a liberal endowment of churches and monasteries. Yet the Catholic hero asserted the rights of the civil magistrate. Instead of resigning the investiture of benefices, he dexterously applied to his own profit the papal claims: the supremacy of the crown was secured and enlarged by the singular bull which declares the princes of Sicily hereditary and perpetual legatees of the Holy See.

§ 10. To Robert Guiscard the conquest of Sicily was more glorious than beneficial: the possession of Apulia and Calabria was inadequate to his ambition; and he resolved to embrace or create the first occasion of invading, perhaps of subduing, the Roman empire of the East. One of the daughters of Robert was betrothed, in a tender age, to Constantine, the son and heir of the emperor Michael. But the throne of Constantinople was shaken by a revolution: the Imperial family of Ducas was confined to the palace or the cloister; and Robert deplored and resented the disgrace of his daughter and the expulsion of his ally. A Greek, who styled himself the father of Constantine, soon appeared at Salerno, and related the adventures of his fall and flight. He was acknowledged by the duke, and adorned with the pomp and titles of Imperial dignity: yet this Michael, by the confession of the Greeks and Latins, was a pageant and an impostor; a monk who had fled from his convent, or a domestic who had served in the palace. The fraud had been contrived by the subtle Guiscard; and he trusted that, after this pretender had given decent colour to his arms, he would sink, at the nod of the conqueror, into his primitive obscurity. After two years' incessant preparations the land and naval forces of Robert were assembled at Otranto, at the heel, or extreme promontory of Italy. Thirteen hundred knights of Norman race or discipline formed the sinews of the army, which might be swelled to 30,000 followers of every denomination. These forces were conveyed in safety to the opposite coast of Epirus, and Robert proceeded to lay siege to Du-

razzo, the western key of the empire, which was guarded by a numerous garrison of Albanians and Macedonians, who, in every age, have maintained the character of soldiers (A.D. 1081). In the prosecution of his enterprise the courage of Guiscard was assailed by every form of danger and mischance. Part of his fleet was destroyed by a tempest, and the remainder by the Greek fire of the Imperial galleys. The camp was afflicted with a pestilential disease; 500 knights perished by an inglorious death; and the list of burials amounted to 10,000 persons. Under these calamities the mind of Guiscard alone was firm and invincible. He defeated with great slaughter an army which the emperor Alexius led in person to the relief of the town; Durazzo at length fell into the hands of the Normans (A.D. 1082, Feb.); but near seven months elapsed between the first investment and the final surrender of the place. From Durazzo the Norman duke advanced into the heart of Epirus or Albania; traversed the first mountains of Thessaly; approached Thessalonica; and made Constantinople tremble. A more pressing duty suspended the prosecution of his ambitious designs. By shipwreck, pestilence, and the sword, his army was reduced to a third of the original numbers; and instead of being recruited from Italy, he was informed of the mischiefs and dangers which had been produced by his absence: the revolt of the cities and barons of Apulia; the distress of the pope; and the approach or invasion of Henry king of Germany. Presuming that his person was sufficient for the public safety, he repassed the sea in a single brigantine, and left the remains of the army under the command of his son Bohemond and of the Norman counts. The son of Guiscard trod in the footsteps of his father. After winning two battles against the emperor, he descended into the plain of Thessaly, and beseiged Larissa, which contained the treasure and magazines of the Byzantine camp. In the neighbourhood of this city the events of war were protracted and balanced. The courage of Bohemond was always conspicuous, and often successful; but his camp was pillaged by a stratagem of the Greeks; the city was impregnable; and the venal or discontented counts deserted his standard, betrayed their trusts, and enlisted in the service of the emperor. Alexius returned to Constantinople with the advantage, rather than the honour of victory. After evacuating the conquests which he could no longer defend, the son of Guiscard embarked for Italy, and was embraced by a father who esteemed his merit, and sympathised in his misfortune.

§ 11. Of the Latin princes, the allies of Alexius and enemies of Robert, the most prompt and powerful was Henry III., king of Germany and Italy, and future emperor of the West. Henry was the sincere adversary of the Normans, the allies and vassals of Gregory VII., his implacable foe. The long quarrel of the throne and mitre

had been recently kindled by the zeal and ambition of that haughty priest: the king and the pope had degraded each other; and each had seated a rival on the temporal or spiritual throne of his antagonist. After the defeat and death of his Swabian rebel, Henry descended into Italy, to assume the Imperial crown, and to drive from the Vatican the tyrant of the church. But the Roman people adhered to the cause of Gregory; and the city was thrice ineffectually besieged by the king of Germany. In the fourth year (A.D. 1084) he corrupted, as it is said, with Byzantine gold, the nobles of Rome, whose estates and castles had been ruined by the war. The gates, the bridges, and fifty hostages were delivered into his hands: the anti-pope, Clement III., was consecrated in the Lateran: the grateful pontiff crowned his protector in the Vatican; and the emperor Henry fixed his residence in the Capitol, as the lawful successor of Augustus and Charlemagne. The ruins of Septizonium were still defended by the nephew of Gregory: the pope himself was invested in the castle of St. Angelo; and his last hope was in the courage and fidelity of his Norman vassal. Nor was he disappointed. Unfurling the holy banner, Guiscard resolved to fly to the relief of the prince of the apostles: the most numerous of his armies, 6000 horse and 30,000 foot, was instantly assembled; and his march from Salerno to Rome was animated by the public applause and the promise of the divine favour. Henry, invincible in 66 battles, trembled at his approach; exhorted the Romans to persevere in their allegiance; and hastily retreated three days before the entrance of the Normans. In less than three years the son of Tancred of Hauteville enjoyed the glory of delivering the pope, and of compelling the two emperors, of the East and West, to fly before his victorious arms. But the triumph of Robert was clouded by the calamities of Rome. By the aid of the friends of Gregory the walls had been perforated or scaled; but the Imperial faction was still powerful and active; on the third day the people rose in a furious tumult; and an hasty word of the conqueror, in his defence or revenge, was the signal of fire and pillage. The Saracens of Sicily, the subjects of Roger, and auxiliaries of his brother, embraced this fair occasion of rifling and profaning the holy city of the Christians; many thousands of the citizens, in the sight and by the allies of their spiritual father, were exposed to violation, captivity, or death; and a spacious quarter of the city, from the Lateran to the Coliseum, was consumed by the flames, and devoted to perpetual solitude.

§ 12. In the same year of the flight of the German emperor the indefatigable Robert resumed the design of his Eastern conquests (A.D. 1084). Alexius, apprehensive of a second attack, had assiduously laboured to restore the naval forces of the empire, and obtained from the republic of Venice the assistance of a powerful fleet.

By the union of the Greeks and Venetians the Adriatic was covered with an hostile fleet; but the Norman troops crossed the sea in safety, and landed on the coast of Epirus. With 20 strong and well-appointed galleys their intrepid duke immediately sought the enemy. The dominion of the sea was disputed in three engagements, in sight of the isle of Corfu; in the two former the skill and number of the allies were superior; but in the third the Normans obtained a final and complete victory. The winter season suspended the progress of Robert: with the return of spring he again aspired to the conquest of Constantinople; but, instead of traversing the hills of Epirus, he turned his arms against Greece and the islands. In the isle of Cephalonia his projects were fatally blasted by an epidemical disease: Robert himself, in the 70th year of his age, expired in his tent (A.D. 1085). This premature death might allow a boundless scope for the imagination of his future exploits, and the event sufficiently declares that the Norman greatness was founded on his life. Without the appearance of an enemy a victorious army dispersed or retreated in disorder and consternation, and Alexius, who had trembled for his empire, rejoiced in his deliverance. Roger, his second son and successor, immediately sunk to the humble station of a duke of Apulia; the esteem or partiality of his father left the valiant Bohemond to the inheritance of his sword. The national tranquillity was disturbed by his claims, till the first crusade against the infidels of the East opened a more splendid field of glory and conquest.

§ 13. The male line of Robert Guiscard was distinguished, both in Apulia and at Antioch, in the second generation; but his younger brother became the father of a line of kings; and the son of the great count was endowed with the name, the conquests, and the spirit of the first Roger (A.D. 1101–1154). The heir of that Norman adventurer was born in Sicily, and at the age of only four years he succeeded to the sovereignty of the island. On the death of his cousin William of Apulia, the grandson of Robert, Roger sailed from Palermo with seven galleys, cast anchor in the bay of Salerno, received, after ten days' negotiation, an oath of fidelity from the Norman capital, and extorted a legal investiture from the reluctant popes, who could not long endure either the friendship or enmity of a powerful vassal (A.D. 1127). The sacred spot of Benevento was respectfully spared, as the patrimony of St. Peter; but the reduction of Capua and Naples completed the design of his uncle Guiscard; and the sole inheritance of the Norman conquests was possessed by the victorious Roger. A conscious superiority of power and merit prompted him to disdain the titles of duke and of count; and the isle of Sicily, with a third perhaps of the continent of Italy, might form the basis of a kingdom which would only yield

to the monarchies of France and England. Roger persuaded the pontiff Anacletus to confer upon him the title of king of Sicily; but the legitimacy of this pontiff was attacked by the adverse election of Innocent II.; and while Anacletus sat in the Vatican, the successful fugitive was acknowledged by the nations of Europe. The infant monarchy of Roger was shaken, and almost overthrown, by the unlucky choice of an ecclesiastical patron; and the sword of Lothaire II. of Germany, the excommunications of Innocent, the fleets of Pisa, and the zeal of St. Bernard, were united for the ruin of the Sicilian robber. After a gallant resistance the Norman prince was driven from the continent of Italy, and a new duke of Apulia was invested by the pope and the emperor. But their friendship was of short and precarious duration: the German armies soon vanished in disease and desertion: the Apulian duke, with all his adherents, was exterminated by a conqueror who seldom forgave either the dead or the living; like his predecessor Leo IX., the feeble though haughty pontiff became the captive and friend of the Normans; and their reconciliation was celebrated by the eloquence of Bernard, who now revered the title and virtues of the king of Sicily.

Roger next turned his arms against the Saracens of Africa. His first conquest was the island or rock of Malta, which was inseparably annexed to the crown of Sicily. In successive expeditions the king of Sicily or his lieutenants reduced the cities of Tripoli, Mahadia, Tunis, Safax, Capsia, Bona, and a long tract of the sea-coast; the fortresses were garrisoned, the country was tributary, and a boast that it held Africa in subjection might be inscribed with some flattery on the sword of Roger. After his death that sword was broken; and these transmarine possessions were neglected, evacuated, or lost, under the troubled reign of his successor.

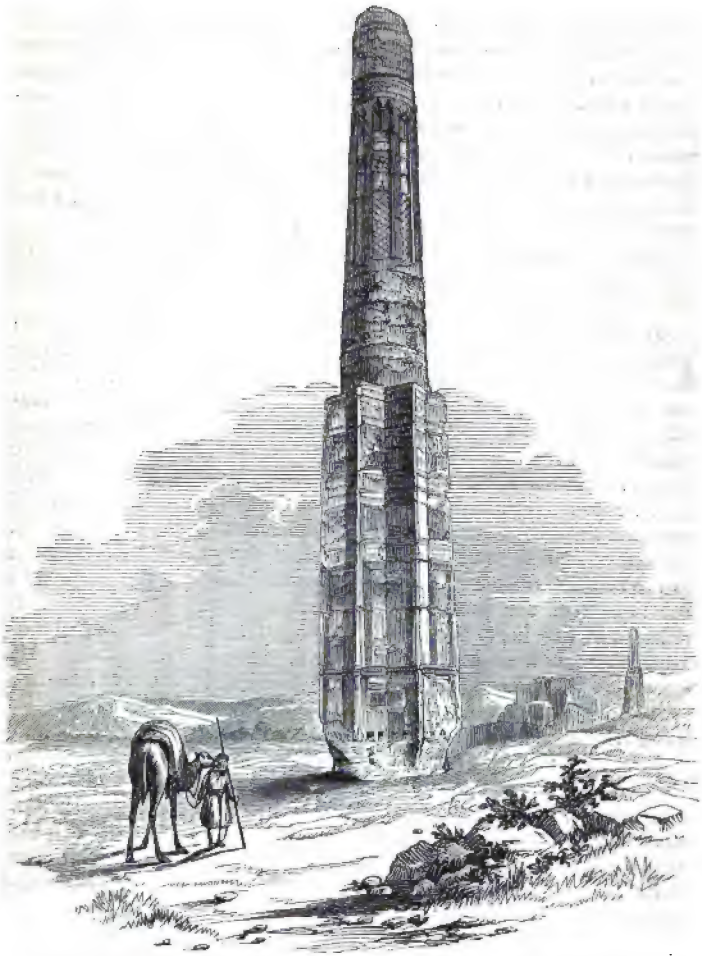
Since the decease of Robert Guiscard the Normans had relinquished, above 60 years, their hostile designs against the empire of the East. The policy of Roger solicited a public and private union with the Greek princes, whose alliance would dignify his regal character: he demanded in marriage a daughter of the Comnenian family, and the first steps of the treaty seemed to promise a favourable event. But the contemptuous treatment of his ambassadors exasperated the vanity of the new monarch; and the insolence of the Byzantine court was expiated, according to the laws of nations, by the sufferings of a guiltless people. With a fleet of 70 galleys, George, the admiral of Sicily, appeared before Corfu; and both the island and city were delivered into his hands by the disaffected inhabitants (A.D. 1146). In this invasion the Normans spread themselves by sea, and over the provinces of Greece; and the venerable age of Athens, Thebes, and Corinth, was violated by

rapine and cruelty. The admiral of Sicily advanced as far as Constantinople, which he insulted with impunity in the absence of the emperor. But Manuel soon collected a powerful fleet: in his homeward voyage George lost 19 of his galleys, which were separated and taken: after an obstinate defence Corfu implored the clemency of her lawful sovereign; nor could a ship, a soldier, of the Norman prince, be found, unless as a captive, within the limits of the Eastern empire (A.D. 1149).

§ 14. Manuel followed up his success by invading Italy: in the course of two campaigns he reduced Apulia and Calabria (A.D. 1155), and professed his design of chasing the barbarians beyond the Alps. By the gifts and promises of their eastern ally, the free cities were encouraged to persevere in their generous struggles against the despotism of Frederic Barbarossa: the walls of Milan were rebuilt by the contributions of Manuel; and he poured, says the historian, a river of gold into the bosom of Ancona, whose attachment to the Greeks was fortified by the jealous enmity of the Venetians. The pride of Manuel disdained and rejected a barbarian colleague; his ambition was excited by the hope of stripping the purple from the German usurpers, and of establishing in the West as in the East his lawful title of sole emperor of the Romans. But these Italian conquests, this universal reign, soon escaped from the hand of the Greek emperor. During the quarrel between Frederic and the pontiff Alexander III., the latter had cultivated the alliance of the Greek emperor; but after his re-union with Frederic, Alexander excommunicated the adherents of Manuel, and pronounced the final separation of the churches, or at least the empires, of Constantinople and Rome. The free cities of Lombardy no longer remembered their foreign benefactor, and, without preserving the friendship of Ancona, he soon incurred the enmity of Venice. Manuel was glad to grant to the Normans a peace or truce of 30 years; the king of Sicily accepted as a gift the regal title; and acknowledged himself the military vassal of the Roman empire (A.D. 1156). The Byzantine Cæsars acquiesced in this shadow of a dominion, without expecting, perhaps without desiring, the service of a Norman army; and the truce of 30 years was not disturbed by any hostilities between Sicily and Constantinople. About the end of that period, the throne of Manuel was usurped by an inhuman tyrant, who had deserved the abhorrence of his country and mankind: the sword of William II., the grandson of Roger, was drawn by a fugitive of the Comnenian race; and the subjects of Andronicus might salute the strangers as friends, since they detested their sovereign as the worst of enemies (A.D. 1185). The Normans expatiate on the rapid progress of the four counts who invaded Romania with a fleet and army, took Thessalonica, the second city of the empire, and gained

many victories both on sea and land. A revolution which punished the crimes of Andronicus had united against the Franks the zeal and courage of the successful insurgents: 10,000 were slain in battle; and Isaac Angelus, the new emperor, might indulge his vanity or vengeance in the treatment of 4000 captives. Such was the event of the last contest between the Greeks and Normans: before the expiration of 20 years the rival nations were lost or degraded in foreign servitude: and the successors of Constantine did not long survive to insult the fall of the Sicilian monarchy.

§ 15. The sceptre of Roger successively devolved to his son and grandson, William I., surnamed the Bad (A.D. 1154–1166), and William II., surnamed the Good (A.D. 1166–1139). The legitimate male posterity of Tancred of Hauteville was extinct in the person of the second William; but his aunt, the daughter of Roger, had married the most powerful prince of the age; and Henry VI., the son of Frederic Barbarossa, descended from the Alps, to claim the Imperial crown and the inheritance of his wife. The Normans raised to the throne of Sicily, Tancred, the grandson of the first king, whose birth was illegitimate, but whose civil and military virtues shone without a blemish. During four years, the term of his life and reign, he stood in arms on the farthest verge of the Apulian frontier against the power of Germany; but after his decease the kingdom of his widow and infant son fell without a struggle, and Henry pursued his victorious march from Capua to Palermo (A.D. 1194). The young king, his mother and sisters, and the nobles of both sexes, were separately confined in the fortresses of the Alps, and, on the slightest rumour of rebellion, the captives were deprived of life, of their eyes, or the hope of posterity. Ten years after this revolution, the French monarchs annexed to their crown the duchy of Normandy (A.D. 1204): the sceptre of her ancient dukes had been transmitted, by a granddaughter of William the Conqueror, to the house of Plantagenet; and the adventurous Normans, who had raised so many trophies in France, England, and Ireland, in Apulia, Sicily, and the East, were lost, either in victory or servitude, among the vanquished nations.



Minar, or Column of Victory at Ghazni, erected by Mahmoud, or his successor, Massoud.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE TURKS.

§ 1. The Turks: Mahmud the Ghaznevide: overthrow of the Ghaznevides. § 2. Dynasty of the Seljukians: reign and character of Togrul Beg. § 3. Reign of Alp Arslan. § 4. Reign of Malek Shah. § 5. Division of

the Seljukian empire. § 6. Conquest of Asia Minor by the Turks. § 7. The Seljukian kingdom of Roum. § 8. State and pilgrimage of Jerusalem. § 9. Conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks.

§ 1. FROM the isle of Sicily the reader must transport himself beyond the Caspian Sea to the original seat of the Turks or Turkmans, against whom the first crusade was principally directed. While Apulia and Sicily were subdued by the Norman lance, a swarm of these northern shepherds overspread the kingdoms of Persia; their princes of the race of Seljuk erected a splendid and solid empire from Samarcand to the confines of Greece and Egypt, and the Turks have maintained their dominion in Asia Minor till the victorious crescent has been planted on the dome of St. Sophia.

One of the greatest of the Turkish princes was Mahmoud, the Ghaznevide, who reigned in the eastern provinces of Persia one thousand years after the birth of Christ (A.D. 997–1028). His father Sebuctecin was a slave of a lieutenant of the Samanides, who ruled over Transoxiana and Chorasan, and who still paid a nominal allegiance to the caliph of Bagdad. The master of Sebuctecin broke, by his revolt, the bonds of political slavery: and the slave ascended to the supreme command of the city and province of Ghazni, as the son-in-law and successor of his grateful master. Mahmoud assumed the title of *Sultan;* and his kingdom was enlarged from Transoxiana to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, from the shores of the Caspian to the mouth of the Indus. The principal source of his fame and riches was the holy war which he waged against the Gentoos of Hindostan; but the history of his twelve celebrated expeditions is foreign to this narrative. He was succeeded by his son Massoud (A.D. 1028–1038), whose throne and dynasty were overthrown by the Turkmans, who dwelt on the eastern side of the Caspian sea.

§ 2. The victorious Turkmans immediately proceeded to the election of a sultan; and, if the probable tale of a Latin historian deserves any credit, they determined by lot the choice of their new master. A number of arrows were successively inscribed with the name of a tribe, a family, and a candidate; they were drawn from the bundle by the hand of a child, and the important prize was obtained by Togrul Beg (A.D. 1038–1063), the grandson of Seljuk, whose surname was immortalised in the greatness of his posterity. The blind determination of chance was justified by the virtues of the successful candidate. By his arms the Ghaznevides were expelled from the eastern kingdoms of Persia, and gradually driven to the banks of the Indus, in search of a softer and more wealthy conquest. Having embraced with fervour and sincerity the religion of Mahomet, the son of Seljuk imbibed a lively reverence for the successor of the prophet. But that sublime character was still disputed by the caliphs of Bagdad and Egypt, and each of the

rivals was solicitous to prove his title in the judgment of the strong, though illiterate barbarians. Togrul declared himself in favour of the caliph of Bagdad, who named the Seljukian sultan his temporal vicegerent over the Moslem world. As Togrul executed and enlarged this important trust, he was called to the deliverance of the caliph Cayem, and obeyed the holy summons, which gave a new kingdom to his arms. In the palace of Bagdad the commander of the faithful still slumbered, a venerable phantom. His servant or master, the prince of the Bowides, could no longer protect him from the insolence of meaner tyrants; and the Euphrates and Tigris were oppressed by the revolt of the Turkish and Arabian emirs. At the head of an irresistible force the sultan of Persia marched from Hamadan: the prince of the Bowides disappeared; and the heads of the most obstinate rebels were laid at the feet of Togrul (A.D. 1055). After the chastisement of the guilty, and the restoration of peace, he entered Bagdad in triumph, and was solemnly declared in presence of the faithful the temporal lieutenant of the vicar of the prophet. In a second visit to Bagdad the Seljukian prince again rescued the caliph from his enemies; and devoutly, on foot, led the bridle of his mule from the prison to the palace. Their alliance was cemented by the marriage of Togrul's sister with the successor of the prophet. In this revolution the Abbassides acquired a larger measure of liberty and power. On the throne of Asia the Turkish monarchs were less jealous of the domestic administration of Bagdad; and the commanders of the faithful were relieved from the ignominious vexations to which they had been exposed by the presence and poverty of the Persian dynasty.

Since the fall of the caliphs, the discord and degeneracy of the Saracens respected the Asiatic provinces of Rome; which, by the victories of Nicephorus, Zimisces, and Basil, had been extended as far as Antioch and the eastern boundaries of Armenia. Twenty-five years after the death of Basil, his successors were suddenly assaulted by an unknown race of barbarians, who united the Scythian valour with the fanaticism of new proselytes, and the art and riches of a powerful monarch. The myriads of Turkish horse overspread a frontier of 600 miles from Tauris to Arzeroum, and the blood of 130,000 Christians was a grateful sacrifice to the Arabian prophet.

§ 3. As Togrul left no children, his nephew Alp Arslan succeeded to the title and prerogatives of sultan (A.D. 1063–1072). The arms of Togrul had not made any deep or lasting impression upon the Greek empire; but Alp Arslan permanently annexed to his dominions the important provinces of Armenia and Georgia (A.D. 1065–1068). His alarming progress compelled the Greek empress Eudocia to give herself and her sceptre to the hand of a soldier; and Romanus Diogenes was invested with the Imperial purple. In the

palace Diogenes was no more than the husband of Eudocia: in the camp, he was the emperor of the Romans, and he sustained that character with feeble resources and invincible courage. In three laborious campaigns the Turks were driven beyond the Euphrates: in the fourth and last, Romanus undertook the deliverance of Armenia (A.D. 1068–1071). On the report of this bold invasion, which threatened his hereditary dominions, Alp Arslan flew to the scene of action at the head of 40,000 horse. In the battle which ensued the Greeks were defeated with immense loss, and the emperor fell into the hands of the sultan. Alp Arslan treated his captive with courtesy, and released him on his promising to pay a million pieces of gold as a ransom, and an annual tribute of 360,000. But no sooner did Romanus reach the confines of the empire than he was informed that the palace and provinces had disclaimed their allegiance to a captive; a sum of 200,000 pieces was painfully collected; and the fallen monarch transmitted this part of his ransom, with a sad confession of his impotence and disgrace. The generosity, or perhaps the ambition, of the sultan prepared to espouse the cause of his ally; but his designs were prevented by the defeat, imprisonment, and death of Romanus Diogenes.

In the following year (A.D. 1072) Alp Arslan undertook the conquest of Turkestan, the original seat of the house of Seljuk. He crossed the Oxus; but his progress was retarded by the governor of Berzem; and Joseph the Carizmian presumed to defend the fortress against the powers of the East. When he was produced a captive in the royal tent, the sultan severely reproached his obstinate folly; and the insolent replies of the rebel provoked a sentence, that he should be fastened to four stakes and left to expire in that painful situation. At this command the desperate Carizmian, drawing a dagger, rushed headlong towards the throne: the guards raised their battle-axes; their zeal was checked by Alp Arslan, the most skilful archer of the age: he drew his bow, but his foot slipped, the arrow glanced aside, and he received in his breast the dagger of Joseph, who was instantly cut in pieces. The wound was mortal; and the Turkish prince bequeathed a dying admonition to the pride of kings. "In my youth," said Alp Arslan, "I was advised by a sage to humble myself before God; to distrust my own strength; and never to despise the most contemptible foe. I have neglected these lessons; and my neglect has been deservedly punished."

§ 4. Alp Arslan was succeeded by his eldest son Malek Shah (A.D. 1072–1092), who, by his personal merit and the extent of his empire, was the greatest prince of his age. Beyond the Oxus he reduced to his obedience the cities of Bochara, Carisme, and Samarcand, and crushed each rebellious slave or independent savage who dared to resist. He passed the Sihon or Jaxartes, the last boundary

of Persian civilisation: the hordes of Turkestan yielded to his supremacy: and his name was inserted on the coins and in the prayers of Cashgar, a Tartar kingdom on the extreme borders of China. From the Chinese frontier he stretched his immediate jurisdiction or feudatory sway to the west and south, as far as the mountains of Georgia, the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the holy city of Jerusalem, and the spicy groves of Arabia Felix. Instead of resigning himself to the luxury of his harem, the shepherd king, both in peace and war, was in action and in the field. By the perpetual motion of the royal camp each province was successively blessed with his presence; and he is said to have perambulated twelve times the wide extent of his dominions, which surpassed the *Asiatic* reigns of Cyrus and the caliphs. Of these expeditions the most pious and splendid was the pilgrimage of Mecca: the freedom and safety of the caravans were protected by his arms: and the desert was cheered by the places of relief and refreshment which he instituted for the use of his brethren. In the peaceful prosperity of his reign the cities of Asia were adorned with palaces and hospitals, with mosques and colleges: and the language and literature of Persia revived under the house of Seljuk. The sultan directed his attention to the reformation of the calendar, which was effected by a general assembly of the astronomers of the East. By a law of the prophet the Moslems are confined to the irregular course of the lunar months; in Persia, since the age of Zoroaster, the revolution of the sun has been known and celebrated as an annual festival; but after the fall of the Magian empire, the intercalation had been neglected; the fractions of minutes and hours were multiplied into days; and the date of the spring was removed from the sign of Aries to that of Pisces. The reign of Malek was illustrated by the *Gelalæan* æra; and all errors, either past or future, were corrected by a computation of time, which surpasses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian style.*

§ 5. The greatness and unity of the Turkish empire expired in the person of Malek Shah. His vacant throne was disputed by his brother and his four sons; and, after a series of civil wars, the treaty which reconciled the surviving candidates confirmed a lasting separation in the *Persian* dynasty, the eldest and principal branch of the house of Seljuk. The three younger dynasties were those of *Kerman*, of *Syria*, and of *Roum*: the first of these commanded an extensive, though obscure, dominion on the shores of the Indian Ocean; the second expelled the Arabian princes of Aleppo and Damascus; and the third, our peculiar care, invaded the Roman provinces of Asia Minor. The generous policy of Malek contributed to

* The Gelalæan æra (Gelaleddin, Glory of the Faith, was one of the names or titles of Malek Shah) is fixed to the xvth of March, A.H. 471—A.D. 1079.

their elevation: he allowed the princes of his blood, even those whom he had vanquished in the field, to seek new kingdoms worthy of their ambition; nor was he displeased that they should draw away the more ardent spirits who might have disturbed the tranquillity of his reign. As the supreme head of his family and nation, the great sultan of Persia commanded the obedience and tribute of his royal brethren; but after the death of Malek the bands of union and subordination were relaxed and finally dissolved; the indulgence of the house of Seljuk invested their slaves with the inheritance of kingdoms; and, in the Oriental style, a crowd of princes arose from the dust of their feet.

§ 6. A prince of the royal line, Cutulmish, the son of Izrail, the son of Seljuk, had fallen in a battle against Alp Arslan. His five sons, strong in arms, and eager for revenge, unsheathed their scimitars against the son of Alp Arslan. The two armies expected the signal, when the caliph, forgetful of the majesty which secluded him from vulgar eyes, interposed his venerable mediation. "Instead of shedding the blood of your brethren, unite your forces in a holy war against the Greeks, the enemies of God and his apostle." They listened to his voice; the sultan embraced his rebellious kinsmen; and the eldest, the valiant Soliman, accepted the royal standard, which gave him the free conquest and hereditary command of the provinces of the Roman empire, from Arzeroum to Constantinople and the unknown regions of the West (A.D. 1074). Accompanied by his four brothers, he passed the Euphrates: the Turkish camp was soon seated in the neighbourhood of Kutaieh in Phrygia; and his flying cavalry laid waste the country as far as the Hellespont and the Black Sea. Since the decline of the empire the peninsula of Asia Minor had been exposed to the transient though destructive inroads of the Persians and Saracens; but the fruits of a lasting conquest were reserved for the Turkish sultan; and his arms were introduced by the Greeks, who aspired to reign on the ruins of their country. Since the captivity of Romanus, six years the feeble son of Eudocia had trembled under the weight of the Imperial crown, till the provinces of the East and West were lost in the same month by a double rebellion: of either chief Nicephorus was the common name; but the surnames of Bryennius and Botoniates distinguish the European and Asiatic candidates. Their reasons, or rather their promises, were weighed in the divan; and, after some hesitation, Soliman declared himself in favour of Botoniates, opened a free passage to his troops in their march from Antioch to Nice, and joined the banner of the crescent to that of the cross. After his ally had ascended the throne of Constantinople, the sultan was hospitably entertained in the suburb of Chrysopolis or Scutari; and a body of two thousand Turks was transported into Europe, to whose

dexterity and courage the new emperor was indebted for the defeat and captivity of his rival Bryennius. But the conquest of Europe was dearly purchased by the sacrifice of Asia; Constantinople was deprived of the obedience and revenue of the provinces beyond the Bosporus and Hellespont; and the regular progress of the Turks, who fortified the passes of the rivers and mountains, left not a hope of their retreat or expulsion. Alexius, who succeeded Nicephorus Botaniates, sought the friendship of Soliman; and it was not till after the sultan's death that the emperor extended as far as Nicomedia, about 60 miles from Constantinople, the eastern boundary of the Roman world. Trebizond alone, defended on either side by the sea and mountains, preserved at the extremity of the Euxine the ancient character of a Greek colony, and the future destiny of a Christian empire.

§ 7. Since the first conquest of the caliphs, the establishment of the Turks in Anatolia or Asia Minor, was the most deplorable loss which the church and empire had sustained. By the propagation of the Moslem faith, Soliman deserved the name of *Gazi*, a holy champion; and his new kingdom of the Romans, or of *Roum*, was added to the tables of Oriental geography. It is described as extending from the Euphrates to Constantinople, from the Black Sea to the confines of Syria. By the choice of the sultan, Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, was preferred for his palace and fortress; the seat of the Seljukian dynasty of Roum was planted 100 miles from Constantinople; and the divinity of Christ was denied and derided in the same temple in which it had been pronounced by the first general synod of the Catholics. Antioch and the dependent cities, so far as Laodicea and the confines of Aleppo, yielded to the sultan. From Laodicea to the Thracian Bosporus, or arm of St. George, the conquests and reign of Soliman extended 30 days' journey in length, and in breadth about 10 or 15, between the rocks of Lycia and the Black Sea. The Turkish ignorance of navigation protected for a while the inglorious safety of the emperor; but no sooner had a fleet of 200 ships been constructed by the hands of the captive Greeks, than Alexius trembled behind the walls of his capital. His plaintive epistles were dispersed over Europe to excite the compassion of the Latins, and to paint the danger, the weakness, and the riches of the city of Constantine.

§ 8. But the most interesting conquest of the Seljukian Turks was that of Jerusalem, which soon became the theatre of nations. In their capitulation with Omar, the inhabitants had stipulated the assurance of their religion and property, but the articles were interpreted by a master against whom it was dangerous to dispute; and in the 400 years of the reign of the caliphs the political climate of Jerusalem was exposed to the vicissitudes of storm and sunshine.

By the increase of proselytes and population the Mahometans might excuse their usurpation of three-fourths of the city: but a peculiar quarter was reserved for the patriarch with his clergy and people; a tribute of two pieces of gold was the price of protection; and the sepulchre of Christ, with the church of the Resurrection, was still left in the hands of his votaries. Of these votaries the most numerous and respectable portion were strangers to Jerusalem; the pilgrimages to the Holy Land had been stimulated, rather than suppressed, by the conquest of the Arabs; and the enthusiasm which had always prompted these perilous journeys was nourished by the congenial passions of grief and indignation. A crowd of pilgrims from the East and West continued to visit the holy sepulchre and the adjacent sanctuaries, more especially at the festival of Easter; and the Greeks and Latins, the Nestorians and Jacobites, the Copts and Abyssinians, the Armenians and Georgians, maintained the chapels, the clergy, and the poor of their respective communions. The pre-eminence was asserted by the spirit and numbers of the Franks, and the greatness of Charlemagne protected both the Latin pilgrims and the Catholics of the East. In the decline of the Carlovingian monarchy the republic of Amalfi promoted the interest of trade and religion in the East. Her vessels transported the Latin pilgrims to the coast of Egypt and Palestine, and deserved, by their useful imports, the favour and alliance of the Fatimite caliphs: an annual fair was instituted on Mount Cavalry; and the Italian merchants founded the convent and hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the cradle of the monastic and military order which afterwards reigned in the isles of Rhodes and of Malta.

The revolution which transferred the sceptre from the Abbassides to the Fatimites was a benefit rather than an injury to the Holy Land. A sovereign resident in Egypt was more sensible of the importance of Christian trade; and the emirs of Palestine were less remote from the justice and power of the throne. But the third of these Fatimite caliphs was the famous Hakem, a frantic youth, who was delivered by his impiety and despotism from the fear either of God or man, and whose reign was a wild mixture of vice and folly. At first the caliph declared himself a zealous Mussulman; but his vanity was soon flattered by the hope of introducing a new religion; he aspired above the fame of a prophet, and styled himself the visible image of the Most High God, who, after nine apparitions on earth, was at length manifest in his royal person. At the name of Hakem, the lord of the living and the dead, every knee was bent in religious adoration; his mysteries were performed on a mountain near Cairo; 16,000 converts had signed his profession of faith; and at the present hour a free and warlike people, the Druses of Mount Libanus, are persuaded of the life and divinity of a madman and a tyrant. In his

divine character Hakem hated the Jews and Christians, as the servants of his rivals, while some remains of prejudice or prudence still pleaded in favour of the law of Mahomet. The temple of the Christian world, the church of the Resurrection, was demolished to its foundations; and much labour was exhausted to destroy the cave in the rock which properly constitutes the holy sepulchre (A.D. 1009). After the assassination of Hakem the succeeding caliphs resumed the maxims of religion and policy: a free toleration was again granted; with the pious aid of the emperor of Constantinople the holy sepulchre arose from its ruins; and the pilgrims returned in greater numbers to the sacred spot. In the sea-voyage of Palestine the dangers were frequent, and the opportunities rare; but the conversion of Hungary opened a safe communication between Germany and Greece. Among the Franks the zeal of pilgrimage prevailed beyond the example of former times, and the roads were covered with multitudes of either sex and of every rank, who professed their contempt of life so soon as they should have kissed the tomb of their Redeemer. Princes and prelates abandoned the care of their dominions, and the numbers of these pious caravans were a prelude to the armies which marched in the ensuing age under the banner of the cross.

§ 9. After the defeat of the Romans the tranquillity of the Fatimite caliphs was invaded by the Turks. They were repulsed from Egypt, but they conquered Syria and the Holy Land. The house of Seljuk reigned about 20 years in Jerusalem (A.D. 1076–1096); but the hereditary command of the holy city and territory was intrusted or abandoned to the emir Ortok, the chief of a tribe of Turkmans. The Oriental Christians and the Latin pilgrims deplored a revolution which, instead of the regular government and old alliance of the caliphs, imposed on their necks the iron yoke of the strangers of the North. A spirit of native barbarism, or recent zeal, prompted the Turkmans to insult the clergy of every sect: the patriarch was dragged by the hair along the pavement and cast into a dungeon, to extort a ransom from the sympathy of his flock; and the divine worship in the church of the Resurrection was often disturbed by the savage rudeness of its masters. The pathetic tale excited the millions of the West to march under the standard of the cross to the relief of the Holy Land; and yet how trifling is the sum of these accumulated evils, if compared with the single act of the sacrilege of Hakem, which had been so patiently endured by the Latin Christians! A slighter provocation inflamed the more irascible temper of their descendants: a new spirit had arisen of religious chivalry and papal dominion; a nerve was touched of exquisite feeling; and the sensation vibrated to the heart of Europe.

View of Jerusalem, showing the sides attacked by the Crusaders.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE CRUSADES.

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of Frederic Barbarossa. § 26. Richard of England in Palestine: his treaty and departure: death of Saladin. § 27. IV. V. FOURTH AND FIFTH CRUSADES. § 28. The Emperor Frederic II. in Palestine. § 29. VI. SIXTH CRUSADE: St. Louis: his captivity. § 30. VII. SEVENTH CRUSADE: death of St. Louis. § 31. The loss of Acre and the Holy Land.

§ 1. I. *The first Crusade*, A.D. 1095–1099.—ABOUT 20 years after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks, the holy sepulchre was visited by an hermit of the name of Peter, a native of Amiens, in the province of Picardy in France. His resentment and sympathy were excited by his own injuries and the oppression of the Christian name; he mingled his tears with those of the patriarch, and earnestly inquired if no hopes of relief could be entertained from the Greek emperors of the East. The patriarch exposed the vices and weakness of the successors of Constantine. "I will rouse," exclaimed the hermit, "the martial nations of Europe in your cause;" and Europe was obedient to the call of the hermit. The astonished patriarch dismissed him with epistles of credit and complaint; and no sooner did he land at Bari than Peter hastened to kiss the feet of the Roman pontiff. His stature was small, his appearance contemptible; but his eye was keen and lively, and he possessed that vehemence of speech which seldom fails to impart the persuasion of the soul. Pope Urban II. received him as a prophet, applauded his glorious design, promised to support it in a general council, and encouraged him to proclaim the deliverance of the Holy Land. Invigorated by the approbation of the pontiff, his zealous missionary traversed, with speed and success, the province of Italy and France. His head was bare, his feet naked, his meagre body was wrapped in a coarse garment; he bore and displayed a weighty crucifix; and the ass on which he rode was sanctified, in the public eye, by the service of the man of God. He preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the streets, and the highways: the hermit entered with equal confidence the palace and the cottage; and the people were impetuously moved by his call to repentance and arms. The most perfect orator of Athens might have envied the success of his eloquence: the rustic enthusiast inspired the passions which he felt, and Christendom expected with impatience the counsels and decrees of the supreme pontiff.

§ 2. Urban summoned a council at Placentia, which was numerously attended (A.D. 1095, March). The ambassadors of the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, were introduced to plead the distress of their sovereign, and the danger of Constantinople, which was divided only by a narrow sea from the victorious Turks, the common enemies of the Christian name. At the sad tale of the misery and perils of their Eastern brethren the assembly burst into tears: the most eager champions declared their readiness to march;

and the Greek ambassadors were dismissed with the assurance of a speedy and powerful succour. But the prudent Urban adjourned the final decision to a second synod, which he proposed to celebrate in some city of France in the autumn of the same year. The short delay would propagate the flame of enthusiasm; and his firmest hope was in a nation of soldiers still proud of the pre-eminence of their name. A latent motive of affection or vanity might influence the choice of Urban: he was himself a native of France, a monk of Clugny, and the first of his countrymen who ascended the throne of St. Peter. In the month of November a second council assembled at Clermont, not less numerous or respectable than the synod of Placentia. From the synod of Placentia the rumour of the great design had gone forth among the nations: the clergy on their return had preached in every diocese the merit and glory of the deliverance of the Holy Land; and when the pope ascended a lofty scaffold in the market-place of Clermont, his eloquence was addressed to a well-prepared and impatient audience. His topics were obvious, his exhortation was vehement, his success inevitable. The orator was interrupted by the shout of thousands, who with one voice, and in their rustic idiom, exclaimed aloud, "God wills it, God wills it!" "It is indeed the will of God," replied the pope; "and let this memorable word, the inspiration surely of the Holy Spirit, be for ever adopted as your cry of battle, to animate the devotion and courage of the champions of Christ. His cross is the symbol of your salvation: wear it, a red, a bloody cross, as an external mark, on your breasts or shoulders, as a pledge of your sacred and irrevocable engagement." The proposal was joyfully accepted; great numbers, both of the clergy and laity, impressed on their garments the sign of the cross; the pope proclaimed a plenary indulgence to those who should enlist under the sacred banners; and their departure for the Holy Land was fixed to the festival of the Assumption, the 15th of August, of the ensuing year (A.D. 1096).

§ 3. This day was anticipated by the thoughtless and needy crowd of plebeians; and I shall briefly despatch the calamities which they inflicted and suffered before I enter on the more serious and successful enterprise of the chiefs. Early in the spring, from the confines of France and Lorraine, above 60,000 of the populace of both sexes flocked round the first missionary of the crusade, and pressed him, with clamorous importunity, to lead them to the holy sepulchre. The hermit, assuming the character, without the talents or authority, of a general, impelled or obeyed the forward impulse of his votaries along the banks of the Rhine and Danube. The first party moved under the command of his lieutenant, Walter the Penniless, a valiant, though needy soldier. He was followed by Peter with 40,000 men; and their rear was pressed by an herd of 200,000, the

most stupid and savage refuse of the people, who mingled with their devotion a brutal license of rapine, prostitution, and drunkenness. In Bulgaria, which they had plundered, great numbers of them were cut to pieces; but the emperor, who respected the pilgrimage and succour of the Latins, conducted them by secure and easy journeys to Constantinople, and advised them to await the arrival of their brethren. For a while they remembered their faults and losses, but no sooner were they revived by the hospitable entertainment, than their venom was again inflamed: they stung their benefactor, and neither gardens, nor palaces, nor churches, were safe from their depredations. For his own safety, Alexius allured them to pass over to the Asiatic side of the Bosporus; but their blind impetuosity soon urged them to desert the station which he had assigned, and to rush headlong against the Turks, who occupied the road of Jerusalem. They separated in quest of prey, and themselves fell an easy prey to the arts of the sultan. By a rumour that their foremost companions were rioting in the spoils of his capital, Kilidge-Arslan, the successor of Soliman, tempted the main body to descend into the plain of Nice: they were overwhelmed by the Turkish arrows, and a pyramid of bones informed their companions of the place of their defeat. Of the first crusaders, 300,000 had already perished before a single city was rescued from the infidels, before their graver and more noble brethren had completed the preparations of their enterprise.

§ 4. None of the great sovereigns of Europe embarked their persons in the first crusade. The religious ardour was more strongly felt by the princes of the second order, who held an important place in the feudal system. Of the leaders of the first crusade, the first rank both in war and council is justly due to Godfrey of Bouillon, who was accompanied by his two brothers, Eustace and Baldwin. The four chief leaders of the French, the Normans, and the Britons, were Hugh, count of Vermandois, surnamed the Great, brother of the king of France; Robert, duke of Normandy, the eldest son of William the Conqueror; another Robert, count of Flanders, and Stephen, count of Chartres, of Blois, and of Troyes. In the south of France the command was assumed by Adhemar, bishop of Puy, the pope's legate, and by Raymond, count of St. Giles and Toulouse, who added the prouder titles of duke of Narbonne and marquis of Provence. The Normans of the south of Italy were led by Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, already famous by his double victory over the Greek emperor: he was accompanied by his cousin Tancred, in whose accomplished character we discover all the virtues of a perfect knight, the true spirit of chivalry, which was at once an effect and a cause of the crusades.

§ 5. As soon as their leaders were relieved by the absence of the

plebeian multitude, they encouraged each other, by interviews and messages, to accomplish their vow, and hasten their departure. The difficulty of procuring subsistence for so many myriads of men and horses engaged them to separate their forces: their choice or situation determined the road; and it was agreed to meet in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and from thence to begin their operations against the Turks. From the banks of the Meuse and the Moselle, Godfrey of Bouillon followed the direct way of Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria. After an easy journey through Lombardy, from Turin to Aquileia, Raymond and his provincials marched forty days through the savage country of Dalmatia and Slavonia. His march between Durazzo and Constantinople was harassed, without being stopped, by the peasants and soldiers of the Greek emperor; and the same faint and ambiguous hostility was prepared for the remaining chiefs, who passed the Adriatic from the coast of Italy. Bohemond had arms and vessels, and foresight and discipline; and his name was not forgotten in the provinces of Epirus and Thessaly. The nobles of France pressed forward with the vain and thoughtless ardour of which their nation has been sometimes accused. From the Alps to Apulia the march of Hugh the Great, of the two Roberts, and of Stephen of Chartres, through a wealthy country, and amidst the applauding Catholics, was a devout or triumphant progress: they kissed the feet of the Roman pontiff; and the golden standard of St. Peter was delivered to the brother of the French monarch. But in this visit of piety aud pleasure they neglected to secure the season and the means of their embarkation: the winter was insensibly lost: their troops were scattered and corrupted in the towns of Italy. They separately accomplished their passage, regardless of safety or dignity; and within nine months from the feast of the Assumption, the day appointed by Urban, all the Latin princes had reached Constantinople. But the count of Vermandois was produced as a captive: his foremost vessels were scattered by a tempest; and his person, against the law of nations, was detained by the lieutenants of Alexius.

§ 6. In some Oriental tale I have read the fable of a shepherd who was ruined by the accomplishment of his own wishes: he had prayed for water: the Ganges was turned into his grounds, and his flock and cottage were swept away by the inundation. Such was the fortune, or at least the apprehension, of the Greek emperor Alexius Comnenus. In the council of Placentia his ambassadors had solicted a moderate succour, perhaps of ten thousand soldiers; but he was astonished by the approach of so many potent chiefs and fanatic nations. During the winter Alexius, by his skill and diligence, prevented the union of any two of the confederate armies at the same moment under the walls of Constantinople. On the return

of spring (A.D. 1097), Godfrey was persuaded to occupy a pleasant and plentiful camp in Asia; and no sooner had he passed the Bosporus than the Greek vessels were suddenly recalled to the opposite shore. The same policy was repeated with the succeeding chiefs, who were swayed by the example, and weakened by the departure, of their foremost companions; and before the feast of the Pentecost not a Latin pilgrim was left on the coast of Europe. Alexius succeeded in extorting from the French princes an oath of homage and fidelity, and a solemn promise that they would either restore, or hold, their Asiatic conquests, as the humble and loyal vassals of the Roman empire. Their independent spirit was fired at the mention of this foreign and voluntary servitude: they successively yielded to the dexterous application of gifts and flattery; and the first proselytes became the most eloquent and effectual missionaries to multiply the companions of their shame. The pride of Hugh of Vermandois was soothed by the honours of his captivity; and in the brother of the French king the example of submission was prevalent and weighty. The best and most ostensible reason was the impossibility of passing the sea and accomplishing their vow without the licence and the vessels of Alexius; but they cherished a secret hope, that, as soon as they trod the continent of Asia, their swords would obliterate their shame, and dissolve the engagement, which on his side might not be very faithfully performed.

§ 7. The principal force of the crusaders consisted in their cavalry; and when that force was mustered in the plains of Bithynia, the knights and their martial attendants on horseback amounted to 100,000 fighting men, completely armed with the helmet and coat of mail. The value of these soldiers deserved a strict and authentic account; and the flower of European chivalry might furnish, in a first effort, this formidable body of heavy horse. A part of the infantry might be enrolled for the service of scouts, pioneers, and archers; but the promiscuous crowd were lost in their own disorder; and we depend not on the eyes or knowledge, but on the belief and fancy, of a chaplain of Count Baldwin, in the estimate of 600,000 pilgrims able to bear arms, beside the priests and monks, the women and children, of the Latin camp. Though this number is incredible, yet the myriads that pressed forward on the holy pilgrimage, were a subject of astonishment to themselves and to the Greeks. The ancient hosts of Darius and Xerxes labour under the same doubt of a vague and indefinite magnitude; but I am inclined to believe that a larger number has never been contained within the lines of a single camp than at the siege of Nice, the first operation of the Latin princes. Of their troops, the most numerous portion were natives of France: the Low Countries, the banks of the Rhine, and Apulia sent a powerful reinforcement;

some bands of adventurers were drawn from Spain, Lombardy, and England; and from the distant bogs and mountains of Ireland or Scotland issued some naked and savage fanatics, ferocious at home, but unwarlike abroad. Only a small remnant of the pilgrims, who passed the Bosporus, was permitted to visit the holy sepulchre. Their northern constitution was scorched by the rays, and infected by the vapours, of a Syrian sun. They consumed, with heedless prodigality, their stores of water and provision: their numbers exhausted the inland country: the sea was remote, the Greeks were unfriendly, and the Christians of every sect fled before the voracious and cruel rapine of their brethren. In the dire necessity of famine, they sometimes roasted and devoured the flesh of their infant or adult captives. Among the Turks and Saracens, the idolaters of Europe were rendered more odious by the names and reputation of cannibals; the spies, who introduced themselves into the kitchen of Bohemond, were shown several human bodies turning on the spit: and the artful Norman encouraged a report which increased at the same time the abhorrence and the terror of the infidels.

§ 8. From their first station in the neighbourhood of Nicomedia the crusaders advanced in successive divisions; passed the contracted limit of the Greek empire; and commenced, by the siege of his capital, their pious warfare against the Turkish sultan. In the space of seven weeks much labour and blood were expended, and some progress was made on the side of the besiegers. But the Turks could protract their residence and secure their escape, as long as they were masters of the lake Ascanius, which stretches several miles to the westward of the city. The means of conquest were supplied by the prudence and industry of Alexius; a great number of boats was transported on sledges from the sea to the lake; Nice was invested by land and water; and a Greek emissary persuaded the inhabitants to accept his master's protection, and to save themselves, by a timely surrender, from the rage of the savages of Europe. In the moment of victory, or at least of hope, the crusaders, thirsting for blood and plunder, were awed by the Imperial banner that streamed from the citadel; and Alexius guarded with jealous vigilance this important conquest (A.D. 1097, June 20). The murmurs of the chiefs were stifled by honour or interest; and after an halt of nine days they directed their march towards Phrygia. A few miles before they reached Dorylæum they were attacked by Kilidge-Arslan, whose whole force is loosely stated by the Christians at 200,000, or even 360,000 horse. After a hard-fought battle the Turks were defeated (July 4); and the importance of the victory was proved by the hasty retreat of the sultan, who evacuated the kingdom of Roum, and hastened to implore the aid, and kindle the

resentment, of his Eastern brethren. In a march of 500 miles the crusaders traversed the Lesser Asia, through a wasted land and deserted towns, without finding either a friend or an enemy.

§ 9. To improve the general consternation, Tancred, and Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, were detached from the main army with their respective squadrons of five and of seven hundred knights. They overran in a rapid career the hills and sea-coast of Cilicia; but the proud injustice of Baldwin at length provoked the patient and generous Italian, and they turned their consecrated swords against each other in a private and profane quarrel. Honour was the motive, and fame the reward, of Tancred, but fortune smiled on the more selfish enterprise of his rival. He was called to the assistance of a Greek tyrant, who had been suffered, under the Turkish yoke, to reign over the Christians of Edessa. Baldwin accepted the character of his son and champion, but no sooner was he introduced into the city than he inflamed the people to the massacre of his father, occupied the throne and treasure, extended his conquests over the hills of Armenia and the plain of Mesopotamia, and founded the first principality of the Franks or Latins, which subsisted 47 years beyond the Euphrates (A.D. 1097–1144).

§ 10. Before the Franks could enter Syria, the summer, and even the autumn, were completely wasted; but it was resolved at once to lay siege to Antioch. Whatever strength and valour could perform in the field was abundantly discharged by the champions of the cross: but in the slow and successive labours of a siege the crusaders were supine and ignorant, without skill to contrive, or money to purchase, or industry to use the artificial engines and implements of assault. At the end of seven months, after the ruin of their cavalry and an enormous loss by famine, desertion, and fatigue, the progress of the crusaders was imperceptible, and their success remote, if the Latin Ulysses, the artful and ambitious Bohemond, had not employed the arms of cunning and deceit. The Christians of Antioch were numerous and discontented: Phirouz, a Syrian renegado, had acquired the favour of the emir and the command of three towers, and the merit of his repentance disguised to the Latins, and perhaps to himself, the foul design of perfidy and treason. A secret correspondence, for their mutual interest, was soon established between Phirouz and the prince of Tarento; and Bohemond declared in the council of the chiefs that he could deliver the city into their hands. But he claimed the sovereignty of Antioch as the reward of his service, and the proposal which had been rejected by the envy, was at length extorted from the distress of his equals. The nocturnal surprise was executed by the French and Norman princes, who ascended in person the scaling-ladders that were thrown from the walls; their new proselyte embraced and in-

troduced the servants of Christ, the army rushed through the gates and the Moslems soon found that, although mercy was hopeless, resistance was impotent (A.D. 1098, June 3). But the citadel still refused to surrender, and the victors themselves were speedily encompassed and besieged by the innumerable forces of Kerboga, prince of Mosul, who, with 28 Turkish emirs, advanced to the deliverance of Antioch. Five-and-twenty days the Christians spent on the verge of destruction, and the proud lieutenant of the caliph and the sultan left them only the choice of servitude or death. They were reduced to the last extremity by famine and disease; and for their salvation and victory they were indebted to the same fanaticism which had led them to the brink of ruin. Their confidence was revived by the seasonable and splendid discovery of the HOLY LANCE. This pious fraud was concocted by a priest of the diocese of Marseilles, whose name was Peter Bartholemy. He presented himself at the door of the council chamber, to disclose an apparition of St. Andrew, which had been thrice reiterated in his sleep, with a dreadful menace if he presumed to suppress the commands of heaven. "At Antioch," said the apostle, "in the church of my brother St. Peter, near the high altar, is concealed the steel head of the lance that pierced the side of our Redeemer. In three days that instrument of eternal, and now of temporal, salvation, will be manifested to his disciples. Search, and ye shall find: bear it aloft in battle; and that mystic weapon shall penetrate the souls of the miscreants." The revelation was eagerly accepted by Count Raymond, whom his faithful subject, in the name of the apostle, had chosen for the guardian of the holy lance. The experiment was resolved; the head of a Saracen lance was hidden by Bartholemy in the place which he had indicated; and its discovery was saluted with a devout rapture. The holy lance was drawn from its recess, wrapped in a veil of silk and gold, and exposed to the veneration of the crusaders; their anxious suspense burst forth in a general shout of joy and hope, and the desponding troops were again inflamed with the enthusiasm of valour. On the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul the gates of Antioch were thrown open: a martial psalm, "Let the Lord arise, and let his enemies be scattered!" was chanted by a procession of priests and monks; the holy lance, in the absence of Raymond, was intrusted to the hands of his chaplain; and its potent energy was heightened by an accident, a stratagem, or a rumour, of a miraculous complexion. Three knights, in white garments and resplendent arms, either issued, or seemed to issue, from the hills: the voice of Adhemar, the pope's legate, proclaimed them as the martyrs St. George, St. Theodore, and St. Maurice: the tumult of battle allowed no time for doubt or scrutiny; and the welcome apparition dazzled the eyes or the imagination of a fanatic

army. On this memorable day they annihilated or dispersed the host of Turks and Arabians, which they might safely report to have consisted of 600,000 men (A.D. 1098, June 28.)

§ 11. The prudence or fortune of the Franks had delayed their invasion till the decline of the Turkish empire. Under the manly government of the three first sultans, the kingdoms of Asia were united in peace and justice. But at the time of the crusade, the inheritance of Malek Shaw was disputed by his four sons; and, in the vicissitudes of their fortune, the royal vassals were ignorant, or regardless, of the true object of their allegiance. The 28 emirs who marched with the standard of Kerboga were his rivals or enemies: their hasty levies were drawn from the towns and tents of Mesopotamia and Syria; and the Turkish veterans were employed or consumed in the civil wars beyond the Tigris. The caliph of Egypt embraced this opportunity of weakness and discord to recover his ancient possessions; and his sultan Aphdal besieged Jerusalem and Tyre, expelled the children of Ortok, and restored in Palestine the civil and ecclesiastical authority of the Fatimites. They heard with astonishment of the vast armies of Christians that had passed from Europe to Asia, and rejoiced in the sieges and battles which broke the power of the Turks, the adversaries of their sect and monarchy. But the same Christians were the enemies of the prophet; and from the overthrow of Nice and Antioch, the motive of their enterprise, which was gradually understood, would urge them forwards to the banks of the Jordan, or perhaps of the Nile. An intercourse of epistles and embassies, which rose and fell with the events of war, was maintained between the throne of Cairo and the camp of the Latins. But the answer of the crusaders was firm and uniform: they disdained to inquire into the private claims or possessions of the followers of Mahomet: whatsoever was his name or nation, the usurper of Jerusalem was their enemy; and it was only by a timely surrender of the city and province, their sacred right, that he could deserve their alliance, or deprecate their impending and irresistible attack.

§ 12. Yet this attack, when they were within the view and reach of their glorious prize, was suspended above ten months after the defeat of Kerboga. The winter was consumed in discord and disorder; a sense of honour and religion was rekindled in the spring; and the private soldiers, less susceptible of ambition and jealousy, awakened with angry clamours the indolence of their chiefs. In the month of May the relics of this mighty host proceeded from Antioch to Laodicea: about 40,000 Latins, of whom no more than 15,000 horse and 20,000 foot were capable of immediate service. Their easy march was continued between Mount Libanus and the sea-shore: their wants were liberally supplied by the coasting traders

of Genoa and Pisa; and they drew large contributions from the emirs of Tripoli, Tyre, Sidon, Acre, and Cæsarea, who granted a free passage and promised to follow the example of Jerusalem. From Cæsarea they advanced into the midland country, and encamped at length under the walls of Jerusalem. By the experience of a recent siege, and a three years' possession, the Saracens of Egypt had been taught to discern, and in some degree to remedy, the defects of a place which religion as well as honour forbade them to resign. Aladin, or Iftikhar, the caliph's lieutenant, was intrusted with the defence: and his garrison is said to have consisted of 40,000 Turks and Arabians; and if he could muster 20,000 of the inhabitants, it must be confessed that the besieged were more numerous than the besieging army. Had the diminished strength and numbers of the Latins allowed them to grasp the whole circumference of 4000 yards (about two English miles and a half), to what useful purpose should they have descended into the valley of Ben Hinnom and torrent of Kedron, or approached the precipices of the south and east, from whence they had nothing either to hope or fear? Their siege was more reasonably directed against the northern and western sides of the city. Godfrey of Bouillon erected his standard on the first swell of Mount Calvary: to the left, as far as St. Stephen's gate, the line of attack was continued by Tancred and the two Roberts; and Count Raymond established his quarters from the citadel to the foot of Mount Sion, which was no longer included within the precincts of the city. The siege lasted 40 days, but they were 40 days of calamity and anguish. A repetition of the old complaint of famine may be imputed in some degree to the voracious or disorderly appetite of the Franks; but the stony soil of Jerusalem is almost destitute of water; the scanty springs and hasty torrents were dry in the summer season: nor was the thirst of the besiegers relieved, as in the city, by the artificial supply of cisterns and aqueducts. The circumjacent country is equally destitute of trees for the uses of shade or building; but some large beams were discovered in a cave by the crusaders: a wood near Sichem, the enchanted grove of Tasso, was cut down: the necessary timber was transported to the camp by the vigour and dexterity of Tancred; and the engines were framed by some Genoese artists, who had fortunately landed in the harbour of Jaffa. Two moveable turents were constructed at the expense, and in the stations, of the duke of Lorraine and the count of Toulouse, and rolled forwards to the most neglected parts of the fortification. Raymond's tower was reduced to ashes by the fire of the besieged, but his colleague was more vigilant and successful; the enemies were driven by his archers from the rampart; the drawbridge was let down; and on a Friday, at three in the afternoon, the day and hour of the Passion, Godfrey of Bouillon stood victorious

on the walls of Jerusalem (A.D. 1099, July 15). His example was followed on every side by the emulation of valour; and about 460 years after the conquest of Omar, the holy city was rescued from the Mahometan yoke. A bloody sacrifice was offered by his mistaken votaries to the God of the Christians: they indulged themselves seven days in a promiscuous massacre; and 70,000 Moslems were put to the sword. The holy sepulchre was now free; and the bloody victors prepared to accomplish their vow. Bareheaded and barefoot, with contrite hearts and in a humble posture, they ascended the hill of Calvary, amidst the loud anthems of the clergy; kissed the stone which had covered the Saviour of the world; and bedewed with tears of joy and penitence the monument of their redemption.

§ 13. Eight days after this memorable event, which pope Urban did not live to hear, the Latin chiefs proceeded to the election of a king, to guard and govern their conquests in Palestine. Hugh the Great and Stephen of Chartres had retired with some loss of reputation, which they strove to regain by a second crusade and an honourable death. Baldwin was established at Edessa, and Bohemond at Antioch; and the two Roberts, the duke of Normandy and the count of Flanders, preferred their fair inheritance in the West to a doubtful competition or a barren sceptre. Raymond declined all open pretensions to the crown, and the free, the just, the unanimous voice of the army proclaimed Godfrey of Bouillon the first and most worthy of the champions of Christendom. His magnanimity accepted a trust as full of danger as of glory; but in a city where his Saviour had been crowned with thorns, the devout pilgrim rejected the name and ensigns of royalty; and the founder of the kingdom of Jerusalem contented himself with the modest title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre. His government of a single year (A.D. 1099–1100), too short for the public happiness was interrupted in the first fortnight by a summons to the field, by the approach of the vizir or sultan of Egypt, who had been too slow to prevent, but who was impatient to avenge the loss of Jerusalem. His total overthrow in the battle of Ascalon sealed the establishment of the Latins in Syria, and signalised the valour of the French princes, who in this action bade a long farewell to the holy wars. After suspending before the holy sepulchre the sword and standard of the sultan, the new king (he deserves the title) embraced his departing companions, and could retain only with the gallant Tancred 300 knights, and 2000 foot soldiers, for the defence of Palestine.

§ 14. The infant kingdom of Godfrey consisted only of Jerusalem and Jaffa, with about 20 villages and towns of the adjacent country. Within this narrow verge the Mahometans were still lodged in some impregnable castles; and the husbandman, the trader, and the pilgrim were exposed to daily and domestic hostility. By the arms of

Godfrey himself, and of the two Baldwins, his brother and cousin, who succeeded to the throne, the Latins breathed with more ease and safety; and at length they equalled, in the extent of their dominions, the ancient princes of Judah and Israel. After the reduction of the maritime cities of Laodicea, Tripoli, Tyre, and Ascalon, which were powerfully assisted by the fleets of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, and even of Flanders and Norway, the range of sea-coast from Scanderoon to the borders of Egypt was possessed by the Christian pilgrims. If the prince of Antioch disclaimed his supremacy, the counts of Edessa and Tripoli owned themselves the vassals of the king of Jerusalem: the Latins reigned beyond the Euphrates; and the four cities of Hems, Hamah, Damascus, and Aleppo were the only relics of the Mahometan conquests in Syria. The laws and language, the manners and titles, of the French nation and Latin church, were introduced into these transmarine colonies. The whole legal militia of the kingdom could not exceed 11,000 men, a slender defence against the surrounding myriads of Saracens and Turks; but the firmest bulwark of Jerusalem was founded on the knights of the Hospital of St. John, and of the temple of Solomon; on the strange association of a monastic and military life, which fanaticism must suggest, but which policy must approve. The flower of the nobility of Europe aspired to wear the cross, and to profess the vows, of these respectable orders; their spirit and discipline were immortal; and the speedy donation of 28,000 farms, or manors, enabled them to support a regular force of cavalry and infantry for the defence of Palestine. The austerity of the convent soon evaporated in the exercise of arms: the world was scandalised by the pride, avarice, and corruption of these Christian soldiers; their claims of immunity and jurisdiction disturbed the harmony of the church and state; and the public peace was endangered by their jealous emulation. But in their most dissolute period the knights of the hospital and temple maintained their fearless and fanatic character: they neglected to live, but they were prepared to die, in the service of Christ; and the spirit of chivalry, the parent and offspring of the crusades, was transplanted by this institution from the holy sepulchre to the isle of Malta.

§ 15. The laws which regulated the new kingdom were contained in the ASSISE OF JERUSALEM, a precious monument of feudal jurisprudence. No sooner had Godfrey of Bouillon accepted the office of supreme magistrate than he solicited the public and private advice of the Latin pilgrims who were the best skilled in the statutes and customs of Europe. From these materials, with the counsel and approbation of the patriarch and barons, of the clergy and laity, he composed the new code, which was deposited in the holy sepulchre, enriched with the improvements of succeeding times, and

respectfully consulted as often as any doubtful question arose in the tribunals of Palestine. With the kingdom and city all was lost; the fragments of the written law were preserved by jealous tradition and variable practice till the middle of the thirteenth century: the code was restored by the pen of John d'Ibelin, count of Jaffa, one of the principal feudatories; and the final revision was accomplished in the year 1369 for the use of the Latin kingdom of Cyprus.

§ 16. Two years after the capture of Jerusalem a host of soldiers and pilgrims from Lombardy, France, and Germany followed in the footsteps of the first crusaders. This expedition is regarded as only a supplement to the first crusade, and may be dismissed in a few words. Soon after the capture of Jerusalem, a swarm of pilgrims moved forward under the command of several princes, among whom were the veteran crusaders, Hugh the Great and Stephen of Chartres (A.D. 1101). They marched in two columns, and if the first consisted of 260,000 persons, the second might possibly amount to 60,000 horse and 100,000 foot. These swarms were destroyed in Anatolia by famine, pestilence and the Turkish arrows; and the princes only escaped with some squadrons of horse to accomplish their lamentable pilgrimage.

§ 17. The emperor Alexius may be compared to the jackal, who is said to follow the steps, and to devour the leavings, of the lion. Whatever had been his fears and toils in the passage of the first crusade, they were amply recompensed by the subsequent benefits which he derived from the exploits of the Franks. His dexterity and vigilance secured the first conquest of Nice, and from this threatening station the Turks were compelled to evacuate the neighbourhood of Constantinople. While the crusaders, with blind valour, advanced into the midland countries of Asia, the crafty Greek improved the favourable occasion when the emirs of the sea-coast were recalled to the standard of the sultan. The Turks were driven from the isles of Rhodes and Chios: the cities of Ephesus and Smyrna, of Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, were restored to the empire, which Alexius enlarged from the Hellespont to the banks of the Mæander and the rocky shores of Pamphylia. It does not appear that the emperor attempted to revive his obsolete claims over the kingdom of Jerusalem, but the borders of Cilicia and Syria were more recent in his possession, and more accessible to his arms. The great army of the crusaders was annihilated or dispersed; the principality of Antioch was left without a head by the surprise and captivity of Bohemond; his ransom had oppressed him with a heavy debt, and his Norman followers were insufficient to repel the hostilities of the Greeks and Turks. In this distress Bohemond embraced a magnanimous resolution of leaving the defence of Antioch to his kinsman the faithful Tancred, of arming the West against the

Byzantine empire, and of executing the design which he inherited from the lessons and example of his father Guiscard. His reception in France was dignified by the public applause and his marriage with the king's daughter: and he repassed the Adriatic at the head of 5000 horse and 40,000 foot, assembled from the most remote climates of Europe. The strength of Durazzo and prudence of Alexius, the progress of famine and approach of winter, eluded his ambitious hopes, and the venal confederates were seduced from his standard. A treaty of peace suspended the fears of the Greeks, and they were finally delivered by the death of an adversary whom neither oaths could bind, nor dangers could appal, nor prosperity could satiate. His children succeeded to the principality of Antioch, but the boundaries were strictly defined, the homage was clearly stipulated, and the cities of Tarsus and Malmistra were restored to the Byzantine emperors. Of the coast of Anatolia, they possessed the entire circuit from Trebizond to the Syrian gates. The Seljukian dynasty of Roum was separated on all sides from the sea and their Musulman brethren; the power of the sultans was shaken by the victories and even the defeats of the Franks; and after the loss of Nice they removed their throne to Cogni or Iconium, an obscure and inland town above 300 miles from Constantinople. Instead of trembling for their capital, the Comnenian princes waged an offensive war against the Turks, and the first crusade prevented the fall of the declining empire.

§ 18. II. *Second Crusade*, A.D. 1147–1149. The dangers of the Latins in Asia, and the preaching of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, were the causes of the second crusade. The Seljukian sultans had followed the common law of the Asiatic dynasties, the unceasing round of valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy, and decay: their spirit and power were unequal to the defence of religion, and the pious task was undertaken by their slaves, the Atabeks, a Turkish name, which may be translated by Father of the Prince. Several powerful emirs at the court of the Seljuks received this title, but the most distinguished was Zenghi, the governor of Aleppo, which he at length erected into an independent principality (A.D. 1127-1145). He first proved his arms against the Franks in the defeat of Antioch: 30 campaigns in the service of the caliph and sultan established his military fame; and he was invested with the command of Mosul, as the only champion that could avenge the cause of the prophet. The public hope was not disappointed: after a siege of 25 days he stormed the city of Edessa, and recovered from the Franks their conquests beyond the Euphrates, and the martial tribes of Curdistan were subdued by the independent sovereign of Mosul and Aleppo. His son Noureddin (A.D. 1145–1174) gradually united the Mahometan powers, added the kingdom of Damascus to that of Aleppo,

and waged a long and successful war against the Christians of Syria; he spread his ample reign from the Tigris to the Nile, and the Abbassides rewarded their faithful servant with all the titles and prerogatives of royalty.

§ 19. The fall of Edessa and the conquests of the Atabeks made the nations of Europe tremble for the safety of their Latin brethren. Their zeal was kindled by the voice of St. Bernard, who, in speech, in writing, in action, stood high above his rivals and contemporaries. This remarkable man was born about eight years before the first conquest of Jerusalem, of a noble family in Burgundy; at the age of 23 he buried himself in the monastery of Citeaux, then in the primitive fervour of the institution; at the end of two years he led forth her third colony, or daughter, to the valley of Clairvaux in Champagne: and was content, till the hour of his death, with the humble station of abbot of his own community. By a vow of poverty and penance, by closing his eyes against the visible world, by the refusal of all ecclesiastical dignities, the abbot of Clairvaux became the oracle of Europe, and the founder of 160 convents. In the proclamation of the second crusade he shone as the missionary and prophet of God, who called the nations to the defence of his holy sepulchre. At the parliament of Vezelay he spoke before the king; and Louis VII., with his nobles, received their crosses from his hand. The abbot of Clairvaux then marched to the less easy conquest of the emperor Conrad: a phlegmatic people, ignorant of his language, was transported by the pathetic vehemence of his tone and gestures; and his progress from Constance to Cologne was the triumph of eloquence and zeal. Bernard applauds his own success in the depopulation of Europe, and affirms that cities and castles were emptied of their inhabitants. The cavalry of the emperor and that of the king was each composed of 70,000 knights and their immediate attendants in the field; and if the light-armed troops, the peasant infantry, the women and children, the priests and monks, be rigorously excluded, the full account will scarcely be satisfied with 400,000 souls. The West, from Rome to Britain, was called into action; the kings of Poland and Bohemia obeyed the summons of Conrad; and it is affirmed by the Greeks and Latins, that, in the passage of a strait or river, the Byzantine agents, after a tale of 900,000, desisted from the endless and formidable computation.

§ 20. The armies of the second crusade were sufficient to claim the conquest of Asia, but they were almost entirely destroyed without accomplishing any object worthy of their enterprise. Their misfortunes commenced in their passage through the Byzantine empire. The Greek emperor no longer dreaded the distant sultan of Iconium; and Manuel Comnenus, who then occupied the Byzantine throne, viewed with terror the approach of these swarms of

Western barbarians, who violated the majesty and endangered the safety of the empire. It was secretly, and perhaps tacitly, resolved by the prince and people to destroy, or at least to discourage, the pilgrims by every species of injury and oppression. The Western monarchs had stipulated a safe passage and fair market in the country of their Christian brethren; but every engagement was violated by treachery and injustice. Instead of an hospitable reception, the gates of the cities, both in Europe and Asia, were closely barred against the crusaders; the scanty pittance of food was let down in baskets from the walls; and the bread was poisoned by a mixture of chalk and other noxious ingredients. In every step of their march they were stopped or misled: the governors had private orders to fortify the passes and break down the bridges against them: the stragglers were pillaged and murdered: the soldiers and horses were pierced in the woods by arrows from an invisible hand; the sick were burnt in their beds; and the dead bodies were hung on gibbets along the highways. These injuries exasperated the champions of the cross, who were not endowed with evangelical patience; and the Byzantine princes, who had provoked the unequal conflict, promoted the embarkation and march of these formidable guests. The Germans crossed over the Bosporus first: and, without waiting for the French, Conrad, with half the German forces, took the road to Iconium; whilst the other half, under the command of Bishop Otho of Freysingen, chose the route of Ephesus. The emperor was treacherously misled by the Greek guides into the mountains of Cappadocia, which were occupied by the Turks; and being hemmed in on every side, was compelled to a disastrous retreat, in which he lost the greater part of his troops. The division under Otho met with an almost similar fate. Instructed by their example, Louis avoided both the routes which had proved so fatal to the Germans, and marched by way of Philadelphia and Smyrna, though he was subsequently compelled by the want of provisions to diverge to Ephesus. Conrad, who had accompanied him to the latter city, then returned to Constantinople, and borrowed some Greek vessels to execute by sea the pilgrimage of Palestine. Louis proceeded on his way, gained a victory over the Turks on the Mæander, but was afterwards defeated with great loss, and instead of pursuing his expedition by land, was rejoiced to shelter the relics of his army in the friendly seaport of Satalia. From thence he embarked for Antioch; but so penurious was the supply of Greek vessels that they could only afford room for his knights and nobles; and the plebeian crowd of infantry was left to perish at the foot of the Pamphylian hills. The emperor and the king embraced and wept at Jerusalem; their martial trains, the remnant of mighty armies, were joined to the Christian powers of Syria, and a fruitless

siege of Damascus was the final effort of the second crusade. Conrad and Louis embarked for Europe with the personal fame of piety and courage; but the Orientals had braved these potent monarchs of the Franks, with whose names and military forces they had been so often threatened.

§ 21. III. *Third Crusade*, A.D. 1189–1192.—The capture of Jerusalem by the celebrated Saladin was the cause of the third crusade. The Fatimite caliphs in Egypt had become the slaves of their vizirs, who usurped the supreme administration of Egypt. The claims of the rival candidates were decided by arms; and the weaker side implored the dangerous protection of the sultan of Damascus, or the king of Jerusalem, the perpetual enemies of the sect and monarchy of the Fatimites. The secret zeal and ambition of Noureddin aspired to reign in Egypt under the name of the Abbassides; but the restoration of a suppliant vizir was the ostensible motive of the first expedition; and the success was intrusted to the emir Shiracouh, a Curd by birth, and a valiant and veteran commander. In three successive expeditions Shiracouh became master of Egypt. By the command of Noureddin, the Fatimites were deposed: the caliph Mosthadi, of Bagdad, was acknowledged in the public prayers as the true commander of the faithful; and the green livery of the sons of Ali was exchanged for the black colour of the Abbassides (A.D. 1171).

§ 22. Siracouh had been accompanied in his conquest of Egypt by his nephew Saladin, the son of Job or Ayub. On the death of his uncle, the office of grand vizir was bestowed on Saladin, as the youngest and least powerful of the emirs; but his genius obtained the ascendant over his equals, and attached the army to his person and interest. While Noureddin lived, Saladin professed himself his humble slave; but the seasonable death of the sultan relieved the ambitious Curd from this ambiguous service; and the new lord of Egypt was decorated by the caliph with every title that could sanctify his usurpation in the eyes of the people. Nor was Saladin long content with the possession of Egypt: he despoiled the Christians of Jerusalem, and the Atabeks of Damascus, Aleppo, and Diarbeker: Mecca and Medina acknowledged him for their temporal protector: his brother subdued the distant regions of Yemen, or the happy Arabia; and at the hour of his death his empire was spread from the African Tripoli to the Tigris, and from the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia. Saladin was brave, temperate, and chaste: his garment was a coarse woollen, and water was his only drink. In faith and practice he was a rigid Musulman, and his perusal of the Koran, on horseback, between the approaching armies, may be quoted as a proof, however ostentatious, of piety and courage. The justice of his divan was accessible to the meanest suppliant against himself

and his ministers; his liberality was unbounded; and the wealthy citizens enjoyed, without fear or danger, the fruits of their industry. In a fanatic age, himself a fanatic, the genuine virtues of Saladin commanded the esteem of the Christians: the emperor of Germany gloried in his friendship; the Greek emperor solicited his alliance; and the conquest of Jerusalem diffused, and perhaps magnified, his fame both in the East and West.

§ 23. During its short existence the kingdom of Jerusalem was supported by the discord of the Turks and Saracens. But the powers of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia were now united by an hero whom nature and fortune had armed against the Christians. All without now bore the most threatening aspect; and all was feeble and hollow in the internal state of Jerusalem. After the two first Baldwins, the brother and cousin of Godfrey of Bouillon, the sceptre devolved by female succession to Melisenda, daughter of the second Baldwin, and her husband Fulk, count of Anjou, the father, by a former marriage, of our English Plantagenets. Their two sons, Baldwin III. and Amaury, waged a strenuous, and not unsuccessful, war against the infidels; but the son of Amaury, Baldwin IV., was deprived, by the leprosy, a gift of the crusades, of the faculties both of mind and body. His sister Sybilla, the mother of Baldwin V., was his natural heiress: after the suspicious death of her child, she crowned her second husband, Guy of Lusignan, a prince of a handsome person, but of base renown. In A.D. 1187 Saladin at the head of 80,000 horse and foot invaded the Holy Land. Guy of Lusignan marched to encounter the invader, but was defeated at the battle of Tiberias, with the loss of 30,000 men, and fell into the hands of the conqueror. The kingdom was left without a head; and of the two grand masters of the military orders, the one was slain, and the other was a prisoner. From all the cities, both of the sea-coast and the inland country, the garrisons had been drawn away for this fatal field: Tyre and Tripoli alone could escape the rapid inroad of Saladin; and three months after the battle of Tiberias he appeared in arms before the gates of Jerusalem. Some feeble and hasty efforts were made for the defence of the holy city: but in the space of 14 days a victorious army drove back the sallies of the besieged, planted their engines, opened the wall to the breadth of 15 cubits, applied their scaling ladders, and erected on the breach 12 banners of the prophet and the sultan. A desperate and successful struggle of the Franks admonished the sultan that his triumph was not yet secure; he listened with reverence to a solemn adjuration in the name of the common Father of mankind; and consented to accept the city and to spare the inhabitants. The Greek and Oriental Christians were permitted to live under his dominion; but it was stipulated that in 40 days all

the Franks and Latins should evacuate Jerusalem and be safely conducted to the seaports of Syria and Egypt. After Jerusalem had been delivered from the presence of the strangers, the sultan made his triumphant entry, and the great mosque of Omar, which had been converted into a church, was again consecrated to one God and his prophet Mahomet (A.D. 1187).

§ 24. The nations might fear and hope the immediate and final expulsion of the Latins from Syria, which was yet delayed above a century after the death of Saladin. In the career of victory he was first checked by the resistance of Tyre; the troops and garrisons which had capitulated, were imprudently conducted to the same port: their numbers were adequate to the defence of the place; and the arrival of Conrad of Montferrat inspired the disorderly crowd with confidence and union. The Egyptian fleet was allowed to enter the harbour of Tyre; but the chain was suddenly drawn, and five galleys were either sunk or taken: a thousand Turks were slain in a sally; and Saladin, after burning his engines, concluded a glorious campaign by a disgraceful retreat to Damascus (A.D. 1188). He was soon assailed by a more formidable tempest. The pathetic narratives, and even the pictures, that represented in lively colours the servitude and profanation of Jerusalem, awakened the torpid sensibility of Europe: the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, and the kings of France and England, Philip Augustus and Richard I., assumed the cross; and the tardy magnitude of their armaments was anticipated by the maritime states of the Mediterranean and the Ocean. The skilful and provident Italians first embarked in the ships of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice. They were speedily followed by the most eager pilgrims of France, Normandy, and the Western Isles. Their increasing multitudes could no longer be confined within the walls of Tyre, or remain obedient to the voice of Conrad. They pitied the misfortunes, and revered the dignity, of Lusignan, who was released from prison, perhaps to divide the army of the Franks. He proposed the recovery of Ptolemais, or Acre, 30 miles to the south of Tyre; and the place was first invested with 2000 horse and 30,000 foot under his nominal command. I shall not expatiate on the story of this memorable siege, which lasted near two years (A.D. 1189–1191), and consumed, in a narrow space, the forces of Europe and Asia. Never did the flame of enthusiasm burn with fiercer and more destructive rage. At the sound of the holy trumpet the Moslems of Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and the Oriental provinces assembled under the servant of the prophet: his camp was pitched and removed within a few miles of Acre; and he laboured night and day for the relief of his brethren and the annoyance of the Franks. Nine battles, not unworthy of the name, were fought in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel, with such vicissitude of for-

tune, that in one attack the sultan forced his way into the city; that in one sally the Christians penetrated to the royal tent. At length, in the spring of the second year, the royal fleets of France and England cast anchor in the bay of Acre, and the siege was more vigorously prosecuted by the youthful emulation of the two kings, Philip Augustus and Richard Plantagenet. After every resource had been tried, and every hope was exhausted, the defenders of Acre submitted to their fate; a capitulation was granted; but their lives and liberties were taxed at the hard conditions of a ransom of 200,000 pieces of gold, the deliverance of 100 nobles and 1500 inferior captives, and the restoration of the wood of the holy cross. By the conquest of Acre the Latin powers acquired a strong town and convenient harbour; but the advantage was most dearly purchased. More than 100,000 Christians were slain during the siege, and a far greater number was lost by disease or shipwreck.

§ 25. Frederic Barbarossa had marched by land through the Byzantine dominions: but the emperor Isaac Angelus used every effort to thwart his progress, and his troops were exposed to the same sufferings and misfortunes as the second crusaders had experienced by the secret orders of Manuel Comnenus. Frederic surmounted these obstacles, and passed over to Asia in safety. But as soon as he lost sight of Philadelphia and Laodicea, the last cities of the Greek frontier, he plunged into the salt and barren desert, a land (says the historian) of horror and tribulation. During 20 days every step of his fainting and sickly march was besieged by the innumerable hordes of Turkmans, whose numbers and fury seemed after each defeat to multiply and inflame. The emperor continued to struggle and to suffer; and such was the measure of his calamities, that when he reached the gates of Iconium, no more than 1000 knights were able to serve on horseback. By a sudden and resolute assault, he defeated the guards, and stormed the capital of the sultan, who humbly sued for pardon and peace. The road was now open, and Frederic advanced in a career of triumph, till he was unfortunately drowned in a petty torrent of Cilicia (A.D. 1190). The remainder of his Germans was consumed by sickness and desertion; and the emperor's son expired, with the greatest part of his Swabian vassals, at the siege of Acre.

§ 26. Philip Augustus and Richard I. are the only kings of France and England who have fought under the same banners; but the holy service in which they were enlisted was incessantly disturbed by their national jealousy; and the two factions which they protected in Palestine were more averse to each other than to the common enemy. In the eyes of the Orientals the French monarch was superior in dignity and power; and, in the emperor's absence, the Latins revered him as their temporal chief. His exploits were

not adequate to his fame. Philip was brave, but the statesman predominated in his character; he was soon weary of sacrificing his health and interest on a barren coast: the surrender of Acre became the signal of his departure; nor could he justify this unpopular desertion by leaving the duke of Burgundy, with 500 knights, and 10,000 foot, for the service of the Holy Land. The king of England, though inferior in dignity, surpassed his rival in wealth and military renown: and if heroism be confined to brutal and ferocious valour, Richard Plantagenet will stand high among the heroes of the age. The memory of *Cœur de Lion*, of the lion-hearted prince, was long dear and glorious to his English subjects; and at the distance of 60 years it was celebrated in proverbial sayings by the grandsons of the Turks and Saracens against whom he had fought: his tremendous name was employed by the Syrian mothers to silence their infants; and if a horse suddenly started from the way, his rider was wont to exclaim, "Dost thou think king Richard is in that bush?" After the surrender of Acre, and the departure of Philip, the king of England led the crusaders to the recovery of the sea-coast; and the cities of Cæsarea and Jaffa were added to the fragments of the kingdom of Lusignan. A march of 100 miles from Acre to Ascalon was a great and perpetual battle of 11 days. The progress of the crusaders was irresistible; and it was only by demolishing the walls and buildings of Ascalon that the sultan could prevent them from occupying an important fortress on the confines of Egypt. During a severe winter the armies slept; but in the spring the Franks advanced within a day's march of Jerusalem, under the leading standard of the English king. Saladin had fixed his station in the holy city; but the city was struck with consternation and discord: and his Mamelukes, who remembered the fate of their companions at Acre, pressed the sultan to reserve *his* person and *their* courage for the future defence of the religion and empire. The Moslems were delivered by the sudden, or, as they deemed, the miraculous, retreat of the Christians; and the laurels of Richard were blasted by the prudence, or envy, of his companions. The hero, ascending a hill, and veiling his face, exclaimed with an indignant voice, "Those who are unwilling to rescue, are unworthy to view, the sepulchre of Christ!"

During these hostilities a languid and tedious negotiation between the Franks and Moslems was started, and continued, and broken. The health both of Richard and Saladin appeared to be in a declining state; and they respectively suffered the evils of distant and domestic warfare: Plantagenet was impatient to punish a perfidious rival who had invaded Normandy in his absence; and the indefatigable sultan was subdued by the cries of the people, who was the victim, and of the soldiers, who were the instruments, of his

martial zeal. The final agreement was equally disapproved by the zealots of both parties, by the Roman pontiff and the caliph of Bagdad. It was stipulated that Jerusalem and the holy sepulchre should be open, without tribute or vexation, to the pilgrimage of the Latin Christians; that, after the demolition of Ascalon, they should inclusively possess the sea-coast from Jaffa to Tyre; that the count of Tripoli and the prince of Antioch should be comprised in the truce; and that, during three years and three months, all hostilities should cease (A.D. 1192). Richard embarked for Europe, to seek a long captivity and a premature grave; and the space of a few months concluded the life and glories of Saladin (A.D. 1193). The unity of empire was dissolved by his death; his sons were oppressed by the stronger arm of their uncle Saphadin; the hostile interests of the sultans of Egypt, Damascus, and Aleppo were again revived; and the Franks or Latins stood, and breathed, and hoped, in their fortresses along the Syrian coast.

§ 27. IV. V. *Fourth and Fifth Crusades*, A.D. 1203 and 1218. The noblest monument of a conqueror's fame, and of the terror which he inspired, is the Saladine tenth, a general tax, which was imposed on the laity and even the clergy of the Latin church for the service of the holy war. The practice was too lucrative to expire with the occasion; and this tribute became the foundation of all the tithes and tenths on ecclesiastical benefices which have been granted by the Roman pontiffs to Catholic sovereigns, or reserved for the immediate use of the apostolic see. This pecuniary emolument must have tended to increase the interest of the popes in the recovery of Palestine: after the death of Saladin they preached the crusade by their epistles, their legates, and their missionaries; and the accomplishment of the pious work might have been expected from the zeal and talents of Innocent III. At his voice two crusades, the fourth and the fifth, were undertaken; but, except a king of Hungary, the princes of the second order were at the head of the pilgrims; the forces were inadequate to the design, nor did the effects correspond with the hopes and wishes of the pope and the people. The fourth crusade (A.D. 1203) was diverted from Syria to Constantinople; and the conquest of the Greek or Roman empire by the Latins will form the proper and important subject of the next chapter. In the fifth (A.D. 1218), 200,000 Franks were landed at the eastern mouth of the Nile. They reasonably hoped that Palestine must be subdued in Egypt the seat and storehouse of the sultan; and after a siege of 16 months the Moslems deplored the loss of Damietta. But the Christian army was ruined by the pride and insolence of the legate Pelagius, who, in the pope's name, assumed the character of general; the sickly Franks were encompassed by the waters of the Nile and the Oriental forces; and it was

by the evacuation of Damietta that they obtained a safe retreat, some concessions for the pilgrims, and the tardy restitution of the doubtful relic of the true cross.

§ 28. Frederic II., the grandson of Barbarossa, was successively the pupil, the enemy, and the victim of the church. At the age of 21 years, and in obedience to his guardian Innocent III., he assumed the cross; the same promise was repeated at his royal and imperial coronations, and his marriage with the heiress of Jerusalem for ever bound him to defend the kingdom of his son Conrad. But as Frederic advanced in age and authority, he repented of the rash engagements of his youth; he no longer entertained the same reverence for the successors of Innocent; and his ambition was occupied by the restoration of the Italian monarchy from Sicily to the Alps. But the success of this project would have reduced the popes to their primitive simplicity, and, after the delays and excuses of 12 years they urged the emperor, with entreaties and threats, to fix the time and place of his departure for Palestine. He at length sailed from Brundusium, with a fleet and army of 40,000 men; but he kept the sea no more than three days, and his hasty retreat, which was ascribed by his friends to a grievous indisposition, was accused by his enemies as a voluntary and obstinate disobedience. For suspending his vow Frederic was excommunicated by Gregory IX.; for presuming, the next year to accomplish his vow, he was again excommunicated by the same pope. While he served under the banner of the cross a crusade was preached against him in Italy; and after his return he was compelled to ask pardon for the injuries which he had suffered. But he accomplished the objects of the crusade without bloodshed; and the advantageous peace which he concluded may be imputed to the discord of the Mahometans, and their personal esteem for the character of Frederic. He entered Jerusalem in triumph, and with his own hands (for no priest would perform the office) he took the crown from the altar of the holy sepulchre (A.D. 1228). Frederic obtained from the sultan the restitution not only of Jerusalem, but also of Bethlehem and Nazareth, of Tyre and Sidon; the Latins were allowed to inhabit and fortify the city; an equal code of civil and religious freedom was ratified for the sectaries of Jesus and those of Mahomet; and, while the former worshipped at the holy sepulchre, the latter might pray and preach in the mosque of the temple. The clergy deplored this scandalous toleration, but every rational object of the crusades was accomplished; the churches were restored, the monasteries were replenished, and, in the space of 15 years, the Latins of Jerusalem exceeded the number of 6,000. This peace and prosperity, for which they were ungrateful to their benefactor, was terminated by the irruption of the strange and savage hordes of Carizmians. Flying from the

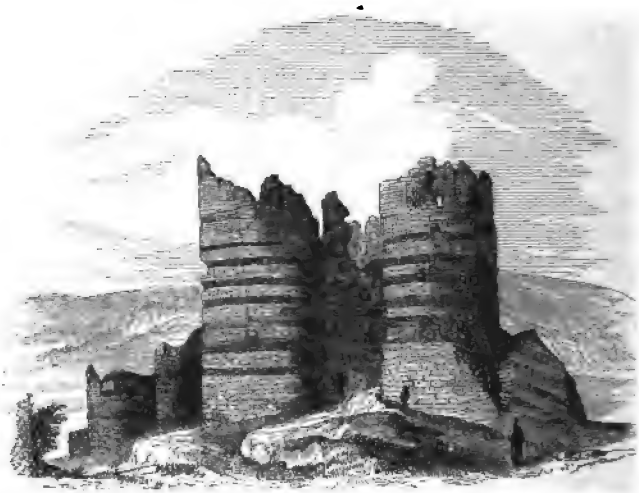
arms of the Monguls, those shepherds of the Caspian rolled headlong on Syria; and the union of the Franks with the sultans of Aleppo, Hems, and Damascus was insufficient to stem the violence of the torrent. Whatever stood against them was cut off by the sword or dragged into captivity; the military orders were almost exterminated in a single battle; and in the pillage of the city, in the profanation of the holy sepulchre, the Latins confess and regret the modesty and discipline of the Turks and Saracens (A.D. 1243).

§ 29. VI. *Sixth Crusade.* A.D. 1249–1254. This crusade was undertaken by Louis IX., king of France, who lost his liberty in Egypt, and his life on the coast of Africa. Twenty-eight years after his death he was canonized at Rome. He united the virtues of a king, an hero, and a man; his martial spirit was tempered by the love of private and public justice; and Louis was the father of his people, the friend of his neighbours, and the terror of the infidels. Louis sailed to Egypt; and the strong city of Damietta, which had cost his predecessors a siege of 16 months, was abandoned on the first assault by the trembling Moslems. But Damietta was the first and the last of his conquests; and in the fifth and sixth crusades the same causes, almost on the same ground, were productive of similar calamities. After a ruinous delay, which introduced into the camp the seeds of an epidemical disease, the Franks advanced from the sea-coast towards the capital of Egypt, and strove to surmount the unseasonable inundation of the Nile which opposed their progress. Louis was made prisoner, with the greatest part of his nobles; all who could not redeem their lives by service or ransom were inhumanly massacred, and the walls of Cairo were decorated with a circle of Christian heads. The king of France was loaded with chains, but the generous victor, a great-grandson of the brother of Saladin, sent a robe of honour to his royal captive, and his deliverance, with that of his soldiers, was obtained by the restitution of Damietta and the payment of 400,000 pieces of gold. In a soft and luxurious climate the degenerate children of the companions of Noureddin and Saladin were incapable of resisting the flower of European chivalry; they triumphed by the arms of their slaves or Mamalukes, the hardy natives of Tartary, who at a tender age had been purchased of the Syrian merchants, and were educated in the camp and palace of the sultan. But Egypt soon afforded a new example of the danger of prætorian bands. In the pride of conquest, Touran Shaw, the last of his race, was murdered by his Mamalukes; and the most daring of the assassins entered the chamber of the captive king, with drawn scimitars, and their hands imbrued in the blood of their sultan. The firmness of Louis commanded their respect; their avarice prevailed over cruelty and zeal, the treaty was accomplished, and the king of France, with the relics of

his army was permitted to embark for Palestine. He wasted four years within the walls of Acre, unable to visit Jerusalem, and unwilling to return without glory to his native country.

§ 30. VII. *Seventh Crusade*, A.D. 1269–1272. The memory of his defeat excited Louis, after 16 years of wisdom and repose, to undertake the seventh and last of the crusades. The cross was also assumed by Prince Edward, the son of Henry III. of England, and by a great number of English knights. The loss of Antioch had provoked the enterprise; a wild hope of baptizing the king of Tunis tempted Louis to steer for the African coast; and the report of an immense treasure reconciled his troops to the delay of their voyage to the Holy Land. Instead of a proselyte, he found a siege; the French panted and died on the burning sands; St. Louis expired in his tent; and no sooner had he closed his eyes than his son and successor gave the signal of the retreat (A.D. 1270). But the English prince, who had spent the winter in Sicily expecting the French king, would not abandon the enterprise. At the head of 1,000 soldiers the future conqueror of Wales and Scotland delivered Acre from a siege; marched as far as Nazareth with an army of 9,000 men; emulated the fame of his uncle Richard; extorted, by his valour, a ten years' truce; and escaped, with a dangerous wound, from the dagger of a fanatic *assassin*.

§ 31. The conquests of the crusaders were finally extinguished by the Mamaluke sultans of Egypt. Antioch was taken in A.D. 1268; the Latin principality was extinguished; and the first seat of the Christian name was dispeopled by the slaughter of 17,000, and the captivity of 100,000, of her inhabitants. The maritime towns of Laodicea, Gabala, Tripoli, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, and Jaffa, and the stronger castles of the Hospitalers and Templars, successively fell; and the whole existence of the Franks was confined to the city and colony of St. John of Acre, which, after the loss of Jerusalem, became the metropolis of the Latin Christians. In A.D. 1291 the sultan Khalil marched against Acre at the head of 60,000 horse and 140,000 foot: after a siege of 33 days the Mamalukes made a general assault; the city was stormed, and death or slavery was the lot of 60,000 Christians. The king of Jerusalem, the patriarch, and the great master of the hospital effected their retreat to the shore; but the sea was rough, the vessels were insufficient, and great numbers of the fugitives were drowned before they could reach the isle of Cyprus, which might comfort Lusignan for the loss of Palestine. By the command of the sultan the churches and fortifications of the Latin cities were demolished: a motive of avarice or fear still opened the holy sepulchre to some devout and defenceless pilgrims: and a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the WORLD'S DEBATE.



Genoese Castle on the Bosporus.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE LATINS. THE LATIN EMPERORS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

§ 1. Schism of the Greek and Latin Churches. § 2. Enmity of the Greeks and Latins. § 3. Reign of ISAAC ANGELUS: revolt of the Bulgarians. § 4. Usurpation of ALEXIUS ANGELUS. § 5. The Fourth Crusade. § 6. State of the Venetians. § 7. Alliance of the French and Venetians. § 8. Assembly and departure of the Crusade from Venice. § 9. Alliance of the Crusaders with the Greek prince, the young Alexius. § 10. Voyage to Constantinople. § 11. First siege of Constantinople by the Latins. § 12. Restoration of the emperor Isaac Angelus and his son Alexius: their death, and renewal of the war. § 13. Second Siege, and pillage of Constantinople. § 14. Election of the Emperor BALDWIN I. § 15. Division of the Greek empire. § 16. Revolt of the Greeks: emperor of Nice: dukes and emperors of Trebizond; despots of Epirus. § 17. The Bulgarian war: defeat and death of Baldwin. § 18. Reign of HENRY. § 19. Reign of PETER of Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople: his captivity and death. § 20. ROBERT, emperor of Constantinople. § 21. JOHN OF BRIENNE and

BALDWIN II. emperors of Constantinople. § 22. Progress of the Greeks; MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS emperor. § 23. Constantinople recovered by the Greeks.

§ 1. THE restoration of the Western empire by Charlemagne was speedily followed by the separation of the Greek and Latin churches. A religious and national animosity still divides the two largest communions of the Christian world; and the schism of Constantinople, by alienating her most useful allies, and provoking her most dangerous enemies, precipitated the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the East.

The great difference in creed between the Greek and Latin churches relates to the procession of the Holy Ghost. The Latins maintain that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, the Greeks assert that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *by* the Son. The addition to the Nicene creed of the word *filioque* was first made by the synods of Spain and France in the seventh century, and was finally accepted by the Vatican. The rules of discipline also vary in the two churches. The craft or superstition of Rome has imposed on her priests and deacons the rigid obligation of celibacy; among the Greeks it is confined to the bishops; and the parochial clergy, the papas, enjoy the conjugal society of the wives whom they have married before their entrance into holy orders. A question concerning the *Azyms* was fiercely debated in the eleventh century, and the essence of the Eucharist was supposed in the East and West to depend on the use of leavened or unleavened bread. But the immediate cause of the schism of the Greeks may be traced in the emulation of the leading prelates, who maintained the supremacy of the old metropolis, superior to all, and of the reigning capital, inferior to none, in the Christian world. After many quarrels the pope's legates, in A.D. 1054, deposited on the altar of St. Sophia a direful anathema, which enumerates the seven mortal heresies of the Greeks, and devotes the guilty teachers, and their unhappy sectaries, to the eternal society of the devil and his angels. According to the emergencies of the church and state, a friendly correspondence was sometimes resumed; the language of charity and concord was sometimes affected; but the Greeks have never recanted their errors, the popes have never repealed their sentence; and from this thunderbolt we may date the consummation of the schism.

§ 2. The aversion of the Greeks and Latins was nourished and manifested in the three first expeditions to the Holy Land. Alexius Comnenus contrived the absence at least of the formidable pilgrims; his successors, Manuel and Isaac Angelus, conspired with the Moslems for the ruin of the greatest princes of the Franks; and their crooked and malignant policy was seconded by the active and

voluntary obedience of every order of their subjects. The situation of Constantinople invites the commerce of the world; and, in every period of her existence, that commerce has been in the hands of foreigners. After the decline of Amalfi, the Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese introduced their factories and settlements into the capital of the empire: they acquired the possession of lands and houses, and, after the toleration of a Mahometan mosque, it was impossible to interdict the churches of the Roman rite. The two wives of Manuel Comnenus were of the race of the Franks: the first a sister-in-law of the emperor Conrad; the second, a daughter of the prince of Antioch: he obtained for his son Alexius a daughter of Philip Augustus king of France; and he bestowed his own daughter on a marquis of Montferrat, who was educated and dignified in the palace of Constantinople. During the reign of Manuel and that of his successor Alexius, the Latins were exposed at Constantinople to the reproach of foreigners, heretics, and favourites; and this triple guilt was severely expiated in the tumult which announced the return and elevation of Andronicus. The people rose in arms: from the Asiatic shore the tyrant despatched his troops and galleys to assist the national revenge; the Latins were slaughtered in their houses and in the streets; and some estimate may be formed of the slain from the clemency which sold above 4000 Christians in perpetual slavery to the Turks (A.D. 1183). The strangers who escaped exposed to Italy and Europe the wealth and weakness, the perfidy and malice of the Greeks, whose vices were painted as the genuine characters of heresy and schism. The scruples of the first crusaders had neglected the fairest opportunities of securing, by the possession of Constantinople, the way to the Holy Land: a domestic revolution invited, and almost compelled, the French and Venetians to achieve the conquest of the Roman empire of the East.

§ 3. In the series of the Byzantine princes I have exhibited the hypocrisy and ambition, the tyranny and fall, of Andronicus, the last male of the Comnenian family who reigned at Constantinople. The revolution which cast him headlong from the throne saved and exalted Isaac Angelus (reigned A.D. 1185–1195). The successor of a second Nero might have found it an easy task to deserve the esteem and affection of his subjects: they sometimes had reason to regret the administration of Andronicus. Isaac Angelus was one of the most despicable of the weak princes that sat upon the Byzantine throne; and in the unworthy hands of Isaac and his brother the remains of the Greek empire crumbled into dust. The island of Cyprus was usurped by his namesake, a Comnenian prince; and by a strange concatenation of events, the sword of our English Richard bestowed that kingdom on the house of Lusignan, a rich compensation for the loss of Jerusalem. The Bulgarians and Wallachians,

who, since the victory of the second Basil, had supported, above 170 years, the loose dominion of the Byzantine princes, threw off the yoke. After some faint efforts, Isaac Angelus and his brother acquiesced in their independence; by the arms and policy of John, or Joannices, the second kingdom of Bulgaria was firmly established; and the subtle barbarian sent an embassy to Innocent III. to acknowledge himself a genuine son of Rome in descent and religion, and humbly received from the pope the licence of coining money, the royal title, and a Latin archbishop or patriarch. The Vatican exulted in the spiritual conquest of Bulgaria, the first object of the schism; and if the Greeks could have preserved the prerogatives of the church, they would gladly have resigned the rights of the monarchy.

§ 4. Isaac Angelus was dethroned by his brother Alexius Angelus, who during a reign of 8 years (A.D. 1195–1203) was supported by the masculine vices of his wife Euphrosyne. The unfortunate Isaac was deprived of his eyes, and confined in a lonesome tower, on a scanty allowance of bread and water. At the moment of the revolution, his son Alexius, whom he educated in the hope of empire, was twelve years of age. He was spared by the usurper, and reduced to attend his triumph both in peace and war; but as the army was encamped on the sea-shore, an Italian vessel facilitated the escape of the royal youth; and, in the disguise of a common sailor, he eluded the search of his enemies, passed the Hellespont, and found a secure refuge in the isle of Sicily. After saluting the threshold of the apostles, and imploring the protection of Pope Innocent III., Alexius accepted the kind invitation of his sister Irene, the wife of Philip of Swabia, king of the Romans. But in his passage through Italy he heard that the flower of Western chivalry was assembled at Venice for the deliverance of the Holy Land; and a ray of hope was kindled in his bosom that their invincible swords might be employed in his father's restoration.

§ 5. About ten or twelve years after the loss of Jerusalem, the nobles of France were again summoned to the holy war by the voice of a third prophet, less extravagant, perhaps, than Peter the Hermit, but far below St. Bernard in the merit of an orator and a statesman. An illiterate priest of the neighbourhood of Paris, Fulk of Neuilly, forsook his parochial duty, to assume the more flattering character of a popular and itinerant missionary. No sooner did Innocent III. ascend the chair of St. Peter than he proclaimed in Italy, Germany, and France, the obligation of a new crusade; and among his legates and orators who blew the sacred trumpet, Fulk of Neuilly was the loudest and most successful. The situation of the principal monarchs was averse to the pious summons; but the preacher was heard and obeyed by many of the most powerful barons

of France, and by Baldwin, count of Flanders. The principal leaders will be mentioned in the course of the narrative; but we must not pass over the name of the valiant noble, Jeffrey of Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, who has condescended, in the rude idiom of his age and country, to write or dictate an original narrative of the councils and actions in which he bore a memorable part. It was resolved to seek the deliverance of Palestine in Egypt; but the fate of so many royal armies displayed the toils and perils of a land expedition: the maritime states of Italy were alone possessed of the means of transporting the holy warriors with their arms and horses; and six deputies of the Crusaders proceeded to Venice to solicit the aid of that powerful republic.

§ 6. In the invasion of Italy by Attila, I have mentioned the flight of the Venetians from the fallen cities of the continent, and their obscure shelter in the chain of islands that line the extremity of the Adriatic Gulf.* In the midst of the waters, free, indigent, laborious, and inaccessible, they gradually coalesced into a republic: the first foundations of Venice were laid in the island of Rialto; and the annual election of the twelve tribunes was superseded by the permanent office of a duke or doge. The inhabitants of Venice owned the authority of the Greek emperors: but the bands of dependence, which was never absolute or rigid, were imperceptibly relaxed by the ambition of Venice, and the weakness of Constantinople. The sea was their patrimony: the western parts of the Mediterranean, from Tuscany to Gibraltar, were indeed abandoned to their rivals of Pisa and Genoa; but the Venetians acquired an early and lucrative share of the commerce of Greece and Egypt. Their riches increased with the increasing demand of Europe; their manufactures of silk and glass, perhaps the institution of their bank, are of high antiquity; and they enjoyed the fruits of their industry in the magnificence of public and private life. To assert her flag, to avenge her injuries, to protect the freedom of navigation, the republic could launch and man a fleet of 100 galleys; and the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Normans were encountered by her naval arms. The primitive government of Venice was a loose mixture of democracy and monarchy: the doge was elected by the votes of the general assembly; as long as he was popular and successful, he reigned with the pomp and authority of a prince; but in the frequent revolutions of the state he was deposed, or banished, or slain, by the justice or injustice of the multitude. The 12th century produced the first rudiments of the wise and jealous aristocracy, which reduced the doge to a pageant, and the people to a cipher.

§ 7. When the six ambassadors of the French pilgrims arrived at Venice (A.D. 1201), they were hospitably entertained in the palace

* See p. 260.

of St. Mark by the reigning duke: his name was Henry Dandolo; and he shone in the last period of human life as one of the most illustrious characters of the times. Under the weight of years, and after the loss of his eyes, Dandolo retained a sound understanding and a manly courage: the spirit of an hero, ambitious to signalise his reign by some memorable exploits; and the wisdom of a patriot, anxious to build his fame on the glory and advantage of his country. The proposal of the French was first debated by the six *sages* who had been recently appointed to control the administration of the doge: it was next disclosed to the 40 members of the council of state; and finally communicated to the legislative assembly of 450 representatives, who were annually chosen in the six quarters of the city. Dandolo supported warmly the application of the crusaders: his arguments of public interest were approved; and he was authorised to inform the ambassadors of the following conditions of the treaty. It was proposed that the crusaders should assemble at Venice on the feast of St. John of the ensuing year; that a sufficient number of ships should be prepared for their embarkation; that during a term of nine months they should be supplied with provisions, and transported to whatsoever coast the service of God and Christendom should require; and that the republic should join the armament with a squadron of 50 galleys. It was required that the pilgrims should pay, before their departure, a sum of 85,000 marks of silver; and that all conquests, by sea and land, should be equally divided between the confederates. The terms were hard; but the emergency was pressing, and the French barons were not less profuse of money than of blood.

§ 8. The French barons elected as their general Boniface marquis of Montferrat, descended of a race of heroes, and himself of conspicuous fame in the wars and negotiations of the times. Upon their arrival at Venice they found that their allies had fulfilled, and even surpassed, their engagements; and the fleet of transports, ships, and galleys, was ready to hoist sail as soon as the republic had received the price of the freight and armament (A.D. 1202). But that price far exceeded the wealth of the crusaders who were assembled at Venice; and after all their efforts, 34,000 marks were still wanting to complete the stipulated sum. The obstacle was removed by the policy and patriotism of the doge, who proposed to the barons that, if they would join their arms in reducing some revolted cities of Dalmatia, he would expose his person in the holy war, and obtain from the republic a long indulgence, till some wealthy conquest should afford the means of satisfying the debt. After much scruple and hesitation, they chose rather to accept the offer than to relinquish the enterprise; and the first hostilities of the fleet and army were directed against Zara, a strong city of the

Slavonian coast, which had renounced its allegiance to Venice, and implored the protection of the king of Hungary. The crusaders easily made themselves masters of Zara: and as the season was far advanced, they resolved to pass the winter in a secure harbour and plentiful country.

§ 9. The assembly of such formidable powers by sea and land had revived the hopes of young Alexius, and both at Venice and Zara he solicited the arms of the crusaders for his own restoration and his father's deliverance. He promised, in his own and his father's name, that, as soon as they should be seated on the throne of Constantinople, they would terminate the long schism of the Greeks, and submit themselves and their people to the lawful supremacy of the Roman church. He engaged to recompense the labours and merits of the crusaders by the immediate payment of 200,000 marks of silver; to accompany them in person to Egypt; or, if it should be judged more advantageous, to maintain, during a year, 10,000 men, and, during his life, 500 knights, for the service of the Holy Land. These tempting conditions were accepted; but many pilgrims, distinguished for their valour and piety, refused their consent; they alleged the sanctity of their vow, and withdrew from the camp.

§ 10. Notwithstanding this defection, the departure of the fleet and army was vigorously pressed by the Venetians, whose zeal for the service of the royal youth concealed a just resentment to his nation and family. They were mortified by the recent preference which had been given to Pisa, the rival of their trade; and they had a long arrear of debt and injury to liquidate with the Byzantine court. No resistance was offered by the Byzantine monarch to the passage of the fleet through the Greek seas; and after a prosperous voyage, the crusaders reposed for nine days in Scutari, the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople (A.D. 1203). On the tenth day they traversed the Bosporus without encountering an enemy or an obstacle; and the 70,000 Greeks, who had been drawn up on the opposite shore, fled on their approach. In the first consternation of the flying enemy, the Latins resolved, by a double attack, to open the entrance of the harbour. The tower of Galata, in the suburb of Pera, was attacked and stormed by the French, while the Venetians assumed the more difficult task of forcing the boom or chain that was stretched from that tower to the Byzantine shore. After some fruitless attempts their intrepid perseverance prevailed; 20 ships of war, the relics of the Grecian navy, were either sunk or taken; the enormous and massy links of iron were cut asunder by the shears or broken by the weight of the galleys; and the Venetian fleet, safe and triumphant, rode at anchor in the port of Constantinople. By these daring achievements a remnant of 20,000 Latins solicited the licence of besieging a capital which contained above 400,000 in-

habitants, able, though not willing, to bear arms in the defence of their country. Such an account would indeed suppose a population of near 2,000,000: but whatever abatement may be required in the numbers of the Greeks, the *belief* of those numbers will equally exalt the fearless spirit of their assailants.

§ 11. It was arranged that the French should attack the city by land and the Venetians by sea. After ten days incessant labour the Latins effected a breach, and attempted to scale the walls; but they were driven back by the numbers that defended the vantage-ground. The naval attack was more successful; the soldiers, who leaped from the galleys on shore, immediately planted and ascended their scaling-ladders, while the large ships, advancing more slowly into the intervals, and lowering a drawbridge, opened a way through the air from their masts to the rampart. In the midst of the conflict the doge, a venerable and conspicuous form, stood aloft in complete armour on the prow of his galley. The great standard of St. Mark was displayed before him; his vessel was the first that struck; and Dandolo was the first warrior on the shore. On a sudden, by an invisible hand (for the standard-bearer was probably slain), the banner of the republic was fixed on the rampart: 25 towers were rapidly occupied; and, by the cruel expedient of fire, the Greeks were driven from the adjacent quarter. The doge had despatched the intelligence of his success, when he was checked by the danger of his confederates. Nobly declaring that he would rather die with the pilgrims than gain a victory by their destruction, Dandolo relinquished his advantage, recalled his troops, and hastened to the scene of action. He found the French encompassed by 60 squadrons of the Greek cavalry. Shame and despair had provoked Alexius to the last effort of a general sally: but he was awed by the firm order and manly aspect of the Latins; and, after skirmishing at a distance, withdrew his troops in the close of the evening. The silence or tumult of the night exasperated his fears; and the timid usurper, collecting a treasure of 10,000 pounds of gold, basely deserted his wife, his people, and his fortune; threw himself into a bark; stole through the Bosporus; and landed in shameful safety in an obscure harbour of Thrace. As soon as they were apprised of his flight, the Greek nobles sought pardon and peace in the dungeon where the blind Isaac expected each hour the visit of the executioner. At the dawn of day hostilities were suspended, and the Latin chiefs were surprised by a message from the lawful and reigning emperor, who was impatient to embrace his son and to reward his generous deliverers (July 18).

§ 12. The barons mounted on horseback and introduced the heir of Constantinople to the city and palace: his youth and marvellous adventures engaged every heart in his favour, and Alexius was

solemnly crowned with his father in the dome of St. Sophia. The mixture of two discordant nations in the same capital might have been pregnant with mischief and danger; and the suburb of Galata, or Pera, was assigned for the quarters of the French and Venetians. It was agreed between the young Alexius and his allies that the re-union of the two churches must be the result of patience and time; but avarice was less tractable than zeal; and a large sum was instantly disbursed to appease the wants and silence the importunity of the crusaders. Alexius was alarmed by the approaching hour of their departure: their absence would have left him, naked and alone, to the caprice and prejudice of a perfidious nation; and he wished to bribe their stay, the delay of a year, by undertaking to defray their expense, and to satisfy, in their name, the freight of the Venetian vessels. The offer was agitated in the council of the barons; and, after a repetition of their debates and scruples, a majority of votes again acquiesced in the advice of the doge and the prayer of the young emperor. At the price of 1600 pounds of gold, he prevailed on the marquis of Montferrat to lead him with an army round the provinces of Europe; to establish his authority, and pursue his uncle, while Constantinople was awed by the presence of Baldwin and his confederates of France and Flanders.

By the recent invasion the Greeks were awakened from a dream of nine centuries; from the vain presumption that the capital of the Roman empire was impregnable to foreign arms. The strangers of the West had violated the city, and bestowed the sceptre, of Constantine: their Imperial clients soon became as unpopular as themselves: the well-known vices of Isaac were rendered still more contemptible by his infirmities, and the young Alexius was hated as an apostate who had renounced the manners and religion of his country. His secret covenant with the Latins was divulged or suspected; the people, and especially the clergy, were devoutly attached to their faith and superstition; and every convent, and every shop, resounded with the danger of the church and the tyranny of the pope. During the absence of marquis Boniface and his Imperial pupil, Constantinople was visited with a calamity which might be justly imputed to the zeal and indiscretion of the Flemish pilgrims. In one of their visits to the city they were scandalised by the aspect of a mosque or synagogue. They set fire to the building of the infidels; but during eight days and nights the conflagration spread above a league in front, from the harbour to the Propontis, over the thickest and most populous regions of the city. By this outrage the name of the Latins became still more unpopular; and the colony of that nation, above 15,000 persons, consulted their safety in a hasty retreat from the city to the protection of their standard in the suburb of Pera. The young emperor

returned in triumph: his own inclination, and his father's advice, attached him to his benefactors; but Alexius hesitated between gratitude and patriotism, between the fear of his subjects and of his allies. By his feeble and fluctuating conduct he lost the esteem and confidence of both. The Latin chiefs repeated their demands, resented his delays, suspected his intentions, and exacted a decisive answer of peace or war. Among the Greeks all authority and wisdom were overborne by the impetuous multitude, who mistook their rage for valour, their numbers for strength, and their fanaticism for the support and inspiration of Heaven. The author of the tumult was a prince of the house of Ducas; and his common appellation of Alexius must be discriminated by the epithet of Mourzoufle, which in the vulgar idiom expressed the close junction of his black and shaggy eyebrows. He insinuated himself into the favour and confidence of Alexius, and by a stratagem seized the young emperor, and after a few days' confinement put him to death. The emperor Isaac Angelus soon followed his son to the grave; and Mourzoufle, perhaps, might spare the superfluous crime of hastening the extinction of impotence and blindness (A.D. 1204).

§ 13. The death of the emperors, and the usurpation of Mourzoufle, had changed the nature of the quarrel. The French and Venetians forgot their complaints against Alexius, and swore revenge against the perfidious nation who had crowned his assassin. The second siege of Constantinople was far more laborious than the first. Near three months, without excepting the holy season of Lent, were consumed in skirmishes and preparations, before the Latins were ready or resolved for a general assault. The land fortifications had been found impregnable; and it was therefore determined to attack the city from the harbour. The first assault was repelled; but the second was crowned with success. Four towers were scaled; three gates were burst open; the Latins entered the city under the banners of their leaders; and either design or accident kindled a third conflagration, which consumed in a few hours the measure of three of the largest cities of France. In the close of evening the barons checked their troops and fortified their stations: but in the morning a suppliant procession, with crosses and images, announced the submission of the Greeks and deprecated the wrath of the conquerors: the usurper escaped through the golden gate; and the empire, which still bore the name of Constantine and the title of Roman, was subverted by the arms of the Latin pilgrims. Constantinople had been taken by storm; and no restraints except those of religion and humanity were imposed on the conquerors by the laws of war. Their cruelty and lust were moderated by the authority of the chiefs and feelings of the soldiers; but a free scope was allowed to their avarice, which was glutted, even

in the holy week, by the pillage of the city. The magnitude of the prize surpassed the largest scale of experience or expectation. After the whole had been equally divided between the French and Venetians, 50,000 marks were deducted to satisfy the debts of the former and the demands of the latter. The residue of the French amounted to 400,000 marks of silver, about 800,000 pounds sterling; nor can I better appreciate the value of that sum in the public and private transactions of the age than by defining it as seven times the annual revenue of the kingdom of England.

§ 14. After the death of the lawful princes, the French and Venetians, confident of justice and victory, agreed to divide and regulate their future possessions. It was stipulated by treaty that twelve electors, six of either nation, should be nominated; and that a majority should choose the emperor of the East. To him, with all the titles and prerogatives of the Byzantine throne, they assigned a fourth part of the Greek monarchy. It was defined that the three remaining portions should be equally shared between the republic of Venice and the barons of France; that each feudatory, with an honourable exception for the doge, should acknowledge and perform the duties of homage and military service to the supreme head of the empire; and that the nation which gave an emperor should resign to their brethren the choice of a patriarch. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, the treaty was confirmed and executed; and the first and most important step was the creation of an emperor. A just impulse of respect and gratitude prompted the twelve electors to crown the virtues of the doge: but the patriot Dandolo was devoid of all personal ambition, and his nomination was overruled by the Venetians themselves. The exclusion of the doge left room for the more equal merits of Boniface and Baldwin. The marquis of Montferrat was recommended by his mature age and fair reputation, by the choice of the adventurers, and the wishes of the Greeks. But the count of Flanders was the chief of a wealthy and warlike people: he was valiant, pious, and chaste; in the prime of life, since he was only 32 years of age; a descendant of Charlemagne, and a cousin of the king of France. The electors decided in favour of Baldwin. Boniface was the first to kiss the hand of his rival, and to raise him on the buckler; and Baldwin was transported to the cathedral, and solemnly invested with the purple buskins. At the end of three weeks he was crowned by the legate, in the vacancy of a patriarch; but the Venetian clergy soon filled the chapter of St. Sophia, and seated Thomas Morosini on the ecclesiastical throne.

§ 15. In the division of the Greek provinces the share of the Venetians was more ample than that of the Latin emperor. No more than one-fourth was appropriated to his domain; a clear moiety

of the remainder was reserved for Venice; and the other moiety was distributed among the adventurers of France and Lombardy. The venerable Dandolo was proclaimed despot of Romania, but ended at Constantinople his long and glorious life. The Venetians formed a chain of factories, and cities, and islands, along the maritime coast, from the neighbourhood of Ragusa to the Hellespont and the Bosporus. The marquis Boniface became king of Thessalonica or Macedonia. The lots of the Latin pilgrims were regulated by chance, or choice, or subsequent exchange; and they abused, with intemperate joy, their triumph over the lives and fortunes of a great people.

§ 16. Two fugitives, who had reigned at Constantinople, still asserted the title of emperor. A domestic alliance, and a common interest induced the more recent usurper to unite with the former the relics of his power. Mourzoufle was received with smiles and honours in the camp of Alexius; but he was shortly afterwards deprived of his eyes, stripped of his troops and treasures, and turned out to wander. As the tyrant was stealing over to Asia, he was seized by the Latins of Constantinople, and condemned, after an open trial, to be cast down headlong from the Theodosian column, a pillar of white marble of 147 feet in height. The fate of Alexius is less tragical: he was sent by the marquis a captive to Italy, and a gift to the king of the Romans; but his daughter, before the national calamity, had been given in marriage to a young hero, who continued the succession, and restored the throne of the Greek princes. The valour of Theodore Lascaris was signalized in the two sieges of Constantinople. After the fall of the city Theodore retired to breathe the air of freedom in Anatolia. Under the title, at first of despot, and afterwards of emperor, he drew to his standard the bolder spirits. Nice, where Theodore established his residence, Prusa and Philadelphia, Smyrna and Ephesus, opened their gates to their deliverer: and the successor of Constantine preserved a fragment of the empire from the banks of the Mæander to the suburbs of Nicomedia, and at length of Constantinople. Another portion, distant and obscure, was possessed by the lineal heir of the Comneni, a son of the virtuous Manuel, a grandson of the tyrant Andronicus. His name was Alexius: by the indulgence of the Angeli, he was ap-

Silver coin of Alexius II., emperor of Trebizond, from the British Museum. Obverse: A λ̄ε/ H ⊠ N (Ἀλέξιος ὁ Κομνηνός); emperor on horseback. Reverse: Ⓐ ε VΓ.N (Ὁ Ἅγιος Εὐγένιος); saint on horseback.

pointed governor or duke of Trebizond: his birth gave him ambition, the revolution independence; and without changing his title, he reigned in peace from Sinope to the Phasis, along the coast of the Black Sea. The title of emperor was first assumed by the grandson of Alexius. In the West a third fragment was saved from the common shipwreck by Michael, who founded a strong and conspicuous principality in Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly, which have ever been peopled by a warlike race. The Greeks, who had offered their service to their new sovereigns, were excluded by the haughty Latins from all civil and military honours, as a nation born to tremble and obey. As long as the crusaders were united at Constantinople, the memory of their conquest, and the terror of their arms, imposed silence on the captive land: their dispersion betrayed the smallness of their numbers and the defects of their discipline; and some failures and mischances revealed the secret that they were not invincible. As the fear of the Greeks abated, their hatred increased. They murmured, they conspired; and before a year of slavery had elapsed, they implored, or accepted, the succour of a barbarian, whose power they had felt, and whose gratitude they trusted.

§ 17. The Latin conquerors had been saluted with a solemn and early embassy from John, or Calo-John, the revolted chief of the Bulgarians and Wallachians. He deemed himself their brother, as the votary of the Roman pontiff, from whom he had received the regal title and an holy banner; and in the subversion of the Greek monarchy he might aspire to the name of their friend and accomplice. But Calo-John was astonished to find that the count of Flanders had assumed the pomp and pride of the successors of Constantine; and his ambassadors were dismissed with an haughty message, that the rebel must deserve a pardon by touching with his forehead the footstool of the Imperial throne. His policy watched the rising discontent of the Greeks, and promised that their first struggles for freedom should be supported by his person and kingdom. The conspiracy was propagated by national hatred, the firmest band of association and secrecy; the Greeks were impatient to sheathe their daggers in the breasts of the victorious strangers; but the execution was prudently delayed till Henry, the emperor's brother, had transported the flower of his troops beyond the Hellespont. Most of the towns and villages of Thrace were true to the moment and the signal; and the Latins, without arms or suspicion, were slaughtered by the vile and merciless revenge of their slaves. The voice of fame and fear announced the revolt of the Greeks and the rapid approach of their Bulgarian ally: and Calo-John, not depending on the forces of his own kingdom, had drawn from the Scythian wilderness a body of 14,000 Cumans, who drank, as it was said, the blood of their captives, and sacrificed the Christians on the altars of

their gods. Alarmed by this sudden and growing danger, the emperor despatched a swift messenger to recall Count Henry and his troops; but without expecting the return of his gallant brother, Baldwin took the field with a small force, and proceeded to besiege the rebels of Adrianople. The Latins were soon interrupted by the light cavalry of the Cumans, who fled before their first charge; but when the knights and their horses were almost breathless, the Cumans, like the Parthians, suddenly turned, rallied, and encompassed the heavy squadrons of the Franks. Many of the knights were slain, and the emperor was made prisoner (A.D. 1205).

§ 18. Baldwin died in the prisons of Bulgaria; but above a year elapsed before the Latins could be assured of his death, before his brother, the regent Henry, would consent to assume the title of emperor (A.D. 1206–1216). In the support of the Eastern empire Henry was gradually left without an associate, as the heroes of the crusade retired from the world or from the war. The doge of Venice, the venerable Dandolo, in the fullness of years and glory, sunk into the grave; and the marquis of Montferrat, who had advanced to revenge Baldwin, was slain by the Bulgarians among the hills of Rhodope. But the character of Henry was not unequal to his arduous situation: his courage was tempered with a degree of prudence unknown to his impetuous brother; and though he cautiously provided for the success of his arms, the drooping Latins were often roused by his example to save and to second their fearless emperor. But such efforts, and some supplies of men and money from France, were of less avail than the errors, the cruelty, and death of their most formidable adversary. When the despair of the Greek subjects invited Calo-John as their deliverer, they hoped that he would protect their liberty and adopt their laws; they were soon taught to compare the degrees of national ferocity, and to execrate the savage conqueror, who no longer dissembled his intention of dispeopling Thrace, of demolishing the cities, and of transplanting the inhabitants beyond the Danube. They raised a cry of grief and repentance to the throne of Henry; the emperor alone had the magnanimity to forgive and trust them. The Bulgarians retired before his arms, and the savage, with shame and loss, was compelled to relinquish his prey. He was stabbed in the night in his tent; and after several victories the prudence of Henry concluded an honourable peace with the successor of the tyrant, and with the Greek princes of Nice and Epirus. If he ceded some doubtful limits, an ample kingdom was reserved for himself and his feudatories; and his reign, which lasted only ten years, afforded a short interval of prosperity and peace.

§ 19. The victorious Henry died at Thessalonica in the defence of that kingdom, and of an infant, the son of his friend Boniface. In

the two first emperors of Constantinople the male line of the counts of Flanders was extinct. But their sister Yolande was the wife of Peter of Courtenay, count of Auxerre, whom the Latins now invited to assume the empire of the East. Peter passed the Alps, and was transported across the Adriatic by the Venetians; but, in his journey over land from Durazzo to Thessalonica, he was arrested by the despot of Epirus and died in captivity (A.D. 1217–1219).

§ 20. The long ignorance of his fate, and the presence of Yolande, his wife or widow, delayed the proclamation of a new emperor. In the midst of her grief she was delivered of a son, who was named Baldwin, the last and most unfortunate of the Latin princes of Constantinople. His birth endeared him to the barons of Romania; but his childhood would have prolonged the troubles of a minority; and Robert, the second of the sons of Peter and Yolande, was called to the throne of Constantinople (A.D. 1221–1228). His reign was an æra of calamity and disgrace; and the colony, as it was styled, of NEW FRANCE yielded on all sides to the Greeks of Nice and Epirus. Theodore Angelus, despot of Epirus, entered the kingdom of Thessalonica; expelled the feeble Demetrius, the son of the marquis Boniface; erected his standard on the walls of Adrianople; and added, by his vanity, a third or a fourth name to the list of rival emperors. The relics of the Asiatic province were swept away by John Vataces, the son-in-law and successor of Theodore Lascaris, who, in a triumphant reign of 33 years, displayed the virtues both of peace and war (A.D. 1222–1255).

§ 21. In the seven years of his brother's reign, Baldwin of Courtenay had not emerged from a state of childhood, and the barons of Romania felt the strong necessity of placing the sceptre in the hands of a man and a hero. They therefore agreed to invest John of Brienne for his life with the title and prerogatives of emperor, on the sole condition that Baldwin should marry his second daughter, and succeed at a mature age to the throne of Constantinople. John of Brienne had been one of the most distinguished heroes in the fifth crusade, and possessed the titular kingdom of Jerusalem by his marriage with Mary, the daughter of Isabella and Conrad of Montferrat, and the grand-daughter of Almeric or Amaury. The expectation, both of the Greeks and Latins, was kindled by the renown, and the presence of John of Brienne; but avarice, and the love of ease, appear to have chilled the ardour of enterprise: and a few years rolled away without action or honour, till he was awakened by the dangerous alliance of Vataces emperor of Nice, and of Azan king of Bulgaria. They besieged Constantinople by sea and land; but the Latin emperor, instead of defending the city, made a sally at the head of his cavalry, and destroyed the squadrons of the enemy. Fired by his example, the infantry and the citizens

boarded the vessels that anchored close to the walls; and twenty-five were dragged in triumph into the harbour of Constantinople. At the summons of the emperor, the vassals and allies armed in her defence; broke through every obstacle that opposed their passage; and, in the succeeding year, obtained a second victory over the same enemies. Baldwin II. succeeded to the imperial dignity on the decease of his adoptive father (A.D. 1236-1261).

§ 22. The Latins of Constantinople were on all sides encompassed and pressed: their sole hope, the last delay of their ruin, was in the division of their Greek and Bulgarian enemies; and of this hope they were deprived by the superior arms and policy of John Vataces emperor of Nice. From the Propontis to the rocky coast of Pamphylia, Asia was peaceful and prosperous under his reign; and the events of every campaign extended his influence in Europe. The strong cities of the hills of Macedonia and Thrace were rescued from the Bulgarians, and their kingdom was circumscribed by its present and proper limits along the southern banks of the Danube. After some resistance, the kingdom of Thessalonica was united to the empire of Nice; and Vataces reigned without a competitor from the Turkish borders to the Adriatic gulf. But his death, the short and busy reign of Theodore his son (A.D. 1255-1259), and the helpless infancy of his grandson John, suspended the restoration of the Greeks. The guardian of the young prince was Michael Palæologus, the most illustrious, in birth and merit, of the Greek nobles. His numerous friends and partizans urged that the youth of the emperor, and the impending dangers of a minority, required the support of an associate raised above the envy of his equals, and invested with the names and prerogatives of royalty. It was agreed that John and Michael should be proclaimed as joint emperors; but on the day of the coronation, and in the cathedral of Nice, the adherents of Palæologus most vehemently urged the just priority of his age and merit. The unseasonable dispute was eluded by postponing to a more convenient opportunity the coronation of John Lascaris; and he walked with a slight diadem in the train of his guardian, who alone received the Imperial crown from the hands of the patriarch (A.D. 1260).

§ 23. As soon as Palæologus was seated on the throne, he resolved to expel the Latins from Constantinople. He visited in person and strengthened the troops and fortifications of Thrace; and the next spring his favourite general, Alexius Strategopulus, whom he had decorated with the title of Cæsar, passed the Hellespont with 800 horse and some infantry on a secret expedition. The adjacent territory between the Propontis and the Black Sea was cultivated by an hardy race of peasants and outlaws, exercised in arms, uncertain in their allegiance, but inclined by language, religion, and present advantage, to the party of the Greeks. They were

styled the *volunteers*, and by their free service the army of Alexius, with the regulars of Thrace and the Cuman auxiliaries, was augmented to the number of 25,000 men. The weakness of Constantinople and the distress and terror of the Latins were familiar to the observation of the volunteers; and they represented the present moment as the most propitious to surprise and conquest. Alexius left his main body to second and support his operations, and advanced unperceived in the night with a chosen detachment. While some applied scaling-ladders to the lowest part of the walls, an old Greek introduced their companions through a subterraneous passage into his house; on the inside they broke an entrance through the golden gate, which had been long obstructed; and the conqueror was in the heart of the city before the Latins were conscious of their danger. The Greeks of Constantinople remembered their native sovereigns; every quarter was in arms; and the air resounded with a general acclamation of "Long life and victory to Michael and John, the august emperors of the Romans!" (A.D. 1261). Their rival, Baldwin, was awakened by the sound; but the most pressing danger could not prompt him to draw his sword in the defence of a city which he deserted perhaps with more pleasure than regret: he fled from the palace to the sea-shore, where he embarked on board the Venetian galleys. From the loss of Constantinople to his death Baldwin consumed thirteen years soliciting the Catholic powers to join in his restoration. His son Philip was the heir of an ideal empire; and the pretensions of *his* daughter Catherine were transported by her marriage to Charles of Valois, the brother of Philip the Fair, king of France.

Seal of Baldwin II. (Du Cange, Familia Byzantina, p. 216.) Obverse: ΒΑΛΔΟΙΝΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC ΠΟΡΦΙΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟC Ο ΦΛΗΝΔΡΑC (Βαλδῖνος δεσπότης Πορφυρογέννητος ὁ Φλῆνδρας). Reverse: B. DI. GRA. IMPATOR. ROMAN. SEP. AVG. (Balduinus Dei gratia imperator Romanorum semper Augustus).

The Emperor Palæologus and his wife Theodora, with their son Constantine between them. From a painting in a church at Constantinople. (Du Cange, Historia Byzantina, p. 233.)

CHAPTER XXXV.

REIGNS OF THE GREEK EMPERORS, MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, THE ELDER AND THE YOUNGER ANDRONICUS, JOHN CANTACUZENE, AND JOHN PALÆOLOGUS.

§ 1. Return of the Greek emperor to Constantinople. § 2. Reign of MICHAEL PELÆOLOGUS. § 3. His union with the Latin Church. § 4. Charles of Anjou subdues Naples and Sicily, and threatens the Greek empire. § 5. The Sicilian vespers: defeat of Charles. § 6. The service and war of the Catalans in the Greek empire. § 7. ANDRONICUS THE ELDER emperor: civil wars between the elder and younger Andronicus. § 8. Reign of ANDRONICUS THE YOUNGER. § 9. Reigns of JOHN CANTACUZENE and JOHN PALÆOLOGUS. § 10. The Genoese war.

§ 1. MICHAEL made his triumphal entry into Constantinople only twenty days after the expulsion of the Latins. The French barons

and the principal families had retired with their emperor, but the patient and humble crowd of Latins was attached to the country, and indifferent to the change of masters. Instead of banishing the factories of the Pisans, Venetians, and Genoese, the prudent conqueror accepted their oaths of allegiance, encouraged their industry, confirmed their privileges, and allowed them to live under the jurisdiction of their proper magistrates. Of these nations the Pisans and Venetians preserved their respective quarters in the city; but the Genoese, who had assisted Alexius in the recovery of Constantinople, were settled in the exclusive possession of the suburb of Galata, an advantageous post, in which they revived the commerce and insulted the majesty of the Byzantine empire.

§ 2. The recovery of Constantinople was celebrated as the æra of a new empire; the conqueror, alone, and by the right of the sword, renewed his coronation in the church of St. Sophia; and John Lascaris, his pupil and lawful sovereign, was deprived of his eyes, and removed to a distant castle, where he spent many years in privacy and oblivion. The establishment of his family was the motive, or at least the pretence, of the crime of Palæologus; and he was impatient to confirm the succession, by sharing with his eldest son the honours of the purple. Andronicus, afterwards surnamed the Elder, was proclaimed and crowned emperor of the Romans in the fifteenth year of his age; and, from the first æra of a prolix and inglorious reign, he held that august title 9 years as the colleague, and 46 as the successor, of his father (A.D. 1282-1328). Michael himself, had he died in a private station, would have been thought more worthy of the empire; but the assaults of his temporal and spiritual enemies left him few moments to labour for his own fame or the happiness of his subjects. He wrested from the Franks several of the noblest islands of the Archipelago—Lesbos, Chios, and Rhodes: his brother Constantine was sent to command in Malvasia and Sparta; and the eastern side of the Morea, from Argos and Napoli to Cape Tænarus, was repossessed by the Greeks. But in the prosecution of these western conquests the countries beyond the Hellespont were left naked to the Turks. The victories of Michael were achieved by his lieutenants; his sword rusted in the palace; and, in the transactions of the emperor with the popes and the king of Naples, his political arts were stained with cruelty and fraud.

§ 3. The cause of Baldwin, the fugitive emperor, was espoused by the pope Urban IV., and his successor Gregory X., by whose orders a crusade was preached against the schismatic Greeks. To avert this danger Michael consented to a reconciliation with the Latin church, and sent an embassy to Rome, instructed to comply with the demands of the pope (A.D. 1277). The ambassadors were received in a general

council of Lyons by Gregory X., who rejoiced in the union of the East and West, which had been reserved for his reign. To consummate this pious work the Byzantine deputies were speedily followed by the pope's nuncios; but they found a country without a friend, a nation in which the names of Rome and union were pronounced with abhorrence. By the joint suffrage of the new and the ancient Rome, a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the obstinate schismatics: the censures of the church were executed by the sword of Michael; and on the failure of persuasion, he tried the arguments of prison and exile, of whipping and mutilation. But while his violence was abhorred at Constantinople, at Rome his slowness was arraigned, and his sincerity suspected; till at length pope Martin IV. excluded the Greek emperor from the pale of a church into which he was striving to reduce a schismatic people. No sooner had the tyrant expired than the union was dissolved and abjured by unanimous consent; and his son Andronicus, after weeping the sins and errors of his youth, most piously denied his father the burial of a prince and a Christian.

§ 4. Among the Western powers, who threatened the throne of Michael, the most formidable neighbour was the sovereign of the Two Sicilies. These countries were now possessed by Charles count of Anjou and Provence, the brother of St. Louis, who had conquered and slain in battle Mainfroy, the bastard of Frederic II. (A.D. 1266). Naples and Sicily were immediately peopled with a warlike race of French nobles; and their aspiring leader resolved to direct his arms against the Byzantine empire. His daughter Beatrice was promised to Philip, son and heir of the emperor Baldwin; and his generous father distributed among his allies the kingdoms and provinces of the East. The hostile league against the Greeks, of Philip the Latin emperor, the king of the Two Sicilies, and the republic of Venice, was ripened into execution; and the election of Martin IV., a French pope, gave a sanction to the cause. The ruin of Constantinople seemed inevitable; but a memorable conspiracy in Sicily saved the Greek empire.

§ 5. Among the proscribed adherents of the house of Swabia, John of Procida forfeited a small island of that name in the bay of Naples. His birth was noble, but his education was learned; and in the poverty of exile he was relieved by the practice of physic, which he had studied in the school of Salerno. Fortune had left him nothing to lose, except life; and to despise life is the first qualification of a rebel. The new kingdoms of Charles were afflicted by every species of fiscal and military oppression: the hatred of Naples was repressed by his presence; but the looser government of his vicegerents excited the contempt, as well as the aversion, of the Sicilians, and the island was roused to a sense of

freedom by the eloquence of Procida. In the confidence of foreign aid, he successively visited the courts of the Greek emperor, and of Peter king of Arragon, who possessed the maritime countries of Valentia and Catalonia. To the ambitious Peter a crown was presented, which he might justly claim by his marriage with the daughter of Mainfroy, and by the dying voice of Conradin, who from the scaffold had cast a ring to his heir and avenger. Palæologus was easily persuaded to divert his enemy from a foreign war by a rebellion at home; and a Greek subsidy of 25,000 ounces of gold was most profitably applied to arm a Catalan fleet, which sailed under an holy banner to the specious attack of the Saracens of Africa. In the disguise of a monk or beggar, the indefatigable missionary of revolt flew from Constantinople to Rome, and from Sicily to Saragossa: the treaty was sealed with the signet of pope Nicholas himself, the enemy of Charles; and his deed of gift transferred the fiefs of St. Peter from the house of Anjou to that of Arragon. So widely diffused and so freely circulated, the secret was preserved above two years with impenetrable discretion; and each of the conspirators imbibed the maxim of Peter, who declared that he would cut off his left hand if it were conscious of the intentions of his right. The mine was prepared with deep and dangerous artifice; but it may be questioned whether the instant explosion of Palermo were the effect of accident or design.

On the vigil of Easter a procession of the disarmed citizens visited a church without the walls, and a noble damsel was rudely insulted by a French soldier. The ravisher was instantly punished with death; and if the people was at first scattered by a military force, their numbers and fury prevailed: the conspirators seized the opportunity; the flame spread over the island, and 8000 French were exterminated in a promiscuous massacre, which has obtained the name of the SICILIAN VESPERS (A.D. 1282, March 30). From every city the banners of freedom and the church were displayed: the revolt was inspired by the presence or the soul of Procida; and Peter of Arragon, who sailed from the African coast to Palermo, was saluted as the king and saviour of the isle. The fleet and army of Charles, which already filled the seaports of Italy, were hastily recalled from the service of the Grecian war; and the situation of Messina exposed that town to the first storm of his revenge. The despair of the Messinese gave them courage: Peter of Arragon approached to their relief, and his rival was driven back by the failure of provision and the terrors of the equinox to the Calabrian shore. At the same moment the Catalan admiral, the famous Roger de Loria, swept the channel with an invincible squadron: the French fleet was either burnt or destroyed; and the same blow assured the independence of Sicily and the safety of the Greek empire. From

this disastrous moment the life of Charles was a series of misfortunes: his capital was insulted, his son was made prisoner, and he sunk into the grave without recovering the isle of Sicily, which, after a war of 20 years, was finally severed from the throne of Naples, and transferred, as an independent kingdom, to a younger branch of the house of Arragon.

§ 6. The first Palæologus had saved his empire by involving the kingdoms of the West in rebellion and blood; but from these seeds of discord uprose a generation of iron men, who assaulted and endangered the empire of his son. After the peace of Sicily many thousands of Genoese, *Catalans*, &c., who had fought by sea and land under the standard of Anjou or Arragon, were blended into one nation by the resemblance of their manners and interest. They enlisted in the service of the Greek emperor, and under the command of Roger de Flor, the most popular of their chiefs, they defeated the Turks in two bloody battles. But the Catalans considered the lives and fortunes which they had rescued as their own: the exaction of fines and supplies was enforced by licentious rapine and arbitrary executions; and, on the resistance of Magnesia, Roger besieged a city of the Roman empire. Assassination is the last resource of cowards. Roger was tempted to visit the royal residence of Adrianople; in the apartment, and before the eyes, of the empress he was stabbed by the Alani guards; and his countrymen, who dwelt at Constantinople in the security of peace, were involved in the same proscription by the prince or people. The loss of their leader intimidated the crowd of adventurers, who hoisted the sails of flight, and were soon scattered round the coasts of the Mediterranean. But a veteran band of 1500 Catalans or French stood firm in the strong fortress of Gallipoli on the Hellespont, and defeated in two battles by sea and land the forces of the Greek empire. Victory renewed the hopes and numbers of the adventurers; and every nation was blended under the name and standard of the *great company*. Four times the emperor Andronicus sued for peace, and four times he was inflexibly repulsed, till the want of provisions and the discord of the chiefs compelled the Catalans to evacuate the banks of the Hellespont and the neighbourhood of the capital. After their separation from the Turks, the remains of the great company pursued their march through Macedonia and Thessaly, to seek a new establishment in the heart of Greece.

§ 7. The long reign of Andronicus the elder is chiefly memorable by the invasion of the Catalans, and the rise of the Ottoman power. After the example of the first of the Palæologi, he associated his son Michael to the honours of the purple; and from the age of 18 to his premature death, that prince was acknowledged, above 25 years, as the second emperor of the Greeks. The son of Michael was named

Andronicus from his grandfather: he was educated in the palace as an heir and a favourite; and in the oaths and acclamations of the people, the *august triad* was formed by the names of the father, the son, and the grandson. But the younger Andronicus was speedily corrupted by his infant greatness, while he beheld with puerile impatience the double obstacle that hung, and might long hang, over his rising ambition. After the death of Michael the elder, the emperor transferred to another grandson his hopes and affections; and the acknowledged heir was exposed to the indignity of a public trial. But the young emperor escaped from the capital; and the empire was distracted by three civil wars between the elder and the younger Andronicus (A.D. 1321-1328), which it would be tedious and unprofitable to relate. It is sufficient to mention that the third civil war was terminated by the surprise of Constantinople, the final retreat of the old emperor, and the sole reign of his victorious grandson (A.D. 1321-1328). The elder Andronicus survived his abdication four years, and having assumed the monastic habit, he expired as the monk *Anthony*, in a cell, in the 74th year of his age (A.D. 1332).

§ 8. Nor was the reign of the younger more glorious or fortunate than that of the elder Andronicus (A.D. 1328-1341). He marched in person against the Turks; but a defeat and a wound were the only trophies of his expedition in Asia, which confirmed the establishment of the Ottoman monarchy. Andronicus was old before his time; the intemperance of youth had accelerated the infirmities of age; and he was snatched away before he had accomplished his 45th year. He was twice married; and his two wives were chosen in the princely houses of Germany and Italy. The first, Agnes at home, Irene in Greece, was daughter of the duke of Brunswick. After the death of this childless princess, Andronicus sought in marriage Jane, the sister of the count of Savoy, who was crowned in St. Sophia under the more orthodox appellation of Anne.

§ 9. The empress Anne of Savoy survived her husband: their son, John Palæologus, was left an orphan and an emperor in the ninth year of his age (A.D. 1341-1391); and the last testament of Andronicus the younger named John Cantacuzene, the first and most deserving of the Greeks, the guardian of his son and the regent of the empire. The long and cordial friendship of the younger Andronicus for John Cantacuzene is alike honourable to the prince and the subject. It had been formed amidst the pleasures of their youth: it was Cantacuzene who saved the young emperor from the power of his grandfather; and, after six years of civil war, the same favourite brought him back in triumph to the palace of Constantinople. Under the reign of Andronicus the younger, the great domestic ruled the emperor and the empire; and it was by his

valour and conduct that the isle of Lesbos and the principality of Ætolia were restored to their ancient allegiance. Had the regent found a suitable return of obedience and gratitude, perhaps he would have acted with pure and zealous fidelity in the service of his pupil; but the prospect of a tranquil minority was blasted by the great duke or admiral Apocaucus, who persuaded the empress Anne of Savoy and the patriarch to join him in a conspiracy against the great domestic. In his absence on the public service, John Cantacuzene was proscribed as an enemy of the church and state; and he was driven by injustice to perpetrate the crime of which he was accused. Constantine adhered to the young emperor; but the cause of Cantacuzene was espoused in some of the provinces: for nearly six years (A.D. 1341–1347) the empire was a prey to civil war, and the Bulgarians, the Servians, and the Turks were invoked on both sides as the instruments of private ambition and the common ruin. Cantacuzene at length obtained the victory through the assistance of the Turks: but the succour and victory were dearly purchased by the marriage of his daughter with an infidel, the captivity of many thousand Christians, and the passage of the Ottomans into Europe, the last and fatal stroke in the fall of the Roman empire. Upon his return to the capital, Cantacuzene, who professed a loyal and zealous attachment to the son of his benefactor, acknowledged young Palæologus as his colleague; but his reign and triumph were soon disturbed by new civil wars. Twice did the son of Andronicus take up arms against his elder colleague, and twice Cantacuzene gained the victory. After his defeat the young emperor, driven from the sea and land, was compelled to take shelter among the Latins of the isle of Tenedos. His insolence and obstinacy provoked the victor to a step which must render the quarrel irreconcilable; and the association of his son Matthew, whom he invested with the purple, established the succession in the family of the Cantacuzeni. But Constantinople was still attached to the blood of her ancient princes, and this last injury accelerated the restoration of the rightful heir. A noble Genoese espoused the cause of Palæologus, obtained a promise of his sister, and achieved the revolution with two galleys and 2500 auxiliaries. Under the pretence of distress they were admitted into the lesser port; a gate was opened, and the Latin shout of "Long life and victory to the emperor John Palæologus!" was answered by a general rising in his favour. Cantacuzene descended from the throne, and embraced the monastic habit and profession (A.D. 1355). The remainder of his life was devoted to piety and learning, and in his cell he composed the memorials of his time, from the revolt of the young Andronicus to his own abdication of the empire.

§ 10. During the reign of Cantacuzene the Genoese war shook the

throne of Cantacuzene and betrayed the debility of the Greek empire. The Genoese, who, after the recovery of Constantinople, were seated in the suburb of Pera or Galata, received that honourable fief from the bounty of the emperor. They were not, however, allowed to fortify Galata; and the defenceless situation which secured their obedience exposed them to the attack of their Venetian rivals, who, in the reign of the elder Andronicus, reduced their quarter to ashes. This misfortune, however, was advantageous to the Genoese, who obtained, and imperceptibly abused, the dangerous licence of surrounding Galata with fortifications. The narrow bounds in which they had been circumscribed were insufficient for the growing colony; each day they acquired some addition of landed property, and the adjacent hills were covered with their villas and castles, which they joined and protected by new fortifications. They gradually obtained the exclusive enjoyment of the lucrative trade of the Black Sea; their rivals of Venice and Pisa were forcibly expelled; the natives were awed by the castles and cities which arose on the foundations of their humble factories; and their principal establishment of Caffa was besieged without effect by the Tartar powers. Destitute of a navy, the Greeks were oppressed by these haughty merchants, who fed or famished Constantinople according to their interest.

These usurpations were encouraged by the weakness of the elder Andronicus, and by the civil wars that afflicted his age and the minority of his grandson. After Cantacuzene had obtained possession of the empire, he was condemned to an ignominious trial, whether the Greeks or the Genoese should reign in Constantinople. His fleet was destroyed by the Genoese (A.D. 1349); nor was his second attempt to chastise these insolent neighbours more successful. He joined his arms with the Venetians, the perpetual enemies of Genoa and her colonies; and a memorable battle was fought in the narrow sea, under the walls of Constantinople. The Venetians and the Greeks were defeated (A.D. 1352); and the emperor Cantacuzene solicited and subscribed a treaty, which for ever banished the Venetians, and granted to the Genoese a monopoly of trade, and almost a right of dominion. The Roman empire might soon have sunk into a province of Genoa, if the ambition of the republic had not been checked by the ruin of her freedom and naval power. A long contest of 130 years was determined by the triumph of Venice; and the factions of the Genoese compelled them to seek for domestic peace under the protection of a foreign lord, the duke of Milan, or the French king. Yet the spirit of commerce survived that of conquest; and the colony of Pera still awed the capital and navigated the Euxine, till it was involved by the Turks in the final servitude of Constantinople itself.

Caravansary at Prusa (Boursa), the capital of the Ottoman Turks in Asia.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE MONGULS AND THE OTTOMAN TURKS.

§ 1. Zingis Khan first emperor of the Monguls and Tartars. § 2. Conquests of Zingis. § 3. Conquests of the successors of Zingis. § 4. I. Of China. § 5. II. Of Persia and the empire of the Caliphs. § 6. III. Of Kipzak, Russia, Poland, Hungary, &c. § 7. IV. Of Siberia, &c. § 8. The successors of Zingis. § 9. The Ottoman Turks: reign of Othman. § 10. Reign of Orchan: establishment of the Ottomans in Europe. § 11. Reign of Amurath I. § 12. Reign of Bajazet I., Ilderim. § 13. The emperors JOHN PALÆOLOGUS I. and MANUEL. § 14. Early history of Timour or Tamerlane: he ascends the throne of Zagatai. § 15. His conquests of Persia, Turkestan, and Hindostan. § 16. His war against Bajazet: his invasion of Syria. § 17. Battle of Angora: defeat and captivity of Bajazet. § 18. Death of Timour on his road to China. § 19. His character and merits. § 20. Reigns of Mahomet I. and Amurath II. § 21. Siege of Constantinople by Amurath II.: reign of JOHN PALÆOLOGUS II.

§ 1. FROM the petty quarrels of a city and her suburbs, from the cowardice and discord of the falling Greeks, I shall now ascend to

the victorious Turks; whose domestic slavery was ennobled by martial discipline, religious enthusiasm, and the energy of the national character. The rise and progress of the Ottomans, the present sovereigns of Constantinople, are connected with the most important scenes of modern history; but they are founded on a previous knowledge of the great eruption of the Monguls* and Tartars, whose rapid conquests may be compared with the primitive convulsions of nature, which have agitated and altered the surface of the globe.

From the spacious highlands between China, Siberia, and the Caspian Sea the tide of emigration and war has repeatedly been poured. These ancient seats of the Huns and Turks were occupied in the twelfth century by many pastoral tribes, of the same descent and similar manners, which were united and led to conquest by the formidable Zingis† (A.D. 1206–1227). In his ascent to greatness that barbarian (whose private appellation was Temugin) had trampled on the necks of his equals. His father had reigned over thirteen hordes, which composed about thirty or forty thousand families: above two-thirds refused to pay tithes or obedience to his infant son; and at the age of thirteen Temugin fought a battle against his rebellious subjects. The future conqueror of Asia was reduced to fly and to obey; but he rose superior to his fortune, and in his fortieth year he had established his fame and dominion over the circumjacent tribes. After his first victory he placed seventy caldrons on the fire, and seventy of the most guilty rebels were cast headlong into the boiling water. The sphere of his attraction was continually enlarged by the ruin of the proud and the submission of the prudent; and the boldest chieftains might tremble when they beheld, enchased in silver, the skull of the khan of the Keraites; who, under the name of Prester John, had corresponded with the Roman pontiff and the princes of Europe. The ambition of Temugin condescended to employ the arts of superstition; and it was from a naked prophet, who could ascend to heaven on a white horse, that he accepted the title of Zingis, the *most great;* and a divine right to the conquest and dominion of the earth. In a general *couroultai*, or diet, he was seated on a felt, which was long afterwards revered as a relic, and solemnly proclaimed great khan or emperor of the Monguls and Tartars. Of these kindred, though rival, names, the former had given birth to the Imperial race, and the latter had been extended by accident or error over the spacious wilderness of the north.‡

* The name is frequently written *Mogul*, but this is only a Persian and Indian corruption of the true pronunciation.

† The proper orthography of the name, which is variously written by Europeans, is *Tchinggis.*

‡ Respecting the names of Monguls and Tartars, see p. 200 and note. The real Mongolian tribes were few, and the armies of Zingis and his successors were principally composed of Turks whom the Monguls had subdued.

§ 2. The arms of Zingis and his lieutenants successively reduced the hordes of the desert, who pitched their tents between the wall of China and the Volga; and the Mongul emperor became the monarch of the pastoral world, the lord of many millions of shepherds and soldiers, who felt their united strength, and were impatient to rush on the mild and wealthy climates of the south. Zingis conducted in person two expeditions against China, took the royal city of Pekin, and annexed the five northern provinces to his empire. He next turned his arms against Mohammed sultan of Carizme who reigned from the Persian Gulf to the borders of India and Turkestan. The rich and populous countries of Transoxiana, Carizme, and Chorazan, were subdued: from the Caspian to the Indus the destructive hordes of Zingis ruined a tract of many hundred miles, which was adorned with the habitations and labours of mankind; and five centuries have not been sufficient to repair the ravages of four years. Could the Carizmian empire have been saved by a single hero, it would have been saved by Gelaleddin, the son of the sultan Mohammed, whose active valour repeatedly checked the Monguls in the career of victory. Retreating, as he fought, to the banks of the Indus, he was oppressed by their innumerable host, till in the last moment of despair, Gelaleddin spurred his horse into the waves, swam one of the broadest and most rapid rivers of Asia, and extorted the admiration and applause of Zingis himself. It was here that the Mongul conqueror yielded with reluctance to the murmurs of his weary and wealthy troops, who sighed for the enjoyment of their native land. After he had repassed the Oxus and Jaxartes he was joined by two generals whom he had detached with 30,000 horse to subdue the western provinces of Persia. They had trampled on the nations which opposed their passage, penetrated through the gates of Derbend, traversed the Volga and the desert, and accomplished the circuit of the Caspian Sea, by an expedition which had never been attempted, and has never been repeated. The return of Zingis was signalised by the overthrow of the rebellious or independent kingdoms of Tartary; and he died in the fullness of years and glory, with his last breath exhorting and instructing his sons to achieve the conquest of the Chinese empire (A.D. 1227).

§ 3. Of the numerous progeny of Zingis, four sons, illustrious by their birth and merit, exercised under their father the principal offices of peace and war. Toushi was his great huntsman, Zagatai his judge, Octai his minister, and Tuli his general; and their names and actions are often conspicuous in the history of his conquests. Firmly united for their own and the public interest, the three brothers and their families were content with dependent sceptres; and Octai, by general consent, was proclaimed great khan, or emperor of the Monguls and Tartars. He was succeeded by his son

Gayuk, after whose death the empire devolved to his cousins Mangou and Cublai, the sons of Tuli, and the grandsons of Zingis. In the 68 years (1227–1295) of his four first successors, the Mongul subdued almost all Asia and a large portion of Europe. Without expatiating on the detail of events, I shall present a general picture of the progress of their arms; I. In the East; II. In the South; III. In the West; and IV. In the North.

§ 4. I. Before the invasion of Zingis, China was divided into two empires or dynasties of the North and South; and the difference of origin and interest was smothered by a general conformity of laws, language, and national manners. The Northern empire, which had been dismembered by Zingis, was finally subdued seven years after his death (A.D. 1234). The southern empire survived about 45 years longer, and the perfect conquest was reserved for the arms of Cublai (A.D. 1279). The boundless ambition of Cublai aspired to the conquest of Japan: his fleet was twice shipwrecked; and the lives of 100,000 Monguls and Chinese were sacrificed in the fruitless expedition. But the circumjacent kingdoms, Corea, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Pegu, Bengal, and Thibet, were reduced in different degrees of tribute and obedience by the effort or terror of his arms.

§ 5. II. The conquest of Iran, or Persia, was achieved by Holagou Khan, the grandson of Zingis, the brother and lieutenant of the two successive emperors, Mangou and Cublai. I shall not enumerate the crowd of sultans, emirs, and atabeks whom he trampled into dust; but the extirpation of the *Assassins*, or Ismaelians of Persia, may be considered as a service to mankind. Among the hills to the south of the Caspian these odious sectaries had reigned with impunity above 160 years; and their prince, or imam, established his lieutenant to lead and govern the colony of Mount Lebanus, so famous and formidable in the history of the crusades. With the fanaticism of the Koran the Ismaelians had blended the Indian transmigration and the visions of their own prophets; and it was their first duty to devote their souls and bodies in blind obedience to the vicar of God. The daggers of his missionaries were felt both in the East and West: the Christians and the Moslems enumerate, and perhaps multiply, the illustrious victims that were sacrificed to the zeal, avarice, or resentment of *the old man* (as he was corruptly styled) *of the mountain*. But these daggers, his only arms, were broken by the sword of Holagou, and not a vestige is left of the enemies of mankind, except the word *assassin*, which, in the most odious sense, has been adopted in the languages of Europe. The extinction of the Abbassides cannot be indifferent to the spectators of their greatness and decline. Since the fall of their Seljukian tyrants the caliphs had recovered their lawful dominion of Bagdad; but the city was stormed and sacked by the Monguls; and their savage commander pro-

nounced the death of the caliph Mostasem, the last of the temporal successors of Mahomet (A.D. 1258); whose noble kinsmen, of the race of Abbas, had reigned in Asia above 500 years. The Monguls spread beyond the Tigris and Euphrates, pillaged Aleppo and Damascus, and threatened to join the Franks in the deliverance of Jerusalem. Egypt was lost had she been defended only by her feeble offspring; but the Mamalukes had breathed in their infancy the keenness of a Scythian air; equal in valour, superior in discipline, they met the Monguls in many a well-fought field; and drove back the stream of hostility to the eastward of the Euphrates. But it overflowed with resistless violence the kingdoms of Armenia and Anatolia, of which the former was possessed by the Christians and the latter by the Turks. The sultans of Iconium opposed some resistance to the Mongul arms till Azzadin sought a refuge among the Greeks of Constantinople, and his feeble successors, the last of the Seljukian dynasty, were finally extirpated by the khans of Persia.

§ 6. III. No sooner had Octai subverted the northern empire of China than he resolved to visit with his arms the most remote countries of the West. Fifteen hundred thousand Monguls and Tartars were inscribed on the military roll: of these the great khan selected a third, which he intrusted to the command of his nephew Batou, the son of Tuli, who reigned over his father's conquests to the north of the Caspian Sea. After a festival of 40 days, Batou set forwards on this great expedition; and such was the speed and ardour of his innumerable squadrons, that in less than six years they had measured a line of 90 degrees of longitude, a fourth part of the circumference of the globe. By the first victories of Batou the remains of national freedom were eradicated in the immense plains of Turkestan and Kipzak. The civil discord of the great dukes, or princes, of Russia betrayed their country to the Tartars. They spread from Livonia to the Black Sea, and both Moscow and Kiew, the modern and the ancient capitals, were reduced to ashes; a temporary ruin, less fatal than the deep, and perhaps indelible, mark which a servitude of 200 years has imprinted on the character of the Russians. From the permanent conquest of Russia they made a deadly, though transient, inroad into the heart of Poland, and as far as the borders of Germany. The cities of Lublin and Cracow were obliterated: they approached the shores of the Baltic; and in the battle of Lignitz they defeated the dukes of Silesia, the Polish palatines, and the great master of the Teutonic order, and filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain. From Lignitz, the extreme point of their western march, they turned aside to the invasion of Hungary: the king, Bela IV., assembled the military force of his counts and bishops: but the whole country north of the

Danube was lost in a day and depopulated in a summer; and the ruins of cities and churches were overspread with the bones of the natives, who expiated the sins of their Asiatic ancestors. Of all the cities and fortresses of Hungary, three alone survived the Tartar invasion, and the unfortunate Bela hid his head among the islands of the Adriatic.

Since the invasion of the Arabs in the 8th century Europe had never been exposed to a similar calamity; and if the disciples of Mahomet would have oppressed her religion and liberty, it might be apprehended that the shepherds of Scythia would extinguish her cities, her arts, and all the institutions of civil society. The emperor Frederic II. called upon the kings of France and England and the princes of Germany to arm their vassals in this just and rational crusade. The Tartars themselves were awed by the fame and valour of the Franks: the town of Neustadt in Austria was bravely defended against them by 50 knights and 20 cross-bows: and they raised the siege on the appearance of a German army. After wasting the adjacent kingdoms of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, Batou was recalled from the Danube to the Volga by the death of Octai (A.D. 1235-1245).

§ 7. IV. Even the poor and frozen regions of the north attracted the arms of the Monguls: Sheibani khan, the brother of the great Batou, led an horde of 15,000 families into the wilds of Siberia: and his descendants reigned at Tobolskoi above three centuries till the Russian conquest. The spirit of enterprise which pursued the course of the Oby and Yenisei must have led to the discovery of the Icy Sea. Fifteen years after the death of Zingis the Monguls were informed of the name and manners of the Samoyedes in the neighbourhood of the polar circle, who dwelt in subterraneous huts and derived their furs and their food from the sole occupation of hunting.

§ 8. While China, Syria, and Poland were invaded at the same time by the Monguls and Tartars, the authors of the mighty mischief were content with the knowledge and declaration that their word was the sword of death. Like the first caliphs, the first successors of Zingis seldom appeared in person at the head of their victorious armies. They were seated on the borders of China; and the Monguls submitted to the laws, the fashions, and even the prejudices, of the vanquished people. This peaceful triumph, which has been more than once repeated, may be ascribed, in a great measure, to the numbers and servitude of the Chinese. The Mongul army was dissolved in a vast and populous country; and their emperors adopted with pleasure a political system which gives to the prince the solid substance of despotism, and leaves to the subject the empty names of philosophy, freedom, and filial obe-

dience. Cublai fixed his residence at Pekin, and displayed in his court the magnificence of the greatest monarch of Asia. His successors polluted the palace with a crowd of eunuchs, physicians, and astrologers; 140 years after the death of Zingis, his degenerate race, the dynasty of the Yuen, was expelled by a revolt of the native Chinese; and the Mongul emperors were lost in the oblivion of the desert. Before this revolution they had forfeited their supremacy over the dependent branches of their house, the khans of Kipzak and Russia, the khans of Zagatai or Transoxiana, and the khans of Iran or Persia. By their distance and power these royal lieutenants had soon been released from the duties of obedience; and after the death of Cublai they scorned to accept a sceptre or a title from his unworthy successors (A.D. 1259–1300). According to their respective situation, they maintained the simplicity of the pastoral life, or assumed the luxury of the cities of Asia; but the princes and their hordes were alike disposed for the reception of a foreign worship. After some hesitation between the Gospel and the Koran, they conformed to the religion of Mahomet; and while they adopted for their brethren the Arabs and Persians, they renounced all intercourse with the ancient Monguls, the idolaters of China.

§ 9. The decline of the Monguls gave a free scope to the rise and progress of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

After the retreat of Zingis the sultan Gelaleddin of Carizme had returned from India to the possession and defence of his Persian kingdoms. In the space of 11 years that hero fought in person 14 battles; but he was oppressed by the jealousy of the Moslem princes and the innumerable armies of the Monguls; and after his last defeat Gelaleddin perished ignobly in the mountains of Curdistan. His death dissolved a veteran and adventurous army, which included under the name of Carizmians or Corasmins many Turkman hordes that had attached themselves to the sultan's fortune. The bolder and more powerful chiefs invaded Syria, and violated the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem: the more humble engaged in the service of Aladin, sultan of Iconium, and among these were the obscure fathers of the Ottoman line. They had formerly pitched their tents near the southern banks of the Oxus, in the plains of Mahan and Nesa; and it is somewhat remarkable that the same spot should have produced the first authors of the Parthian and Turkish empires. At the head, or in the rear, of a Carizmian army, Soliman Shah was drowned in the passage of the Euphrates: his son Orthogrul became the soldier and subject of Aladin, and established at Surgut, on the banks of the Sangar, a camp of 400 families or tents, whom he governed 52 years both in peace and war. He was the father of Othman, who is regarded as the founder of the Ottoman

empire.* Othman possessed, and perhaps surpassed, the ordinary virtues of a soldier; and the circumstances of time and place were propitious to his independence and success. The Seljukian dynasty was no more, and the distance and decline of the Mongul khans soon enfranchised him from the control of a superior. He was situate on the verge of the Greek empire: the Koran sanctified his *gazi*, or holy war, against the infidels; and in the year 1299 he first invaded the territory of Nicomedia. The annals of the 27 years of his reign (A.D. 1299-1326) would exhibit a repetition of the same inroads; but it was not till Othman was oppressed by age and infirmities that he received the welcome news of the conquest of Prusa (Boursa), which had been surrendered by famine or treachery to the arms of his son Orchan.

§ 10. From the conquest of Prusa we may date the true æra of the Ottoman empire. The city, by the labours of Orchan, assumed the aspect of a Mahometan capital; it was decorated with a mosque, a college, and an hospital, of royal foundation; and the Seljukian coin was changed for the name and impression of the new dynasty. The Greeks, by their intestine divisions, were the authors of their final ruin. During the civil wars of the elder and younger Andronicus, Orchan achieved, almost without resistance, the conquest of Bythynia as far as the shores of the Bosporus and the Hellespont (A.D. 1326-1339). In the defence of his life and honour, Cantacuzene called to his aid the public enemies of his religion and country: to cement the alliance he gave his own daughter in marriage to Orchan; and the Turkish prince restored his son-in-law to the empire. But it was in his last quarrel with John Palæologus that Cantacuzene inflicted the deep and deadly wound which could never be healed by his successors. Soliman, the son of Orchan, at the head of 10,000 horse, was transported to Europe in the vessels, and entertained as the friend, of the Greek emperor. In the civil wars of Romania he performed some service and perpetrated more mischief; but the Chersonesus was insensibly filled with a Turkish colony; and the Byzantine court solicited in vain the restitution of the fortresses of Thrace (A.D. 1353). The abdication of Cantacuzene dissolved the feeble bands of domestic alliance; and his death was soon followed by that of Soliman and Orchan. The former was killed by a fall from his horse; and the aged Orchan wept and expired on the tomb of his valiant son (A.D. 1360).

§ 11. But the Greeks had not time to rejoice in the death of their enemies; and the Turkish scimitar was wielded with the same spirit by Amurath I., the son of Orchan and the brother of Soliman (A.D.

* *Osman* is the real Turkish name, which has been corrupted into Othman; and from him the Turks call themselves *Osmanlis*, which has in like manner been corrupted into Ottoman.

1360-1389). He subdued without resistance the whole province of Romania or Thrace, from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus and the verge of the capital; and Adrianople was chosen for the royal seat of his government and religion in Europe. Constantinople had often, in the lapse of a thousand years, been assaulted by the barbarians of the East and West; but never till this fatal hour had the Greeks been surrounded, both in Asia and Europe, by the arms of the same hostile monarchy. Yet the prudence or generosity of Amurath postponed for a while this easy conquest; and his pride was satisfied with the frequent and humble attendance of the emperor John Palæologus and his four sons, who followed at his summons the court and camp of the Ottoman prince. He marched against the Slavonian nations between the Danube and the Adriatic, the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians; and these warlike tribes, who had so often insulted the majesty of the empire, were repeatedly broken by his destructive inroads. They have been distinguished in every age by their hardiness of mind and body; and they were converted by a prudent institution into the firmest and most faithful supporters of the Ottoman greatness. The vizir of Amurath reminded his sovereign that, according to the Mahometan law, he was entitled to a fifth part of the spoil and captives; and that the duty might easily be levied, if vigilant officers were stationed at Gallipoli, to watch the passage, and to select for his use the stoutest and most beautiful of the Christian youth. The advice was followed: the edict was proclaimed; many thousands of the European captives were educated in religion and arms; and the new militia was consecrated and named by a celebrated dervish. Standing in the front of their ranks, he stretched the sleeve of his gown over the head of the foremost soldier, and his blessing was delivered in these words: "Let them be called Janizaries (*Yengi cheri*, or new soldiers); may their countenance be ever bright! their hand victorious! their sword keen! may their spear always hang over the heads of their enemies; and wheresoever they go, may they return with a *white face!*" Such was the origin of these haughty troops, the terror of the nations, and sometimes of the sultans themselves. At the time of their institution they possessed a decisive superiority in war; since a regular body of infantry, in constant exercise and pay, was not maintained by any of the princes of Christendom. The Janizaries fought with the zeal of proselytes against their *idolatrous* countrymen; and in the battle of Cossova the league and independence of the Slavonian tribes was finally crushed. But the sword of his Janizaries could not defend Amurath from the dagger of despair; a Servian soldier started from the crowd of dead bodies, and the Turkish prince was pierced in the belly with a mortal wound.

§ 12. The character of Bajazet, the son and successor of Amurath, is strongly expressed in his surname of *Ilderim*, or the lightning; and he might glory in an epithet which was drawn from the fiery energy of his soul and the rapidity of his destructive march. In the 14 years of his reign (A.D. 1389-1403) he incessantly moved at the head of his armies, from Boursa to Adrianople, from the Danube to the Euphrates; and, though he strenuously laboured for the propagation of the law, he invaded, with impartial ambition, the Christian and Mahometan princes of Europe and Asia. From Angora to Amasia and Erzeroum, the northern regions of Anatolia were reduced to his obedience: and after the conquest of Iconium the ancient kingdom of the Seljukians again revived in the Ottoman dynasty. Nor were the conquests of Bajazet less rapid or important in Europe. No sooner had he imposed a regular form of servitude on the Servians and Bulgarians than he passed the Danube to seek new enemies and new subjects in the heart of Moldavia. Whatever yet adhered to the Greek empire in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, acknowledged a Turkish master. The Turkish communication between Europe and Asia had been dangerous and doubtful, till Bajazet stationed at Gallipoli a fleet of galleys, to command the Hellespont and intercept the Latin succours of Constantinople. The three predecessors of Bajazet had been content with the title of emir; but this humble designation was no longer suitable to the Ottoman greatness; and Bajazet condescended to accept a patent of sultan from the caliphs who served in Egypt under the yoke of the Mamalukes: a last and frivolous homage that was yielded by force to opinion; by the Turkish conquerors to the house of Abbas and the successors of the Arabian prophet. The ambition of the sultan was inflamed by the obligation of deserving this august title; and he turned his arms against the kingdom of Hungary, the perpetual theatre of the Turkish victories and defeats. Sigismond, the Hungarian king, was the son and brother of the emperors of the West: his cause was that of Europe and the church; and, on the report of his danger, the bravest knights of France and Germany were eager to march under his standard and that of the cross. In the battle of Nicopolis Bajazet defeated a confederate army of 100,000 Christians, who had proudly boasted that if the sky should fall they could uphold it on their lances (A.D. 1396). The far greater part were slain or driven into the Danube; and Sigismond, escaping to Constantinople by the river and the Black Sea, returned after a long circuit to his exhausted kingdom.

§ 13. After his enfranchisement, from an oppressive guardian, John Palæologus remained 36 years the helpless, and, as it should seem, the careless, spectator of the public ruin (A.D. 1355–1391). Andronicus, his eldest son, had formed, at Adrianople, an intimate and guilty friendship with Sauzes, the son of Amurath; and the

two youths conspired against the authority and lives of their parents. The presence of Amurath in Europe soon discovered and dissipated their rash counsels; and, after depriving Sauzes of his sight, the Ottoman threatened his vassal with the treatment of an accomplice and an enemy unless he inflicted a similar punishment on his own son. Palæologus trembled and obeyed, and a cruel precaution involved in the same sentence the childhood and innocence of John the son of the criminal. But the cause of the blind princes was espoused by a numerous party; and a civil war distracted the remains of the Byzantine empire. The death of Palæologus left his son Manuel in sole possession of Constantinople (A.D. 1391–1425); but the capital was constantly threatened by the victorious arms of Bajazet, who asserted the claims of the blind prince to the throne of Constantinople. Manuel determined to repair to the French court to solicit in person a supply of men and money: and in order to extinguish all domestic discord, he left his blind competitor on the throne. But instead of applauding the success of his vassal, the Turkish sultan claimed the city as his own; and, on the refusal of the emperor John, Constantinople was more closely pressed by the calamities of war and famine. Against such an enemy prayers and resistance were alike unavailing; and the savage would have devoured his prey, if, in the fatal moment, he had not been overthrown by another savage stronger than himself. By the victory of TIMOUR or TAMERLANE the fall of Constantinople was delayed about 50 years; and this important though accidental service may justly introduce the life and character of the Mongul conqueror.*

§ 14. Timour was a Turk by birth,† and a descendant of the vizir of Zagatai, one of the sons of Zingis, in his new realm of Transoxiana. He was born 40 miles to the south of Samarcand, in the village of Sebzar, in the fruitful territory of Cash, of which his fathers were the hereditary chiefs, as well as of a toman of 10,000 horse. His birth was cast on one of those periods of anarchy which announce the fall of the Asiatic dynasties, and open a new field to adventurous ambition. The khans of Zagatai were extinct; the emirs aspired to independence, and their domestic feuds could only be suspended by the conquest and tyranny of the khans of Kashgar, who, with an army of Getes or Calmucks, invaded the Transoxian kingdom. Timour stood forth as the deliverer of his country; and after

* Timour is the proper name: Tamerlane is an European corruption. He composed the *commentaries* of his life and the institutions of his government, which are extant in the Persian language, and have been translated into English.

† As Timour claimed to be the representative of the Mongul khans, and received their empire, he is usually called a Mongul; but not only was he a Turk, as stated in the text, but there was probably not a Mongul in the army of Baber, who established the Indian throne of the "Great Mogul."

many vicissitudes of fortune, he was invested with *Imperial* command, at the age of 34, in a general diet or *couroultai* (A.D. 1370). But he affected to revere the house of Zingis; and while the emir Timour reigned over Zagatai and the East, a nominal khan served as a private officer in the armies of his servant. A fertile kingdom, 500 miles in length and in breadth, might have satisfied the ambition of a subject; but Timour aspired to the dominion of the world, and before his death the crown of Zagatai was one of the 27 crowns which he had placed on his head. Without expatiating on the victories of 35 campaigns, I shall briefly represent his conquests in, I. Persia, II. Tartary, and III. India, and from thence proceed to the more interesting narrative of his Ottoman war (A.D. 1370–1400).

§ 15. I. No sooner had Timour re-united to the patrimony of Zagatai the dependent countries of Carizme and Candahar, than he turned his eyes towards the kingdoms of Iran or Persia. From the Oxus to the Tigris that extensive country was left without a lawful sovereign since the death of Abousaid, the last of the descendants of the great Holacou. Peace and justice had been banished from the land above 40 years, and the Mongul invader might seem to listen to the cries of an oppressed people. Their petty tyrants might have opposed him with confederate arms: they separately stood, and successively fell; and the whole course of the Tigris and Euphrates, from the mouth to the sources of those rivers, was reduced to his obedience. In the mountains of Georgia the native Christians still braved the law and the sword of Mahomet; by three expeditions he obtained the merit of the *gazi*, or holy war, and the prince of Teflis became his proselyte and friend.

II. A just retaliation might be urged for the invasion of Turkestan, or the Eastern Tartary. The dignity of Timour could not endure the impunity of the Getes: he passed the Sihoon, subdued the kingdom of Kashgar, and marched seven times into the heart of their country. The conquest of Kipzak, or the western Tartary, was undertaken to chastise the ingratitude of Toctamish, whom Timour had placed upon the throne. He twice invaded Kipzak with such mighty powers, that thirteen miles were measured from his right to his left wing. The pursuit of a flying enemy carried Timour into the tributary provinces of Russia: a duke of the reigning family was made prisoner amidst the ruins of his capital; and Moscow would have fallen into the hands of the Tartar, had not ambition and prudence recalled him to the South.

III. The invasion of Hindostan was undertaken in A.D. 1398. Timour crossed the Indus at the ordinary passage of Attok; successively traversed, in the footsteps of Alexander, the *Punjab*, or five rivers, that fall into the master stream: and stood in arms before

the gates of Delhi, a great and flourishing city, which had subsisted three centuries under the dominion of the Mahometan kings. The siege, more especially of the castle, might have been a work of time; but he tempted, by the appearance of weakness, the sultan Mahmoud and his vizir to descend into the plain; their forces were easily routed, and Timour made his triumphal entry into the capital of Hindostan. He admired, with a view to imitate, the architecture of the stately mosque; but the order or license of a general pillage and massacre polluted the festival of his victory. He resolved to purify his soldiers in the blood of the idolaters, or Gentoos, who still surpass, in the proportion of ten to one, the numbers of the Moslems. In this pious design he advanced 100 miles to the north-east of Delhi, passed the Ganges, and fought several battles by land and water. His return was along the skirts of the northern hills; nor could this rapid campaign of one year justify the strange foresight of his emirs, that their children in a warm climate would degenerate into a race of Hindoos.

§ 16. It was on the banks of the Ganges that Timour was informed, by his speedy messengers, of the disturbances which had arisen on the confines of Georgia and Anatolia, of the revolt of the Christians, and the ambitious designs of the sultan Bajazet. His vigour of mind and body was not impaired by 63 years and innumerable fatigues; and, after enjoying some tranquil months in the palace of Samarcand, he proclaimed a new expedition of seven years into the western countries of Asia. It was first directed against the Christians of Georgia, who were strong only in their rocks, their castles, and the winter season; but these obstacles were overcome by the zeal and perseverance of Timour; and the rebels submitted to the tribute or the Koran. On his descent from the hills, the emperor gave audience to the first ambassadors of Bajazet, and opened the hostile correspondence of complaints and menaces which fermented two years before the final explosion. Yet in his first expedition Timour was satisfied with the siege and destruction of Suvas or Sebaste, a strong city on the borders of Anatolia. As a Musulman he seemed to respect the pious occupation of Bajazet, who was still engaged in the blockade of Constantinople; and after this salutary lesson the Mongul conqueror checked his pursuit, and turned aside to the invasion of Syria and Egypt.

The military republic of the Mamalukes still reigned in Egypt and Syria; but the dynasty of the Turks was overthrown by that of the Circassians; and their favourite Barkok, from a slave and a prisoner, was raised and restored to the throne. Timour defeated the Mamalukes in Syria, took Aleppo and Damascus, which he reduced to ashes, but was compelled by the losses and fatigues of the campaign to renounce the conquest of Palestine and Egypt. On his

return to the Euphrates he erected on the ruins of Bagdad a pyramid of 90,000 heads; again visited Georgia; encamped on the banks of the Araxes; and proclaimed his resolution of marching against the Ottoman emperor. Conscious of the importance of the war, he collected his forces from every province, and 800,000 men were enrolled on his military list.

§ 17. Bajazet had assembled an army of 400,000 men; his fearless confidence urged him to meet his antagonist; and as if he had chosen that spot for revenge, he displayed his banners near the ruins of the unfortunate Suvas. In the meantime Timour moved from the Araxes through the countries of Armenia and Anatolia. Firm in his plan of fighting in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, he avoided their camp, traversed the salt desert and the river Halys, and invested Angora; while the sultan, immovable and ignorant in his post, compared the Tartar swiftness to the crawling of a snail. He returned on the wings of indignation to the relief of Angora; and as both generals were alike impatient for action, the plains round that city were the scene of a memorable battle, which has immortalised the glory of Timour and the shame of Bajazet (A.D. 1402, July 28). Bajazet displayed the qualities of a soldier and a chief; but his genius sunk under a stronger ascendant; and after the defeat of his troops, he was transported from the field on the fleetest of his horses. He was pursued and taken by the titular khan of Zagatai; the kingdom of Anatolia submitted to the conqueror, who dispersed on all sides the ministers of rapine and destruction; and Smyrna, defended by the zeal and courage of the Rhodian knights, alone deserved the presence of the emperor himself. After an obstinate defence the place was taken by storm; all that breathed was put to the sword, and the heads of the Christian heroes were launched from the engines, on board of two carracks or great ships of Europe that rode at anchor in the harbour.*

§ 18. From the Irtish and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago, Asia was in the hand of Timour: his armies were invincible, his ambition was boundless, and his zeal might aspire to conquer and convert the Christian kingdoms of the West, which already trembled at his name. He touched the utmost verge of the land, but an insuperable though narrow sea rolled between the two continents of Europe and Asia, and the lord of so many myriads of horse was not master of a single

* The story of the *iron cage* in which Bajazet was imprisoned by Tamerlane, so long and so often repeated as a moral lesson, probably originated in a mistake as to the meaning of the Turkish word kafe, which means a covered litter or palanquin drawn by two horses, and generally used to convey the harem of an Eastern monarch. In such a litter, with the lattice-work made of iron, Bajazet either chose or was constrained to travel. This was either mistaken for, or transformed by ignorant relators into, a cage.

galley. The two passages of the Bosporus and Hellespont, of Constantinople and Gallipoli, were possessed, the one by the Christians, the other by the Turks. On this great occasion they forgot the difference of religion, to act with union and firmness in the common cause; the double straits were guarded with ships and fortifications, and they separately withheld the transports which Timour demanded of either nation, under the pretence of attacking their enemy. Meanwhile Timour, in his camp before Smyrna, formed the resolution of invading the Chinese empire. He achieved the final conquest of Georgia, passed the winter on the banks of the Araxes, and slowly returned to his capital after a campaign of four years and nine months (A.D. 1404). After displaying for a short time his magnificence and power on the throne of Samarcand, he unfurled his standard for the invasion of China. Neither age nor the severity of the winter could retard the impatience of Timour; he mounted on horseback, passed the Sihoon on the ice, marched 300 miles from his capital, and pitched his last camp in the neighbourhood of Otrar, where he was expected by the angel of death. Fatigue, and the indiscreet use of iced water, accelerated the progress of his fever; and the conqueror of Asia expired in the 70th year of his age, 35 years after he had ascended the throne of Zagatai (A.D. 1405). His designs were lost; his armies were disbanded; China was saved; and, 14 years after his decease, the most powerful of his children sent an embassy of friendship and commerce to the court of Pekin.

§ 19. The fame of Timour has pervaded the East and West; and the admiration of his subjects, who revered him almost as a deity, may be justified in some degree by the praise or confession of his bitterest enemies. Although he was lame of an hand and foot, his form and stature were not unworthy of his rank; and his vigorous health, so essential to himself and to the world, was corroborated by temperance and exercise. It was his delight to converse with the learned on topics of history and science; and the amusement of his leisure hours was the game of chess, which he improved or corrupted with new refinements. He might boast that, at his accession to the throne, Asia was the prey of anarchy and rapine, whilst under his prosperous monarchy a child, fearless and unhurt, might carry a purse of gold from the East to the West. Such was his confidence of merit that from this reformation he derived an excuse for his victories and a title to universal dominion. But the remedy was far more pernicious than the disease; and whole nations were crushed under the footsteps of the reformer. The ground which had been occupied by flourishing cities was often marked by his abominable trophies, by columns or pyramids of human heads. Whatsoever might be the blessings of his administration, they evaporated with his life. To reign, rather than to govern, was the ambition of

his children and grandchildren, the enemies of each other and of the people. A fragment of the empire was upheld with some glory by Sharokh, his youngest son; but after *his* decease the scene was again involved in darkness and blood; and before the end of a century Transoxiana and Persia were trampled by the Uzbeks from the north, and the Turkmans of the black and white sheep. The race of Timour would have been extinct if an hero, his descendant in the fifth degree, had not fled before the Uzbek arms to the conquest of Hindostan. His successors (the "Great Moguls") extended their sway from the mountains of Cashmir to Cape Comorin, and from Candahar to the gulf of Bengal. Since the reign of Aurungzebe their empire has been dissolved; their treasures of Delhi have been rifled by a Persian robber; and the richest of their kingdoms is now possessed by a company of Christian merchants of a remote island in the Northern Ocean.

§ 20. Far different was the fate of the Ottoman monarchy. The massy trunk was bent to the ground, but no sooner did the hurricane pass away than it again rose with fresh vigour and more lively vegetation. When Timour had evacuated Anatolia, a civil war broke out between the five sons of Bajazet. After a long protracted struggle (A.D. 1403–1413), Mahomet I. was universally acknowledged sultan; the 8 years of his sole and peaceful reign (A.D. 1413–1421) were usefully employed in banishing the vices of civil discord, and restoring on a firmer basis the fabric of the Ottoman monarchy; and he bequeathed an undisputed succession to his son Amurath II.

§ 21. The deliverance of Constantinople was the accidental consequence of Timour's victory over Bajazet. Upon receiving intelligence of the retreat and captivity of the Ottoman, Manuel returned to Constantinople, and dismissed his blind competitor to an easy exile in the isle of Lesbos. But instead of prolonging the division of the Ottoman powers, Manuel was tempted to assist the most formidable of the sons of Bajazet. The gratitude of Mahomet prevented him from disturbing the repose of the Greek empire; but Amurath in the second year of his reign resumed the ambitious schemes of his predecessors, and laid siege to Constantinople (A.D. 1422). But the strength of the walls resisted an army of 200,000 Turks: their assaults were repelled by the sallies of the Greeks and their foreign mercenaries; and after a siege of two months Amurath was recalled to Boursa by a domestic revolt which had been kindled by Greek treachery, and was soon extinguished by the death of a guiltless brother. While he led his Janizaries to new conquests in Europe and Asia, the Byzantine empire was indulged in a servile and precarious respite of 30 years. Manuel sank into the grave; and John Palæologus II. (A.D. 1425–1448) was permitted to reign, for an annual tribute of 300,000 aspers, and the dereliction of almost all that he held beyond the suburbs of Constantinople.

The Emperor Manuel and his wife Irene, or Helena, with their three sons, John (the emperor John Palæologus II.), Theodorus, and Andronicus. From a MS. of Dionysius Areopagita; brought to France by Manuel Chrysoloras, the ambassador of the emperor Manuel, A.D. 1408. (Du Cange, Historia Byzantina, p. 243.)

CHAPTER XXXVII.

REUNION OF THE GREEK AND LATIN CHURCHES. REVIVAL OF GREEK LITERATURE IN ITALY.

§ 1. Negotiations of the emperors of Constantinople with the Roman pontiffs. § 2. Visit of John Palæologus I. to the court of Rome. § 3. Visit of the Emperor Manuel to the courts of France and England. § 4. John

Palæologus II. comes to Italy at the invitation of the Pope. § 5. Council of the Greeks and Latins at Ferrara and Florence: reunion of the Greek and Latin churches. § 6. Revival of Greek learning in Italy a consequence of the visits of the Greek emperors. § 7. Greek studies of Petrarch and Boccaccio: Leo Pilatus, first Greek professor at Florence and in the West. § 8. Foundation of the Greek language in Italy by Manuel Chrysoloras. § 9. The Greeks in Italy. § 10. Emulation and progress of the Latins: Nicholas V.: Cosmo, and Lorenzo of Medicis.

§ 1. IN the four last centuries of the Greek emperors their friendly or hostile aspect towards the pope and the Latins may be observed as the thermometer of their prosperity or distress—as the scale of the rise and fall of the barbarian dynasties. After the recovery of Constantinople the throne of the first Palæologus was encompassed by foreign and domestic enemies: as long as the sword of Charles of Anjou, king of the Sicilies, was suspended over his head, he basely courted the favour of the Roman pontiff, and sacrificed to the present danger his faith, his virtue, and the affection of his subjects. The conquest of Bithynia by the Turks admonished the younger Andronicus to seek a temporal and spiritual alliance with the Western princes; and both this emperor and his successor John Cantacuzene opened negotiations with the Roman pontiffs Benedict XII. and Clement VI. But these negotiations led to no result; and it was not till the deposition of John Cantacuzene that the union of the Greek and Latin churches was seriously entertained. Of all the Byzantine princes, John Palæologus I. was the best disposed to embrace, to believe, and to obey the shepherd of the West. His mother, Anne of Savoy, was baptized in the bosom of the Latin church: by her advice, and in the hope of foreign aid, Palæologus abjured the rights both of the church and state; and the act of slavery, subscribed in purple ink, and sealed with the *golden* bull, was privately intrusted to an Italian agent.

§ 2. The tempest of the Turkish arms soon burst on his head; and after the loss of Adrianople and Romania he was enclosed in his capital, the vassal of the haughty Amurath I., with the miserable hope of being the last devoured by the savage. In this abject state Palæologus embraced the resolution of embarking for Venice, and casting himself at the feet of the pope: he was the first of the Byzantine princes who had ever visited the unknown regions of the West; yet in them alone he could seek consolation or relief; and with less violation of his dignity he might appear in the sacred college than at the Ottoman *Porte*. He was graciously received by Urban V., who strove to rekindle the zeal of the French king and the other powers of the West in favour of his proselyte (A.D. 1369); but he found them cold in the general cause, and active only in their domestic quarrels. Palæologus returned to Constantinople

without obtaining any assistance from the Western powers; and his apostacy or conversion, devoid of any spiritual or temporal effects, was speedily forgotten by the Greeks and Latins.

§ 3. Thirty years after the return of Palæologus, his son and successor Manuel, from a similar motive, but on a larger scale, again visited the countries of the West (A.D. 1400). He landed at Venice, passed the Alps, and was received at Paris by Charles VI. with the honours due to his rank. From France he crossed over to the adjacent island, and was lodged and treated in London as emperor of the East. But neither the king of France nor our king Henry IV. was in a condition to afford any succour to the royal suppliant; and Manuel, after a residence of two years in the West, embarked at Venice, and patiently expected, in the Morea, the moment of his ruin or deliverance (A.D. 1402).

§ 4. After the victory of Timour, Manuel reigned many years in prosperity and peace. His son and successor, John Palæologus II., resumed the design of uniting the East and West; and this emperor received at the same time an invitation from the council of Basel and from the pope Eugenius IV. The fathers of Basel aspired to the glory of reducing the Greeks within the pale of the church; and their deputies invited the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople to unite with an assembly which possessed the confidence of the Western nations. At the same time Eugenius used every effort to secure the friendship of Palæologus. The decrees of the council of Basel continually tended to circumscribe the despotism of the pope, and to erect a supreme and perpetual tribunal in the church. Eugenius was impatient of the yoke; and the union of the Greeks might afford a decent pretence for translating a rebellious synod from the Rhine to the Po. The emperor finally accepted the invitation of the pope, and accompanied by the patriarch Joseph, and the most respectable persons of the church and state, sailed to Venice, and from thence proceeded to Ferrara (A.D. 1438).

§ 5. The Greeks were soon dissatisfied with their journey, with themselves, and with the pope. The artful pencil of his emissaries had painted him in a prosperous state, at the head of the princes and prelates of Europe, obedient at his voice to believe and to arm. The thin appearance of the universal synod of Ferrara betrayed his weakness; nor was it possible to suppress the judicial acts of Basel against the dignity and person of Eugenius, which were finally concluded by a new election. Under these circumstances, a truce or delay was asked and granted, till Palæologus could expect from the consent of the Latins some temporal reward for an unpopular union; and, after the first session, the public proceedings were adjourned about six months. But all obstacles were surmounted by time and policy. The violence of the fathers of Basel rather promoted than

injured the cause of Eugenius: the nations of Europe abhorred the schism, and disowned the election, of Felix V.; the council, which the pope summoned to meet at Florence, gradually rose in numbers and influence; and at length after the labour of 9 months and the debates of 25 sessions, the Latins of Florence attained the advantage and glory of the reunion of the Greeks. The pope and emperor were desirous of a seeming union, which could alone accomplish the purposes of their interview. The ready and active obedience of the archbishops of Russia and Nice, of Isidore and Bessarion, was prompted and recompensed by their speedy promotion to the dignity of cardinals; and the will of the monarch produced a false and servile unanimity. In the treaty between the two nations several forms of consent were proposed, such as might satisfy the Latins without dishonouring the Greeks; and it was finally agreed that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, as from one principle and one substance; that he proceeds *by* the Son, being of the same nature and substance; and that he proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, by one *spiration* and production. The act of union was subscribed by the pope, the emperor, and the principal members of both churches; and on a

Medal of John Palæologus II., by Pisani.

Obverse: IωANNHC . BACIΛEVS . KAI . AVTO-KPATωP . PωMAIωN . O . ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟC+ (Ἰωάννης βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκρατωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Παλαιολόγος); bust of emperor. Reverse: emperor on horseback in a mountainous country before a wayside cross: behind him a mounted attendant. Above, OPVS . PISANI . PICTORIS. Below, ΘPΓON . TOV . ΠICANOV . ZωΓPAΦOV (ἔργον τοῦ Πισάνου ζωγράφου).

memorable day, the 6th of July (A.D. 1438), the successors of St. Peter and Constantine ascended their thrones; the two nations assembled in the cathedral of Florence; their representatives, Cardinal Julian, and Bessarion, archbishop of Nice, appeared in the pulpit, and, after reading in their respective tongues the act of union, they mutually embraced in the name and the presence of their applauding brethren. In the distribution of public and private rewards the liberal pontiff exceeded their hopes and his promises; the Greeks returned by the same road of Ferrara and Venice; and their reception at Constantinople was such as will be described in the following chapter. The fame of Eugenius was diffused over the West; the council of Basel was silently dissolved; Felix renounced the tiara; nor has Rome been since disturbed by the mischiefs of a contested election.

§ 6. The journeys of three emperors were unavailing for the deliverance of Constantinople; but they were productive of a beneficial consequence, the revival of the Greek learning in Italy, from whence it was propagated to the last nations of the West and North. In their lowest servitude and depression, the subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity, of a musical and prolific language that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy. Since the barriers of the monarchy, and even of the capital had been trampled under foot, the various barbarians had doubtless corrupted the form and substance of the national dialect; but a purer idiom was spoken in the court and taught in the college; the schools of philosophy and eloquence were perpetuated till the fall of the empire; and it may be affirmed that more books and more knowledge were included within the walls of Constantinople than could be dispersed over the extensive countries of the West. But the Greeks were stationary or retrograde, while the Latins were advancing with a rapid and progressive motion. In Europe the lower ranks of society were relieved from the yoke of feudal servitude; and freedom is the first step to curiosity and knowledge. The use, however rude and corrupt, of the Latin tongue had been preserved by the church; the universities, from Bologna to Oxford, were peopled with thousands of scholars; and their misguided ardour might be directed to more liberal and manly studies. In the resurrection of science Italy was the first that cast away her shroud; and the eloquent Petrarch, by his lessons and his example, may justly be applauded as the first harbinger of day. A purer style of composition, a more generous and rational strain of sentiment, flowed from the study and imitation of the writers of ancient Rome; and the disciples of Cicero and Virgil approached, with reverence and love, the sanctuary of their Grecian masters.

§ 7. The most learned Italians of the fifteenth century have con-

fessed and applauded the restoration of Greek literature, after a long oblivion of many hundred years. Yet in that country, and beyond the Alps, some names are quoted; some profound scholars who, in the darker ages, were honourably distinguished by their knowledge of the Greek tongue; but the idiom, which they had so marvellously acquired, was transcribed in few manuscripts, and not taught in any university of the West. In a corner of Italy it faintly existed as the popular, or at least as the ecclesiastical dialect. The Calabrian churches were long attached to the throne of Constantinople; and the monks of St. Basil pursued their studies in Mount Athos and the schools of the East. Calabria was the native country of Barlaam, who was sent by the younger Andronicus as an ambassador to pope Benedict XII.; and Barlaam was the first who revived, beyond the Alps, the memory, or at least the writings, of Homer (A.D. 1339). In the court of Avignon he formed an intimate connection with Petrarch, the first of the Latin scholars, who applied himself with eager curiosity and assiduous diligence to the study of the Greek language. But he was soon deprived of the society and lessons of this useful assistant; Barlaam relinquished his fruitless embassy, and returned to Greece; and as Petrarch advanced in life, the attainment of the Greek language was the object of his wishes rather than of his hopes. The prize which eluded his efforts was obtained by the fortune and industry of his friend Boccaccio, the father of the Tuscan prose. That popular writer, who derives his reputation from the Decameron, an hundred novels of pleasantry and love, may aspire to the more serious praise of restoring in Italy the study of the Greek language. In the year 1363 a disciple of Barlaam, whose name was Leo or Leontius Pilatus, was detained on his way to Avignon by the advice and hospitality of Boccaccio, who lodged the stranger in his house, prevailed on the republic of Florence to allow him an annual stipend, and devoted his leisure to the first Greek professor, who taught that language in the Western countries of Europe (A.D. 1360–1363). It was from his explanation that Boccaccio composed and transcribed a literal prose version of the Iliad and Odyssey, which satisfied the thirst of his friend Petrarch, and which, perhaps in the succeeding century, was clandestinely used by Laurentius Valla, the Latin interpreter. The first steps of learning are slow and laborious; no more than ten votaries of Homer could be enumerated in all Italy, and neither Rome, nor Venice, nor Naples, could add a name to this studious catalogue.

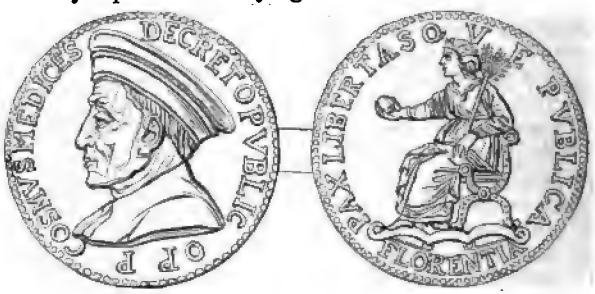
§ 8. But the faint rudiments of Greek learning, which Petrarch had encouraged and Boccaccio had planted, soon withered and expired. The succeeding generation was content for a while with the improvement of Latin eloquence; nor was it before the end of the fourteenth century that a new and perpetual flame was rekindled in

Italy. Previous to his own journey, the emperor Manuel despatched his envoys and orators to implore the compassion of the Western princes. Of these envoys the most conspicuous, or the most learned, was Manuel Chrysoloras, who, after visiting the courts of France and England, was invited to assume the office of a professor; and Florence had again the honour of this second invitation (A.D. 1390–1415). By his knowledge, not only of the Greek but of the Latin tongue, Chrysoloras deserved the stipend, and surpassed the expectation of the republic. At the same time and place the Latin classics were explained by John of Ravenna, the domestic pupil of Petrarch: the Italians, who illustrated their age and country, were formed in this double school, and Florence became the fruitful seminary of Greek and Roman erudition.

§ 9. After his example, the restoration of the Greek letters in Italy was prosecuted by a series of emigrants, who were destitute of fortune, and endowed with learning, or at least with language (A.D. 1400–1500). From the terror or oppression of the Turkish arms, the natives of Thessalonica and Constantinople escaped to a land of freedom, curiosity, and wealth. I shall not attempt to enumerate the restorers of Grecian literature in the fifteenth century; and it may be sufficient to mention with gratitude the names of Theodore Gaza, of George of Trebizond, of John Argyropulus, and Demetrius Chalcocondyles, who taught their native language in the schools of Florence and Rome.

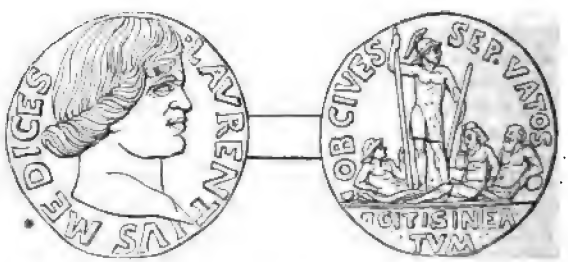
§ 10. Italy was divided into many independent states; and at that time it was the ambition of princes and republics to vie with each other in the encouragement and reward of literature. The fame of Nicholas V. has not been adequate to his merits (A.D. 1447–1455). The influence of the holy see pervaded Christendom; and he exerted that influence in the search, not of benefices, but of books. From the ruins of the Byzantine libraries, from the darkest monasteries of Germany and Britain, he collected the dusty manuscripts of the writers of antiquity; and wherever the original could not be removed, a faithful copy was transcribed and transmitted for his use. To his munificence the Latin world was indebted for the versions of Xenophon, Diodorus, Polybius, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Appian; of Strabo's Geography, of the Iliad, of the most valuable works of Plato and Aristotle, of Ptolemy and Theophrastus, and of the fathers of the Greek church. The example of the Roman pontiff was preceded or imitated by a Florentine merchant, who governed the republic without arms and without a title. Cosmo of Medicis was the father of a line of princes whose name and age are almost synonymous with the restoration of learning: his credit was ennobled into fame; his riches were dedicated to the service of mankind; he corresponded at once with Cairo and London; and a cargo

of Indian spices and Greek books was often imported in the same vessel. The genius and education of his grandson Lorenzo rendered him not only a patron but a judge and candidate in the literary



Medal of Cosmo dei Medici, from the British Museum. Obverse; COSMVS MEDICES DECRETO PVBLICO PP (pater patriæ). Reverse; PAX LIBERTAS QVE PVBLICA: in exergue, FLORENTIA. Florence seated, holding globe and flower.

race. In his palace, distress was entitled to relief, and merit to reward: his leisure hours were delightfully spent in the Platonic academy, which assembled in the gardens of his palace; he encouraged the emulation of Demetrius Chalcocondyles and Angelo Politian; and his active missionary Janus Lascaris returned from the East with a treasure of two hundred manuscripts, fourscore of which were as yet unknown in the libraries of Europe. The rest of Italy was animated by a similar spirit, and the progress of the nation repaid the liberality of her princes. The Latins held the exclusive property of their own literature; and these disciples of Greece were soon capable of transmitting and improving the lessons which they had imbibed. After a short succession of foreign teachers, the tide of emigration subsided; but the language of Constantinople was spread beyond the Alps, and the natives of France, Germany, and England imparted to their country the sacred fire which they had kindled in the schools of Florence and Rome.



Medal of Lorenzo dei Medici, from the British Museum. Obverse: LAVRENTIVS MEDICES. Reverse: OB CIVES SERVATOS: in exergue, AGITIS INEATVM: one military figure standing, and three reclining.

The Triple Wall of Constantinople.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS.

§ 1. The Greek schism after the council of Florence. § 2. Reign and character of Amurath II. § 3. Eugenius forms a league against the Turks. § 4. Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Poland, marches against them: his victories, and subsequent defeat and death at Varna. § 5. Accession of CONSTANTINE PALÆOLOGUS, the last of the Greek emperors, and Mahomet II., the conqueror of Constantinople: character of Mahomet II. § 6. Preparations for the siege of Constantinople. § 7. Mahomet forms the siege of Constantinople: forces of the Turks and Greeks. § 8. False union of the Latin and Greek Churches: religious discord. § 9. Siege of Constantinople. § 10. The general assault: capture of the city. § 11. Mahomet visits the city, St. Sophia, and the palace. § 12. He repeoples and adorns Constantinople. § 13. Extinction of the imperial families of Comnenus and Palæologus: loss of the Morea and of Trebizond. § 14. Grief and terror of Europe: death of Mahomet II.

§ 1. THE last hope of the falling city and empire was placed in the harmony of the mother and daughter, in the maternal tenderness of Rome, and the filial obedience of Constantinople. In the synod of

Florence, the Greeks and Latins had embraced, and subscribed, and promised; but these signs of friendship were perfidious or fruitless; and the baseless fabric of the union vanished like a dream. The emperor and his prelates returned home in the Venetian galleys; but no sooner did they land on the Byzantine shore, than they were saluted, or rather assailed, with a general murmur of zeal and discontent. While Eugenius triumphed in the union and orthodoxy of the Greeks, his party was contracted to the walls, or rather to the palace, of Constantinople. The zeal of Palæologus had been excited by interest; it was soon cooled by opposition: an attempt to violate the national belief might endanger his life and crown; nor could the pious rebels be destitute of foreign and domestic aid. The sword of his brother Demetrius, who in Italy had maintained a prudent and popular silence, was half unsheathed in the cause of religion; and Amurath, the Turkish sultan, was displeased and alarmed by the seeming friendship of the Greeks and Latins.

§ 2. The justice and moderation of Amurath II. (A.D. 1421–1451) are attested by his conduct, and acknowledged by the Christians themselves. But the most striking feature in his life and character is the double abdication of the Turkish throne. Resigning the sceptre to his son, he retired to the pleasant residence of Magnesia: but he was soon called from his retreat by the Hungarian invasion; and his obedient son was the foremost to urge the public danger and the wishes of the people. Under the banner of their veteran leader, the Janizaries fought and conquered; but after the victory of Varna he again resigned the crown. His repose was again interrupted by the danger of the state. A victorious army disdained the inexperience of their youthful ruler; and the unanimous divan implored his presence to appease the tumult, and prevent the rebellion, of the Janizaries. At the well-known voice of their master, they trembled and obeyed; and the reluctant sultan was compelled to support his splendid servitude, till, at the end of four years, he was relieved by the angel of death. Age or disease, misfortune or caprice, have tempted several princes to descend from the throne; and they have had leisure to repent of their irretrievable step. But Amurath alone, in the full liberty of choice, after the trial of empire and solitude, has *repeated* his preference of a private life.

§ 3. After the departure of his Greek brethren, Eugenius had not been unmindful of their temporal interest; but the spirit of the crusades had expired; and the coldness of the Franks was not less unreasonable than their headlong passion. In the eleventh century a fanatic monk could precipitate Europe on Asia for the recovery of the holy sepulchre; but in the fifteenth, the most pressing motives of religion and policy were insufficient to unite the Latins in the defence of Christendom. The French, English, and Germans re-

mained inactive; but the Hungarians and Poles responded to the call of the pontiff and the eloquence of his legate, Cardinal Julian. The designs of Eugenius were promoted by the circumstances of the times; by the union of the two crowns on the head of Ladislaus, a young and ambitious soldier; by the valour of an hero, whose name, the name of John Huniades, was already popular among the Christians, and formidable to the Turks. An endless treasure of pardons and indulgences was scattered by the legate; many private warriors of France and Germany enlisted under the holy banner; and the crusade derived some strength, or at least some reputation, from the new allies both of Europe and Asia. A fugitive despot of Servia exaggerated the distress and ardour of the Christians beyond the Danube, who would unanimously rise to vindicate their religion and liberty. The Greek emperor, with a spirit unknown to his fathers, engaged to guard the Bosporus, and to sally from Constantinople at the head of his national and mercenary troops. The sultan of Caramania announced the retreat of Amurath, and a powerful diversion in the heart of Anatolia; and if the fleets of the West could occupy at the same moment the straits of the Hellespont, the Ottoman monarchy would be dissevered and destroyed. The subjects of Philip of Burgundy sailed, in a gallant fleet, from the coast of Flanders to the Hellespont; and the hostile fleets of Venice and Genoa were associated under the standard of St. Peter.

§ 4. Of the Polish and Hungarian diets a religious war was the unanimous cry; and Ladislaus, after passing the Danube, led an army of his confederate subjects as far as Sophia, the capital of the Bulgarian kingdom. In this expedition they obtained two signal victories, which were justly ascribed to the valour and conduct of Huniades. The approach of winter, and the natural and artificial obstacles of Mount Hæmus, arrested the progress of the hero; but the retreat was undisturbed; and the entrance into Buda was at once a military and religious triumph. The most solid proof, and the most salutary consequence, of victory, was a deputation from the divan to solicit peace, to restore Servia, to ransom the prisoners, and to evacuate the Hungarian frontier. By this treaty the rational objects of the war were obtained: the king, the despot, and Huniades himself, in the diet of Segedin, were satisfied with public and private emolument; a truce of ten years was concluded; and the followers of Jesus and Mahomet, who swore on the Gospel and the Koran, attested the word of God as the guardian of truth and the avenger of perfidy. During the whole transaction the cardinal legate had observed a sullen silence, unwilling to approve, and unable to oppose, the consent of the king and people. But the diet was not dissolved before Julian was fortified by the welcome intel-

ligence that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanian, and Thrace by the Greek emperor; that the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy were masters of the Hellespont; and that the allies, informed of the victory, and ignorant of the treaty, of Ladislaus, impatiently waited for the return of his victorious army. The legate absolved the king of Hungary from his oath; and war was resolved on the same spot where peace had so lately been sworn. But the same treaty which should have bound the conscience of Ladislaus had diminished his strength. On the proclamation of the peace the French and German volunteers departed with indignant murmurs: the Poles were exhausted by distant warfare, and perhaps disgusted with foreign command; and their palatines accepted the first licence, and hastily retired to their provinces and castles. Even Hungary was divided by faction, or restrained by a laudable scruple; and the relics of the crusade that marched in the second expedition were reduced to an inadequate force of 20,000 men. After the passage of the Danube they marched through the plains of Bulgaria; and their last station was at Varna, near the sea-shore; on which the defeat and death of Ladislaus have bestowed a memorable name. Ten thousand Christians were slain in the disastrous battle of Varna: the loss of the Turks, more considerable in numbers, bore a smaller proportion to their total strength; yet the philosophic sultan was not ashamed to confess that his ruin must be the consequence of a second and a similar victory (A.D. 1444).

§ 5. In the long career of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I have reached at length the last reign of the princes of Constantinople, who so feebly sustained the name and majesty of the Cæsars. John Palæologus was succeeded by his oldest brother Constantine, about four years after the Hungarian crusade (A.D. 1448): and three years after the accession of the Greek emperor, Mahomet II. ascended the Ottoman throne, at the age of 21, upon the decease of his father Amurath II. (A.D. 1451). Mahomet had been educated with the utmost care. Under the tuition of the most skilful masters he advanced with an early and rapid progress in the paths of knowledge; and besides his native tongue it is affirmed that he spoke or understood five languages, the Arabic, the Persian, the Chaldean or Hebrew, the Latin, and the Greek. But the influence of religion and learning was employed without effect on his savage and licentious nature. Without believing all the stories related of his cruelty, it cannot be denied that his passions were at once furious and inexorable; that in the palace, as in the field, a torrent of blood was spilt on the slightest provocation; and that the noblest of the captive youth were often dishonoured by his unnatural lust. He was doubtless a soldier, and possibly a general; Constantinople has sealed his glory; but if we compare the means, the obstacles, and

the achievements, Mahomet II. must blush to sustain a parallel with Alexander or Timour.

§ 6. Soon after the accession of Mahomet the ambassadors of Europe and Asia appeared to solicit his friendship, and to all he spoke the language of moderation and peace. The confidence of the Greek emperor was revived by the solemn oaths and fair assurances with which he sealed the ratification of the treaty: but while peace was on his lips, war was in his heart, and he had secretly sworn to obtain possession of Constantinople. His purpose was soon announced by an order which in some degree commenced the siege of the city. In the narrow pass of the Bosporus an Asiatic fortress had formerly been raised by his grandfather; in the opposite situation, on the European side, he erected a more formidable castle, on a spot named Asomaton, about five miles from the Greek metropolis (A.D. 1452). The Greek emperor beheld with terror the irresistible progress of the work, and vainly strove by flattery and gifts to assuage an implacable foe, who sought, and secretly fomented, the slightest occasion of a quarrel. Such occasions must soon and inevitably be found. After mutual recriminations war was openly declared; but the siege of Constantinople was deferred till the ensuing spring. Meantime the Greek emperor implored with fervent prayers the assistance of the Western powers. But Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of the Byzantine empire: some states were too weak, and others too remote; by some the danger was considered as imaginary, by others as inevitable: the Western princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrels; and the Roman pontiff was exasperated by the falsehood or obstinacy of the Greeks.

§ 7. In the beginning of the spring (A.D. 1453) the Turkish vanguard swept the towns and villages as far as the gates of the capital, and on the 6th day of April Mahomet planted before the gate of St. Romanus the Imperial standard, and formed the memorable siege of Constantinople. The troops of Asia and Europe extended on the right and left from the Propontis to the harbour; the Janizaries in the front were stationed before the sultan's tent; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep intrenchment; and a subordinate army enclosed the suburb of Galata, and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoese. The whole mass of the Turkish powers amounted to 258,000 men. In her last decay Constantinople was still peopled with more than 100,000 inhabitants; but they mostly consisted of mechanics, of priests, of women, and of men devoid of that spirit which even women have sometimes exerted for the common safety. By the emperor's command a particular inquiry had been made through the streets and houses, how many of the citizens, or even of the monks, were able and willing to bear

arms for their country. The lists were intrusted to Phranza; and after a diligent addition he informed his master, with grief and surprise, that the national defence was reduced to 4970 *Romans*. They derived some accession from a body of 2000 strangers, under the command of John Justiniani, a noble Genoese: a strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the harbour: it was supported by some Greek and Italian vessels of war and merchandise; and the ships of every Christian nation, that successively arrived from Candia and the Black Sea, were detained for the public service. Against the powers of the Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of 13, perhaps of 16, miles was defended by a scanty garrison of 7000 or 8000 soldiers. Europe and Asia were open to the besiegers; but the strength and provisions of the Greeks must sustain a daily decrease; nor could they indulge the expectation of any foreign succour or supply.

§ 8. Meanwhile the Greeks were distracted by the spirit of religious discord. Before his death the emperor John Palæologus had renounced the unpopular measure of an union with the Latins; nor was the idea revived till the distress of his brother Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and dissimulation. With the demand of temporal aid his ambassadors were instructed to mingle the assurance of spiritual obedience; and his orthodox wishes solicited the presence of a Roman legate. The Vatican had been too often deluded; yet the signs of repentance could not decently be overlooked; a legate was more easily granted than an army; and about six months before the final destruction, the cardinal Isidore of Russia appeared in that character with a retinue of priests and soldiers. The emperor saluted him as a friend and father; and with the most obsequious of the clergy and laymen subscribed the act of union, as it had been ratified in the council of Florence. On the 12th of December (A.D. 1452) the two nations, in the church of St. Sophia, joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer; but the greatest part of the clergy and people rejected the act of union, and abjured all communion with the present and future associates of the Latins.

§ 9. Of the triangle which composes the figure of Constantinople the two sides along the sea were made inaccessible to an enemy; the Propontis by nature, and the harbour by art. Between the two waters, the basis of the triangle, the land side was protected by a double wall and a deep ditch of the depth of 100 feet. Against this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eye-witness, prolongs to the measure of six miles, the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the emperor, after distributing the service and command of the most perilous stations, undertook the defence of the external wall. In the first days of the siege the Greek soldiers descended into the

ditch, or sallied into the field; but they soon discovered that, in the proportion of their numbers, one Christian was of more value than 20 Turks; and, after these bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their missile weapons. A circumstance that distinguishes the siege of Constantinople is the re-union of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; the bullet and the battering-ram were directed against the same walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and unextinguishable fire. By these arts of attack the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned: after a severe struggle the Turks were repulsed from the breach and interrupted by darkness: but during the night each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Justiniani; and at the dawn of day the impatient sultan perceived, with astonishment and grief, that the ditch was cleared and restored, and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. During the height of the siege the hopes of the Greeks were revived by the daring and successful enterprise of five vessels, one bearing the Imperial flag, and the other four belonging to the Genoese, laden with provisions, and, above all, with soldiers and mariners, for the service of the capital. These ships forced their way through the Turkish fleet, and securely anchored within the chain of the harbour.

§ 10. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless, unless a double attack could be made from the harbour as well as from the land; but the harbour was inaccessible: an impenetrable chain was now defended by 8 large ships, more than 20 of a smaller size, with several galleys and sloops; and, instead of forcing the barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval sally and a second encounter in the open sea. In this perplexity the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting by land his lighter vessels and military stores from the Bosporus into the higher part of the harbour. The distance is about six miles: a level way was covered with a broad platform of strong and solid planks; and fourscore light galleys and brigantines of 50 and 30 oars, were disembarked on the Bosporus shore, arranged successively on rollers, and drawn forwards by the power of men and pulleys. In the course of a single night this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. As soon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour with a fleet and army, he constructed in the narrowest part a bridge, or rather mole, of 50 cubits in breadth and one hundred in length: it was formed of casks and hogsheads, joined with rafters, linked with

iron, and covered with a solid floor. On this floating battery he planted one of his largest cannon, while the fourscore galleys, with troops and scaling-ladders, approached the most accessible side, which had formerly been stormed by the Latin conquerors. After a siege of 40 days the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrison was exhausted by a double attack: the fortifications, which had stood for ages against hostile violence, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon; many breaches were opened, and near the gate of St. Romanus four towers had been levelled with the ground. Several days were employed by the sultan in the preparations of the assault; and a respite was granted by his favourite science of astrology, which had fixed on the 29th of May as the fortunate and fatal hour. At day-break, without the customary signal of the morning-gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land; and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack. Under their respective bashaws and sanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were successively led to the charge: their progress was various and doubtful; but, after a conflict of two hours the Greeks still maintained and improved their advantage; and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment the Janizaries arose, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. From the lines, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides; and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke, which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman empire. The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The sight of his blood, and the exquisite pain, appalled the courage of the chief, whose arms and counsels were the firmest rampart of the city. He withdrew from his station, and hastily passed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. His example was imitated by the greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to slacken when the attack was pressed with redoubled vigour. The walls and towers were covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage-ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes the emperor, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen and finally lost. The nobles, who fought round his person, sustained, till their last breath, the honourable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene: his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?" and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels. The prudent despair of Constantine cast

away the purple: amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall: and as they advanced into the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar on the side of the harbour. It was thus, after a siege of 53 days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mahomet II. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins: her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors.

The wealth of Constantinople was granted by the sultan to his victorious troops, who exercised their work of rapine in all the churches and monasteries, in all the palaces and habitations, of the capital: nor could any place, however sacred or sequestered, protect the persons or the property of the Greeks. Above 60,000 of this devoted people were transported from the city to the camp and fleet; exchanged or sold according to the caprice or interest of their masters, and dispersed in remote servitude through the provinces of the Ottoman empire. The chain and entrance of the outward harbour was still occupied by the Italian ships of merchandise and war. They had signalised their valour in the siege: they embraced the moment of retreat, while the Turkish mariners were dissipated in the pillage of the city. When they hoisted sail, the beach was covered with a suppliant and lamentable crowd; but the means of transportation were scanty; the Venetians and Genoese selected their countrymen; and, notwithstanding the fairest promises of the sultan, the inhabitants of Galata evacuated their houses, and embarked with their most precious effects.

§ 11. From the first hour of the memorable 29th of May, disorder and rapine prevailed in Constantinople till the eighth hour of the same day, when the sultan himself passed in triumph through the gate of St. Romanus. The conqueror gazed with satisfaction and wonder on the strange though splendid appearance of the domes and palaces, so dissimilar from the style of Oriental architecture. In the hippodrome, or *atmeidan*, his eye was attracted by the twisted column of the three serpents; and, as a trial of his strength, he shattered with his iron mace or battle-axe the under jaw of one of these monsters, which in the eyes of the Turks were the idols or talismans of the city. At the principal door of St. Sophia he alighted from his horse and entered the dome: by his command the metropolis of the Eastern church was transformed into a mosque: the rich and portable instruments of superstition had been removed; the crosses were thrown down; and the walls, which were covered with images and mosaics, were washed and purified, and restored to a state of naked simplicity. On the same day, or on the ensuing Friday, the

muezin, or crier, ascended the most lofty turret, and proclaimed the *ezan*, or public invitation, in the name of God and his prophet; the imam preached; and Mahomet II. performed the *namaz* of prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately been celebrated before the last of the Cæsars. From St. Sophia he proceeded to the august but desolate mansion of an hundred successors of the great Constantine, but which in a few hours had been stripped of the pomp of royalty. Yet his mind was not satisfied, nor did the victory seem complete till he was informed of the fate of Constantine—whether he had escaped, or been made prisoner, or had fallen in the battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honour and reward of his death: the body, under a heap of slain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes; the Greeks acknowledged with tears the head of their late emperor; and, after exposing the bloody trophy, Mahomet bestowed on his rival the honours of a decent funeral. On the 18th of June the victorious sultan returned to Adrianople, and smiled at the base and hollow embassies of the Christian princes, who viewed their approaching ruin in the fall of the Eastern empire.

§ 12. Constantinople had been left naked and desolate, without a prince or a people. But she could not be despoiled of the incomparable situation which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire; and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and fortune. Boursa and Adrianople, the ancient seats of the Ottomans, sunk into provincial towns: and Mahomet II. established his own residence and that of his successors on the same commanding spot which had been chosen by Constantine. As the entire property of the soil and buildings, whether public or private, or profane or sacred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he first separated a space of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle for the establishment of his seraglio or palace. In the new character of a mosque, the cathedral of St. Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue, crowned with lofty minarets, and surrounded with groves and fountains for the devotion and refreshment of the Moslems. Constantinople no longer appertains to the Roman historian; nor shall I enumerate the civil and religious edifices that were profaned or erected by its Turkish masters: the population was speedily renewed, and before the end of September 5000 families of Anatolia and Romania had obeyed the royal mandate, which enjoined them, under pain of death, to occupy their new habitations in the capital. The throne of Mahomet was guarded by the numbers and fidelity of his Moslem subjects; but his rational policy aspired to collect the remnant of the Greeks, and they returned in crowds as soon as they were assured of their lives, their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion. In the election and investiture of a patriarch the

ceremonial of the Byzantine court was revived and imitated. The churches of Constantinople were shared between the two religions: their limits were marked; and, till it was infringed by Selim, the grandson of Mahomet, the Greeks enjoyed above 60 years the benefit of this equal partition.

§ 13. The remaining fragments of the Greek kingdom in Europe and Asia I shall abandon to the Turkish arms; but the final extinction of the two last dynasties which have reigned in Constantinople should terminate the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the East. The despots of the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas, the two surviving brothers of the name of PALÆOLOGUS, were indulged in a respite of seven years. But this respite was a period of grief, discord, and misery. Neither the ties of blood, nor the strongest pressure of necessity, could reconcile or suspend the quarrels of the two brothers. The distress and revenge of the weaker rival invoked their supreme lord. Mahomet declared himself the friend of Demetrius, and marched into the Morea with an irresistible force (A.D. 1460); but instead of restoring him to the sovereignty, the sultan carried him to Adrianople, and took his daughter in marriage. Demetrius was joined the next year by a companion of misfortune, the last of the COMNENIAN race, who, after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, had founded a new empire on the coast of the Black Sea. In the progress of his Anatolian conquests, Mahomet invested with a fleet and army the capital of David, who presumed to style himself emperor of Trebizond: the feeble Comnenus surrendered the city (A.D. 1461), and was transported with his family to a castle in Romania; but on a slight suspicion of corresponding with the Persian king, David, and the whole Comnenian race, were sacrificed to the jealousy or avarice of the conqueror. It is not easy to pronounce whether the servitude of Demetrius, or the exile of his brother Thomas, be the most inglorious. On the conquest of the Morea the despot escaped to Italy; and his misery was prolonged by a pension of 6000 ducats from the pope and cardinals. His eldest son, Andrew, successively sold his inheritance to the kings of France and Arragon: his younger son, Manuel, was tempted to revisit his native country, where he resided till his death.

§ 14. The importance of Constantinople was felt and magnified in its loss: the siege and sack of Otranto by the Turks diffused a general consternation; and Pope Sixtus was preparing to fly beyond the Alps, when the storm was instantly dispelled by the death of Mahomet II. in the 51st year of his age (A.D. 1481). His lofty genius aspired to the conquest of Italy: he was possessed of a strong city and a capacious harbour; and the same reign might have been decorated with the trophies of the NEW and the ANCIENT ROME.

Medal of Martin V., from the British Museum.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

STATE OF ROME FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

§ 1. State and revolutions of Rome. § 2. Political heresy of Arnold of Brescia. § 3. Revolution of the twelfth century: the Capitol, the coin, the præfect of the city, the senate. § 4. The office of senator: the senator Brancaleone. § 5. The senators Charles of Anjou, Pope Martin IV., the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria. § 6. The election of the popes. § 7. Translation of the Holy See to Avignon. § 8. Institution of the Jubilee or holy year. § 9. The nobles or barons of Rome: the Colonna and Ursini. § 10. Petrarch: his poetic coronation at Rome. § 11. Birth, character, and patriotic designs of Rienzi. § 12. He assumes the government of Rome, with the title and office of tribune. § 13. Vices and follies of Rienzi: his fall and flight. § 14. Revolutions of Rome. § 15. Adventures of Rienzi. § 16. Rienzi senator of Rome: his death. § 17. Return of the popes to Rome: great schism of the West. § 18. End of the schism. § 19. The popes acquire the absolute dominion of Rome.

§ 1. The Roman city acquiesced under the absolute dominion of the popes about the same time that Constantinople was enslaved by the Turkish arms. The rise and progress of the temporal power of the pontiffs, their contests with the German emperors, and the disorders and revolutions of the city down to Gregory VII., have been described in a previous chapter of this work.* The turbulent Romans disdained the yoke and insulted the impotence of their bishop; nor would his education or character allow him to exercise, with decency or effect, the power of the sword. The motives of his election and

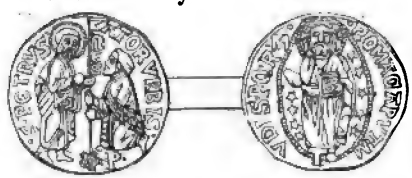
* See Chapt. XXVI.

the frailties of his life were exposed to their familiar observation; and proximity must diminish the reverence which his name and his decrees impressed on a barbarous world. Gregory VII. was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno. Six-and-thirty of his successors, till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal contest with the Romans: their age and dignity were often violated; and the churches, in the solemn rites of religion, were polluted with sedition and murder.

§ 2. The trumpet of Roman liberty was first sounded by Arnold of Brescia, whose promotion in the church was confined to the lowest rank, and who wore the monastic habit rather as a garb of poverty than as a uniform of obedience. In his theological studies he had been the disciple of Abelard: from his master probably he imbibed some theological notions, repugnant to the taste of the times; but a *political* heresy was the source of his fame and misfortune. He presumed to quote the declaration of Christ, that his kingdom is not of this world: he boldly maintained that the sword and the sceptre were intrusted to the civil magistrate; and that the abbots, the bishops, and the pope himself, must renounce either their state or their salvation. During a short time the preacher was revered as a patriot; but after his heresy had been condemned by Innocent II., in the general council of the Lateran, Arnold escaped beyond the Alps, till he found a safe and hospitable shelter in Zürich. He afterwards returned to Rome; he was protected, and had perhaps been invited, by the nobles and people; and in the service of freedom his eloquence thundered over the seven hills. Blending in the same discourse the texts of Livy and St. Paul, uniting the motives of the Gospel and of classic enthusiasm, he exhorted the Romans to assert the inalienable rights of men and Christians; to restore the laws and magistrates of the republic; to respect the *name* of the emperor; but to confine their shepherd to the spiritual government of his flock. Arnold of Brescia ruled Rome above ten years (A.D. 1144-1154), while two popes, Innocent II. and Anastasius IV., either trembled in the Vatican or wandered as exiles in the adjacent cities. They were succeeded by a more vigorous and fortunate pontiff, Adrian IV., the only Englishman who has ascended the throne of St. Peter; and whose merit emerged from the mean condition of a monk, and almost a beggar, in the monastery of St. Albans. This pontiff procured the assistance of Frederic Barbarossa: the martyr of freedom was burnt alive in the presence of a careless and ungrateful people; and his ashes were cast into the Tiber, lest the heretics should collect and worship the relics of their master.

§ 3. In the revolution of the twelfth century, which gave a new existence and æra to Rome, we may observe the real and important events that marked or confirmed her political independence. I. The

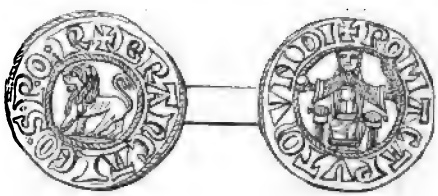
Capitoline hill, one of her seven eminences, is about 400 yards in length, and 200 in breadth, and had from the earliest ages been used as a temple in peace and a fortress in war. It was the first act of the Romans, an act of freedom, to restore the strength of the Capitol; to fortify the seat of their arms and counsels; and as often as they ascended the hill, the coldest minds must have glowed with the remembrance of their ancestors. II. The successors of Diocletian had assumed the sole direction of the mint; and the same prerogative was inherited by the Gothic kings of Italy and the long series of the Greek, the French, and the German dynasties. After an abdication of 800 years the Roman senate asserted this honourable and lucrative privilege; and some of these republican coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are shown in the cabinets of the curious. III. With the empire, the præfect of the city had declined to a municipal officer; yet he still exercised in the last appeal the civil and criminal jurisdiction; and a drawn sword, which he received from the successors of Otho, was the mode of his investiture and the emblem of his functions. The dignity was confined to the noble families of Rome: the choice of the people was ratified by the pope; but a triple oath of fidelity must have often embarrassed the præfect in the conflict of adverse duties. A servant, in whom they possessed but a third share, was dismissed by the independent Romans; in his place they elected a patrician; but this title, which Charlemagne had not disdained, was too lofty for a citizen or a subject; and after the first fervour of rebellion they consented without reluctance to the restoration of the præfect. IV. The senate was revived by Arnold in 1144, and was invested with the legislative and executive power; but the views of the senators seldom reached beyond the present day. In its utmost plenitude the order or assembly consisted of 56 members, the most eminent of whom were distinguished by the title of counsellors. The popes, who in this tempest submitted rather to bend than to break, confirmed by treaty the establishment and privileges of the senate, and expected from time, peace, and religion, the restoration of their government.



Gold sequin of the Roman Senate, from the British Museum. Obverse: S. PETRVS SENATOR VRBIS; St. Peter delivering a banner to a kneeling senator. Reverse: ROMA CAPVT MVNDI, S.P.Q.R.; the Saviour in aureola, holding a book.

§ 4. The union and vigour of a public council was dissolved in a lawless city; and the Romans sought abroad those blessings which they were hopeless of finding at home. In the same age and from the same motives, most of the Italian republics were prompted to

embrace a measure which, however strange it may seem, was adapted to their situation, and productive of the most salutary effects. They chose, in some foreign but friendly city, an impartial magistrate of noble birth and unblemished character, a soldier and a statesman, to whom they delegated for a time the supreme administration of peace and war. In the other Italian republics he usually bore the title of podestà, but in Rome he was designated by the name of senator. It was thus, about the middle of the thirteenth century, that the Romans called from Bologna the senator Brancaleone (A.D. 1252-1258). By the guilty and licentious he was accused as cruel; by the clergy he was suspected as partial; but the friends of peace and order applauded the firm and upright magistrate by whom those blessings were restored. No criminals were so powerful as to brave, so obscure as to elude, the justice of the senator. By his sentence two nobles of the Annibaldi family were executed on a gibbet; and he inexorably demolished, in the city and neighbourhood, 130 towers, the strong shelters of rapine and mischief.



Silver coin of the senator Brancaleone, from the British Museum. Obverse: BRANCALEO. S.P.Q.R.; Lion to left. Reverse: ROMA CAPVT MVNDI; Rome seated.

§ 5. The Romans subsequently elected for their senator a prince of independent power. Charles of Anjou and Provence, the most ambitious and warlike monarch of the age, accepted at the same time the kingdom of Naples from the pope and the office of senator from the Roman people (A.D. 1265-1278). The enmity of Nicholas III. obliged the Sicilian king to abdicate the government of Rome. In his bull, a perpetual law, the pontiff establishes the annual election of the senator, and formally disqualifies all emperors, kings, princes, and persons of an eminent and conspicuous rank. This prohibitory clause was repealed in his own behalf by Martin IV., who humbly solicited the suffrage of the Romans (A.D. 1281). About 50 years afterwards the same title was granted to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria (A.D. 1328); and the liberty of Rome was acknowledged by her two sovereigns, who accepted a municipal office in the government of their own metropolis.

§ 6. Under the first Christian princes the chair of St. Peter was disputed by the votes, the venality, the violence, of a popular election: the sanctuaries of Rome were polluted with blood; and, from the third to the twelfth century, the church was distracted by the mischief of frequent schisms.* A peaceful and perpetual succession

* See p. 443.

was ascertained by Alexander III. (A.D. 1179), who finally abolished the tumultuary votes of the clergy and people, and defined the right of election in the sole college of cardinals. The three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, were assimilated to each other by this important privilege; the parochial clergy of Rome obtained the first rank in the hierarchy: they were indifferently chosen among the nations of Christendom; and the possession of the richest benefices, of the most important bishoprics, was not incompatible with their title and office. The senators of the Catholic church were robed in purple, the symbol of martyrdom or royalty; they claimed a proud equality with kings, and their dignity was enhanced by the smallness of their number, which, till the reign of Leo X., seldom exceeded 20 or 25 persons. By this wise regulation all doubt and scandal were removed, and the root of schism was so effectually destroyed, that in a period of 600 years a double choice has only once divided the unity of the sacred college.

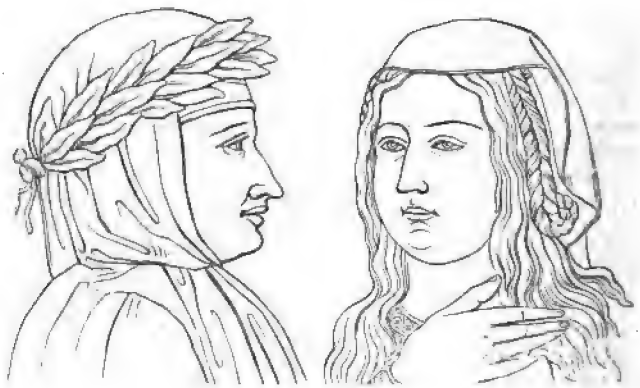
§ 7. Had the election always been held in the Vatican, the rights of the senate and people would not have been violated with impunity. But in the beginning of the fourteenth century the apostolic throne was transported, as it might seem for ever, from the Tiber to the Rhône. Clement V., who owed his election to the dexterity of the French faction, took up his residence at Avignon (A.D. 1309), which flourished about 70 years the seat of the Roman pontiff and the metropolis of Christendom. Under the shadow of the French monarchy, amidst an obedient people, the popes enjoyed an honourable and tranquil state, to which they long had been strangers: but Italy deplored their absence; and Rome, in solitude and poverty, might repent of the ungovernable freedom which had driven from the Vatican the successor of St. Peter. Her repentance was tardy and fruitless: after the death of the old members, the sacred college was filled with French cardinals, who beheld Rome and Italy with abhorrence and contempt, and perpetuated a series of national, and even provincial, popes, attached by the most indissoluble ties to their native country.

§ 8. The progress of industry had produced and enriched the Italian republics: but the position of Rome was less favourable: the character of the inhabitants was debased by indolence and elated by pride; and they fondly conceived that the tribute of subjects must for ever nourish the metropolis of the church and empire. This prejudice was encouraged in some degree by the resort of pilgrims to the shrines of the apostles; and the last legacy of the popes, the institution of the HOLY YEAR, was not less beneficial to the people than to the clergy. Boniface VIII. had sufficient learning to recollect and revive the secular games which were celebrated in Rome at the conclusion of every century. In the year 1300 he proclaimed a

plenary absolution to all Catholics who, in the course of that year, and at every similar period, should respectfully visit the apostolic churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. The welcome sound was propagated through Christendom; and the highways were thronged with a swarm of pilgrims who sought to expiate their sins in a journey, however costly or laborious, which was exempt from the perils of military service. The calculation of their numbers could not be easy nor accurate: yet we are assured by a judicious historian, who assisted at the ceremony, that Rome was never replenished with less than 200,000 strangers; and another spectator has fixed at two millions the total concourse of the year. A trifling oblation from each individual would accumulate a royal treasure, and two priests stood night and day, with rakes in their hands, to collect, without counting, the heaps of gold and silver that were poured on the altar of St. Paul. From a city without trade or industry all casual riches will speedily evaporate: but the avarice and envy of the next generation solicited Clement VI. to anticipate the distant period of the century (A.D. 1350). The gracious pontiff complied with their wishes; afforded Rome this poor consolation for his loss; and justified the change by the name and practice of the Mosaic Jubilee. His summons was obeyed; and the number, zeal, and liberality of the pilgrims did not yield to the primitive festival.

§ 9. In the beginning of the eleventh century Italy was exposed to the feudal tyranny, alike oppressive to the sovereign and the people. The rights of human nature were vindicated by her numerous republics, who soon extended their liberty and dominion from the city to the adjacent country. But the feeble and disorderly government of Rome was unequal to the task of curbing her rebellious sons, who scorned the authority of the magistrate within and without the walls. It was no longer a civil contention between the nobles and plebeians for the government of the state: the barons asserted in arms their personal independence; their palaces and castles were fortified against a siege: and their private quarrels were maintained by the numbers of their vassals and retainers. The most powerful of the Roman families were the rival houses of COLONNA and URSINI, whose hereditary feud distracted above 250 years the ecclesiastical state. The jealousy of pre-eminence and power was the true ground of their quarrel; but as a specious badge of distinction, the Colonna embraced the name of Ghibelines and the party of the empire; the Ursini espoused the title of Guelphs and the cause of the church. The eagle and the keys were displayed in their adverse banners; and the two factions of Italy most furiously raged when the origin and nature of the dispute were long since forgotten. After the retreat of the popes to Avignon they disputed in arms the vacant republic; and the mischiefs of discord were perpe-

tuated by the wretched compromise of electing each year two rival senators.



Petrarch and Laura, from a marble relief in the Casa Peruzzi at Siena, executed in 1344. (Kugler, Atlas, tav. 63.)

§ 10. In the apprehension of modern times Petrarch is the Italian songster of Laura and love. But in the eyes of Petrarch and those of his graver contemporaries his love was a sin, and Italian verse a frivolous amusement. His Latin works of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence established his serious reputation, which was soon diffused from Avignon over France and Italy: his friends and disciples were multiplied in every city; and our gratitude must applaud the man who, by precept and example, revived the spirit and study of the Augustan age. From his earliest youth Petrarch aspired to the poetic crown. The academical honours of the three faculties had introduced a royal degree of master or doctor in the art of poetry; and the title of poet-laureat, which custom, rather than vanity, perpetuates in the English court was first invented by the Cæsars of Germany. In the musical games of antiquity a prize was bestowed on the victor: the belief that Virgil and Horace had been crowned in the Capitol inflamed the emulation of a Latin bard; and the laurel was endeared to the lover by a verbal resemblance with the name of his mistress. In the thirty-sixth year of his age he was solicited to accept the object of his wishes; and on the same day, in the solitude of Vaucluse, he received a similar and solemn invitation from the senate of Rome and the university of Paris. He preferred the summons of the metropolis of the world; and the ceremony of his coronation was performed in the Capitol, by his friend and patron the supreme magistrate of the republic. After discours-

ing on a text of Virgil, he knelt before the throne and received from the senator a laurel crown, with a more precious declaration, "This is the reward of merit." The people shouted, "Long life to the Capitol and the poet!" A sonnet in praise of Rome was accepted as the effusion of genius and gratitude; and after the whole procession had visited the Vatican the profane wreath was suspended before the shrine of St. Peter. In the act or diploma which was presented to Petrarch, the title and prerogatives of poet-laureat are revived in the Capitol after the lapse of 1300 years; and he receives the perpetual privilege of wearing, at his choice, a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle, of assuming the poetic habit, and of teaching, disputing, interpreting, and composing, in all places whatsoever, and on all subjects of literature. The grant was ratified by the authority of the senate and people; and the character of citizen was the recompense of his affection for the Roman name. They did him honour, but they did him justice. In the familiar society of Cicero and Livy he had imbibed the ideas of an ancient patriot; and his ardent fancy kindled every idea to a sentiment, and every sentiment to a passion. The aspect of the seven hills and their majestic ruins confirmed these lively impressions; and he loved a country by whose liberal spirit he had been crowned and adopted. The poverty and debasement of Rome excited the indignation and pity of her grateful son. Rome was still the lawful mistress of the world; the pope and the emperor, her bishop and general, had abdicated their station by an inglorious retreat to the Rhône and the Danube; but if she could resume her virtue, the republic might again vindicate her liberty and dominion. Amidst the indulgence of enthusiasm and eloquence, Petrarch, Italy and Europe were astonished by a revolution which realised for a moment his most splendid visions.

§ 11. In a quarter of the city which was inhabited only by mechanics and Jews, the marriage of an innkeeper and a washerwoman produced the future deliverer of Rome. From such parents Rienzi could inherit neither dignity nor fortune; and the gift of a liberal education, which they painfully bestowed, was the cause of his glory and untimely end. The study of history and eloquence, the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Cæsar, and Valerius Maximus, elevated above his equals and contemporaries the genius of the young plebeian: he perused with indefatigable diligence the manuscripts and marbles of antiquity; loved to dispense his knowledge in familiar language, and was often provoked to exclaim, "Where are now these Romans? their virtue, their justice, their power? why was I not born in those happy times?" When the republic addressed to the throne of Avignon an embassy of the three orders, the spirit and eloquence of Rienzi recommended him to a place among the 13 deputies of the commons. The orator had the

honour of haranguing Pope Clement VI., and the satisfaction of conversing with Petrarch, a congenial mind; but his aspiring hopes were chilled by disgrace and poverty, and the patriot was reduced to a single garment and the charity of the hospital. From this misery he was relieved by the sense of merit or the smile of favour; and the employment of apostolic notary afforded him a daily stipend of five gold florins, a more honourable and extensive connection, and the right of contrasting, both in words and actions, his own integrity with the vices of the state. The eloquence of Rienzi was prompt and persuasive: he was stimulated by the loss of a brother and the impunity of the assassins; nor was it possible to excuse or exaggerate the public calamities. The privileges of Rome, her eternal sovereignty over her princes and provinces, was the theme of his public and private discourse; and the restoration of the *good estate*, his favourite expression, was entertained among the people as a desirable, a possible, and at length as an approaching event.

§ 12. A prophecy, or rather a summons, affixed on the church-door of St. George, was the first public evidence of his designs,—a nocturnal assembly of 100 citizens on Mount Aventine, the first step to their execution. After securing a faithful band to protect his first declaration, he proclaimed through the city, by sound of trumpet, that on the evening of the following day all persons should assemble without arms before the church of St. Angelo, to provide for the re-establishment of the good estate. The whole night was employed in the celebration of 30 masses of the Holy Ghost; and in the morning Rienzi, bareheaded, but in complete armour, issued from the church, encompassed by the 100 conspirators. The pope's vicar, the simple bishop of Orvieto, who had been persuaded to sustain a part in this singular ceremony, marched on his right hand; and the procession slowly rolled forwards from the castle of St. Angelo to the Capitol. Rienzi ascended without opposition the citadel of the republic; harangued the people from the balcony, and received the most flattering confirmation of his acts and laws. The nobles, as if destitute of arms and counsels, beheld in silent consternation this strange revolution; and the moment had been prudently chosen when the most formidable, Stephen Colonna, was absent from the city. Rienzi felt the importance of justifying his usurpation by a regular form and a legal title. He chose the ancient and modest appellation of tribune; and in this character, and with the consent of the Romans, he enacted the most salutary laws for the restoration and maintenance of the good estate. The tyranny of the nobles was abolished; a standing militia was established for the support of the tribunes and the laws; and the princes and barons were compelled to return to their houses at Rome in the garb of simple and peaceful citizens. Never perhaps has the energy and effect of a single mind

been more remarkably felt than in the sudden, though transient, reformation of Rome by the tribune Rienzi. A den of robbers was converted to the discipline of the camp or convent: patient to hear, swift to redress, inexorable to punish, his tribunal was always accessible to the poor and stranger; and the same impartial rigour was exercised against the heads of the adverse factions. Peter Agapet Colonna, who had himself been senator of Rome, was arrested in the street for injury or debt; and justice was appeased by the tardy execution of Martin Ursini, who, among his various acts of violence and rapine, had pillaged a shipwrecked vessel at the mouth of the Tiber. The deliverance of his country inspired Rienzi with a vast and perhaps visionary idea of uniting Italy in a great federative republic, of which Rome should be the ancient and lawful head, and the free cities and princes the members and associates. His pen was not less eloquent than his tongue, and his numerous epistles were delivered to swift and trusty messengers. From every part of Italy the tribune received the most friendly and respectful answers: they were followed by the ambassadors of the princes and republics; and in this foreign conflux, on all the occasions of pleasure or business, the low-born notary could assume the familiar or majestic courtesy of a sovereign. Beyond the Alps, more especially at Avignon, the revolution was the theme of curiosity, wonder, and applause. Petrarch had been the private friend, perhaps the secret counsellor, of Rienzi: his writings breathe the most ardent spirit of patriotism and joy; and all respect for the pope, all gratitude for the Colonna, was lost in the superior duties of a Roman citizen.

§ 13. While Petrarch indulged these prophetic visions, the Roman hero was fast declining from the meridian of fame and power. In the blaze of prosperity, his virtues were insensibly tinctured with the adjacent vices; justice with cruelty, liberality with profusion, and the desire of fame with puerile and ostentatious vanity. He assumed sonorous and pompous titles; appeared in public with the pomp and state of royalty; his ambition of the honours of chivalry betrayed the meanness of his birth and degraded the importance of his office; and the levity and insolence which he displayed at the time of his knighthood disgusted his friends and encouraged his foes. Rising from his throne in the church, and advancing towards the congregation, he proclaimed in a loud voice, "We summon to our tribunal Pope Clement, and command him to reside in his diocese of Rome: we also summon the sacred college of cardinals. We again summon the two pretenders, Charles of Bohemia and Lewis of Bavaria, who style themselves emperors: we likewise summon all the electors of Germany to inform us on what pretence they have usurped the inalienable right of the Roman people, the ancient and lawful sovereigns of the empire." Unsheathing his

maiden sword, he thrice brandished it to the three parts of the world, and thrice repeated the extravagant declaration, "And this too is mine!" In his private life he soon deviated from the strict rule of frugality and abstinence; and the plebeians, who were awed by the splendour of the nobles, were provoked by the luxury of their equal. The nobles entered into a conspiracy against him; their plot was discovered; they were condemned to death, and led to the scaffold. But at this decisive moment Rienzi was not less anxious or apprehensive than his captives: he dreaded the splendour of their names, their surviving kinsmen, the inconstancy of the people, the reproaches of the world; and, after rashly offering a mortal injury, he had the folly to pardon those whom he made irreconcilable enemies. During some weeks they were checked by the memory of their danger, rather than of their deliverance, till the most powerful of the Ursini, escaping with the Colonna from the city, erected at Marino the standard of rebellion. Rienzi was repulsed in an attack upon Marino; and the barons, encouraged by his failure, attempted to enter Rome by force or surprise. The city was prepared for their reception; the alarm-bell rung all night; and the barons were overthrown and massacred without quarter by the crowds of the Roman people. Six of the Colonna were slain: the base and implacable revenge of the tribune denied the honours of burial; and their bodies, which he threatened to expose with those of the vilest malefactors, were secretly interred by the holy virgins of their name and family. The people sympathised in their grief, repented of their own fury, and detested the indecent joy of Rienzi, who visited the spot where these illustrious victims had fallen.

A short delay would have saved the Colonna, the delay of a single month, which elapsed between the triumph and the exile of Rienzi. In the pride of victory he forfeited what yet remained of his civil virtues, without acquiring the fame of military prowess. A free and vigorous opposition was formed in the city; and when the tribune proposed in the public council to impose a new tax, and to regulate the government of Perugia, 39 members voted against his measures. The pope and the sacred college had never been dazzled by his specious professions; they were justly offended by the insolence of his conduct; a cardinal legate was sent to Italy, and after some fruitless treaty, and two personal interviews, he fulminated a bull of excommunication, in which the tribune was degraded from his office, and branded with the guilt of rebellion, sacrilege, and heresy. The surviving barons of Rome were now humbled to a sense of allegiance; their interest and revenge engaged them in the service of the church; but as the fate of the Colonna was before their eyes, they abandoned to a private adventurer the peril and glory of the revolution. John Pepin, count of Minorbino, in the kingdom of

Naples, introduced himself into Rome at the head of 150 soldiers, barricaded the quarter of the Colonna, and found the enterprise as easy as it had seemed impossible. From the first alarm the bell of the Capitol incessantly tolled; but instead of repairing to the well-known sound, the people were silent and inactive; and the pusillanimous Rienzi, deploring their ingratitude with sighs and tears, abdicated the government and palace of the republic (A.D. 1347).

§ 14. Without drawing his sword, Count Pepin restored the aristocracy and the church; three senators were chosen, and the legate, assuming the first rank, accepted his two colleagues from the rival families of Colonna and Ursini. The acts of the tribune were abolished, his head was proscribed; yet such was the terror of his name, that the barons hesitated three days before they would trust themselves in the city, and Rienzi was left above a month in the castle of St. Angelo, from whence he peaceably withdrew, after labouring, without effect, to revive the affection and courage of the Romans. The vision of freedom and empire had vanished: their fallen spirit would have acquiesced in servitude, had it been smoothed by tranquillity and order; but Rome was again agitated by the bloody feuds of the barons, who detested each other, and despised the commons: their hostile fortresses, both in town and country, again rose, and were again demolished: and the peaceful citizens, a flock of sheep, were devoured, says the Florentine historian, by these rapacious wolves. But when their pride and avarice had exhausted the patience of the Romans, a confraternity of the Virgin Mary protected or avenged the republic: the bell of the Capitol was again tolled, the nobles in arms trembled in the presence of an unarmed multitude; and of the two senators, Colonna escaped from the window of the palace, and Ursini was stoned at the foot of the altar. The dangerous office of tribune was successively occupied by two plebeians, Cerroni and Baroncelli; but the latter trod in the footsteps of tyrants; his suspicion was a sentence of death, and his own death was the reward of his cruelties. Amidst the public misfortunes the faults of Rienzi were forgotten, and the Romans sighed for the peace and prosperity of the good estate.

§ 15. After an exile of seven years, the first deliverer was again restored to his country. In the disguise of a monk or a pilgrim he escaped from the castle of St. Angelo, implored the friendship of the king of Hungary at Naples, tempted the ambition of every bold adventurer, mingled at Rome with the pilgrims of the jubilee, lay concealed among the hermits of the Apennine, and wandered through the cities of Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. His person was invisible, his name was yet formidable; and the anxiety of the court of Avignon supposes, and even magnifies, his personal merit. The emperor Charles IV. gave audience to a stranger, who frankly re-

vealed himself as the tribune of the republic, and astonished an assembly of ambassadors and princes by the eloquence of a patriot and the visions of a prophet, the downfall of tyranny and the kingdom of the Holy Ghost. Whatever had been his hopes, Rienzi found himself a captive: he was transported slowly but in safe custody from Prague to Avignon: his entrance into the city was that of a malefactor; in his prison he was chained by the leg, and four cardinals were named to inquire into the crimes of heresy and rebellion. But the reigning pontiff well deserved the appellation of *Clement:* the strange vicissitudes and magnanimous spirit of the captive excited his pity and esteem: Rienzi was indulged with an easy confinement and the use of books; and in the assiduous study of Livy and the Bible he sought the cause and the consolation of his misfortunes.

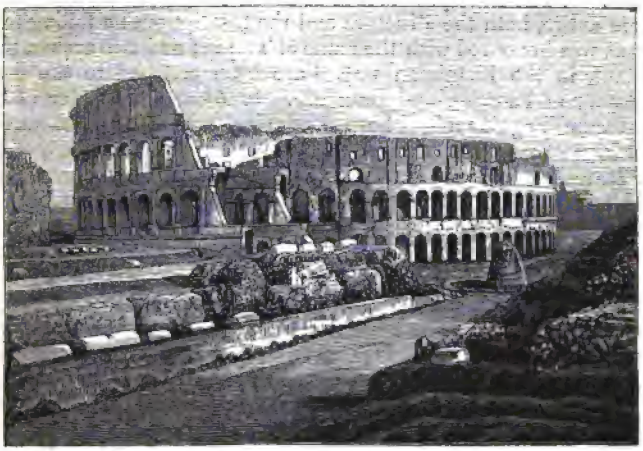
§ 16. The succeeding pontificate of Innocent VI. opened a new prospect of his deliverance and restoration; and the court of Avignon was persuaded that the successful rebel could alone appease and reform the anarchy of the metropolis. After a solemn profession of fidelity, the Roman tribune was sent into Italy with the title of senator. His first reception was equal to his wishes: the day of his entrance was a public festival, and his eloquence and authority revived the laws of the good estate. But this momentary sunshine was soon clouded by his own vices and those of the people; and after a second administration of four months Rienzi was massacred in a tumult which had been fomented by the Roman barons. The tribune had reigned with absolute dominion, by the choice, and in the hearts, of the Romans; the senator was the servile minister of a foreign court; and while he was suspected by the people, he was abandoned by the prince. A civil war exhausted his treasures and the patience of the city: the Colonna maintained their hostile station at Palestrina; and the first idea of a tax was the signal of clamour and sedition. The Capitol was invested by a furious multitude; and while the senator attempted to escape in a plebeian habit, he was discovered and dragged to the platform of the palace, the fatal scene of his judgments and executions. A whole hour, without voice or motion, he stood amidst the multitude half naked and half dead: their rage was hushed into curiosity and wonder: the last feelings of reverence and compassion yet struggled in his favour; and they might have prevailed, if a bold assassin had not plunged a dagger in his breast. He fell senseless with the first stroke; the impotent revenge of his enemies inflicted a thousand wounds; and the senator's body was abandoned to the dogs, to the Jews, and to the flames (A.D. 1354). Posterity will compare the virtues and failings of this extraordinary man; but in a long period of anarchy and servitude, the name of Rienzi has often been celebrated as the deliverer of his country, and the last of the Roman patriots.

§ 17. The first pope who returned to Rome, after the long absence of the pontiffs from the Imperial city, was Urban V.; but some reasons of public or private moment recalled him to France, after a residence of three years in the Vatican (A.D. 1367–1370); and the memorable change which he had attempted was finally accomplished by Gregory XI. (A.D. 1377). This pontiff did not survive above 14 months his return to Rome; and his decease was followed by the great schism of the West, which distracted the Latin church above 40 years. The sacred college was then composed of 22 cardinals: six of these had remained at Avignon; eleven Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and four Italians, entered the conclave in the usual form. They were intimidated by the shouts and threats of the Romans: "Death, or an Italian pope!" was the universal cry; and had they chosen a Transalpine subject, it is probable that they would never have departed alive from the Vatican. Their choice was not yet limited to the purple; and their unanimous votes acquiesced in the archbishop of Bari, a subject of Naples, conspicuous for his zeal and learning, who ascended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Urban VI. During several weeks the cardinals attended their new master with the fairest professions of attachment and loyalty, till the summer heats permitted a decent escape from the city. But as soon as they were united at Anagni and Fundi, in a place of security, they cast aside the mask, maintained that their first choice was an involuntary and illegal act, excommunicated the apostate and antichrist of Rome, and proceeded to a new election of Robert of Geneva, Clement VII., whom they announced to the nations as the true and rightful vicar of Christ. In the hope of repassing the Alps, they rashly violated the peace and unity of the church; and the merits of their double choice are yet agitated in the Catholic schools. From the banks of the Tiber and the Rhône the hostile pontiffs encountered each other with the pen and the sword: the civil and ecclesiastical order of society was disturbed; and the Romans had their full share of the mischiefs of which they may be arraigned as the primary authors. The Colonna and Ursini still exercised their deadly feuds: the bannerets of Rome asserted and abused the privileges of a republic; and the vicars of Christ, who had levied a military force, chastised their rebellion with the gibbet, the sword, and the dagger. An aspiring neighbour, Ladislaus, king of Naples, alternately supported and betrayed the pope and the people; besieging Rome by land and water, he thrice entered the gates as a barbarian conqueror; and it was only his premature death that could save the metropolis and the ecclesiastical state from the ambitious conqueror, who had assumed the title, or at least the powers, of King of Rome.

§ 18. The patience of the Christian world was at length ex-

hausted by the adverse claims of the rival pontiffs. With equal justice, the council of Pisa deposed the popes of Rome and Avignon (A.D. 1409); the conclave was unanimous in the choice of Alexander V., and his vacant seat was soon filled by a similar election of John XXIII., the most profligate of mankind. But instead of extinguishing the schism, the rashness of the French and Italians had given a third pretender to the chair of St. Peter. Such new claims of the synod and conclave were disputed; three kings, of Germany, Hungary, and Naples, adhered to the cause of Gregory XII.: and Benedict XIII., himself a Spaniard, was acknowledged by the devotion and patriotism of that powerful nation. The rash proceedings of Pisa were corrected by the council of Constance (A.D. 1414-1418); the emperor Sigismond acted a conspicuous part as the advocate or protector of the Catholic church; and the number and weight of civil and ecclesiastical members might seem to constitute the states-general of Europe. The three popes were compelled to resign, or were deposed; the hereditary, as well as personal, merit of Otho Colonna recommended him to the conclave; and the elevation of Martin V. is the æra of the restoration and establishment of the popes in the Vatican (A.D. 1417).

§ 19. The royal prerogative of coining money, which had been exercised near 300 years by the senate, was *first* resumed by Martin V., and his image and superscription introduces the series of the papal medals. After the return of the popes from Avignon, the keys of St. Peter were guarded by the sword of St. Paul. Rome was commanded by an impregnable citadel: the use of cannon is a powerful engine against popular seditions: a regular force of cavalry and infantry was enlisted under the banners of the pope: his ample revenues supplied the resources of war; and, from the extent of his domain, he could bring down on a rebellious city an army of hostile neighbours and loyal subjects. The long habits of obedience and education subdued the turbulent spirit of the nobles and commons of Rome. The barons forgot the arms and factions of their ancestors, and insensibly became the servants of luxury and government. The Colonna and Ursini vied with each other in the decoration of their palaces and chapels; and their antique splendour was rivalled or surpassed by the sudden opulence of the papal families. In Rome the voice of freedom and discord is no longer heard; and, instead of the foaming torrent, a smooth and stagnant lake reflects the image of idleness and servitude.



Ruins of the Coliseum.

CHAPTER XL.

THE RUINS OF ROME IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. CAUSES OF DECAY AND DESTRUCTION.

§ 1. Description of the ruins of Rome by Poggius. § 2. Gradual decay of Rome: four causes of destruction. § 3. I. The injuries of nature. § 4. II. The hostile attacks of the barbarians and Christians. § 5. III. The use and abuse of the materials. § 6. IV. The domestic quarrels of the Romans. § 7. The Coliseum or amphitheatre of Titus. § 8. Restoration and ornaments of the city.

§ 1. The ruins of Rome in the fifteenth century are minutely described by the learned Poggius, a servant of Pope Martin V., and one of the first who raised his eyes from the monuments of legendary to those of classic superstition. 1. Besides a bridge, an arch, a sepulchre, and the pyramid of Cestius, he could discern, of the age of the republic, a double row of vaults in the salt-office of the Capitol, which were inscribed with the name and munificence of Catulus. 2. Eleven temples were visible in some degree, from the perfect form of the Pantheon to the three arches and a marble column of the temple of Peace, which Vespasian erected after the civil wars and the Jewish triumph. 3. Of the number, which he rashly defines, of seven *thermæ*, or public baths, none were sufficiently entire to represent the use and distribution of the several

parts. 4. The triumphal arches of Titus, Severus, and Constantine, were entire, both the structure and the inscriptions: a falling fragment was honoured with the name of Trajan; and two arches, then extant, in the Flaminian way, have been ascribed to the baser memory of Faustina and Gallienus. 5. After the wonder of the Coliseum, Poggius might have overlooked a small amphitheatre of brick, most probably for the use of the prætorian camp: the theatres of Marcellus and Pompey were occupied in a great measure by public and private buildings; and in the Circus, Agonalis and Maximus, little more than the situation and the form could be investigated. 6. The columns of Trajan and Antonine were still erect; but the Egyptian obelisks were broken or buried. A people of gods and heroes, the workmanship of art, was reduced to one equestrian figure of gilt brass and to five marble statues, of which the most conspicuous were the two horses of Phidias and Praxiteles. 7. The two mausoleums or sepulchres of Augustus and Hadrian could not totally be lost; but the former was only visible as a mound of earth, and the latter, the castle of St. Angelo, had acquired the name and appearance of a modern fortress. With the addition of some separate and nameless columns, such were the remains of the ancient city; for the marks of a more recent structure might be detected in the walls, which formed a circumference of 10 miles, included 379 turrets, and opened into the country by 13 gates.

§ 2. This melancholy picture was drawn above 900 years after the fall of the Western empire, and even of the Gothic kingdom of Italy. A long period of distress and anarchy, in which empire, and arts, and riches had migrated from the banks of the Tiber, was incapable of restoring or adorning the city; and, as all that is human must retrograde if it do not advance, every successive age must have hastened the ruin of the works of antiquity. After a diligent inquiry I can discern four principal causes of the ruin of Rome, which continued to operate in a period of more than a thousand years. I. The injuries of time and nature. II. The hostile attacks of the barbarians and Christians. III. The use and abuse of the materials. IV. The domestic quarrels of the Romans.

§ 3. I. The silent lapse of time is often accelerated by hurricanes and earthquakes, by fires and inundations. The air and earth have doubtless been shaken; and the lofty turrets of Rome have tottered from their foundations; but the seven hills do not appear to be placed on the great cavities of the globe; nor has the city, in any age, been exposed to the convulsions of nature, which, in the climate of Antioch, Lisbon, or Lima, have crumbled in a few moments the works of ages into dust. Fire is the most powerful agent of life and death: but two causes may be alleged which render the calamity of fire more destructive to a

flourishing than a decayed city. 1. The more combustible materials of brick, timber, and metals, are first melted or consumed; but the flames may play without injury or effect on the naked walls and massy arches that have been despoiled of their ornaments. 2. It is among the common and plebeian habitations that a mischievous spark is most easily blown to a conflagration; but as soon as they are devoured, the greater edifices which have resisted or escaped are left as so many islands in a state of solitude and safety. From her situation, Rome is exposed to the danger of frequent inundations. Both during the republic and under the empire, the Tiber frequently overturned the buildings on its banks; and if such were the ravages of the lawless river under a firm and active government, what could oppose, or who can enumerate, the injuries of the city after the fall of the Western empire? A remedy was at length produced by the evil itself: the accumulation of rubbish and the earth that has been washed down from the hills is supposed to have elevated the plain of Rome 14 or 15 feet, perhaps, above the ancient level; and the modern city is less accessible to the attacks of the river.

§ 4. II. The crowd of writers of every nation, who impute the destruction of the Roman monuments to the Goths and the Christians, have neglected to inquire how far they were animated by an hostile principle, and how far they possessed the means and the leisure to satiate their enmity. The shepherds of Scythia and Germany had been educated in the armies of the empire, whose discipline they acquired, and whose weakness they invaded: with the familiar use of the Latin tongue they had learned to reverence the name and titles of Rome, and, though incapable of emulating, they were more inclined to admire than to abolish the arts and studies of a brighter period. In the transient possession of a rich and unresisting capital, the soldiers of Alaric and Genseric were stimulated by the passions of a victorious army; amidst the wanton indulgence of lust or cruelty, portable wealth was the object of their search; nor could they derive either pride or pleasure from the unprofitable reflection that they had battered to the ground the works of the consuls and Cæsars. Their moments were indeed precious: the Goths evacuated Rome on the sixth, the Vandals on the fifteenth day; and though it be far more difficult to build than to destroy, their hasty assault would have made a slight impression on the solid piles of antiquity. We may remember that both Alaric and Genseric affected to spare the buildings of the city; that they subsisted in strength and beauty under the auspicious government of Theodoric; and that the momentary resentment of Totila was disarmed by his own temper and the advice of his friends and enemies. From these innocent barbarians the reproach may be transferred to the Catholics of Rome. Yet their abhorrence was confined to the

monuments of heathen superstition; and the civil structures that were dedicated to the business or pleasure of society might be preserved without injury or scandal. The change of religion was accomplished, not by a popular tumult, but by the decrees of the emperors, of the senate, and of time. Of the Christian hierarchy, the bishops of Rome were commonly the most prudent and least fanatic; nor can any positive charge be opposed to the meritorious act of saving and converting the majestic structure of the Pantheon.

§ 5. III. The barbarian conquerors stripped the monuments of Rome of their gold and silver; the less active or less fortunate robbers were reduced to the baser plunder of brass, lead, iron, and copper: whatever had escaped the Goths and Vandals was pillaged by the Greek tyrants; and the emperor Constans, in his rapacious visit, stripped the bronze tiles from the roof of the Pantheon. Charlemagne decorated the new palace of Aix la Chapelle with the marbles of Ravenna and Rome, and Robert, king of Sicily, was supplied with the same materials by the easy navigation of the Tiber and the sea. But these examples of plunder or purchase were rare in the darker ages; and the Romans, alone and unenvied, might have applied to their private or public use the remaining structures of antiquity, if in their present form and situation they had not been useless in a great measure to the city and its inhabitants. The walls still described the old circumference, but the city had descended from the seven hills into the Campus Martius; and some of the noblest monuments which had braved the injuries of time were left in a desert far remote from the habitations of mankind. Still the plentiful materials were applied to every call of necessity or superstition; and in the gradual destruction of the monuments of Rome, Sixtus V. may alone be excused for employing the stones of the Septizonium in the glorious edifice of St. Peter's. A fragment, a ruin, howsoever mangled or profaned, may be viewed with pleasure and regret; but the greater part of the marble was deprived of substance, as well as of place and proportion; it was burnt to lime for the purpose of cement. Since the arrival of Poggius the temple of Concord and many capital structures had vanished from his eyes; and the smallness of their numbers was the sole check on the demands and depredations of the Romans.

§ 6. IV. The most potent and forcible cause of destruction was the domestic hostilities of the Romans themselves. In a dark period of 500 years Rome was perpetually afflicted by the sanguinary quarrels of the nobles and the people, the Guelphs and Ghibelines, the Colonna and Ursini; and the nobles usurped the prerogative of fortifying their houses, and erecting strong towers that were capable of resisting a sudden attack. The first step of the senator Brancaleone in the establishment of peace and justice was to demolish (as

we have already seen) 140 of the towers of Rome; and, in the last days of anarchy and discord, as late as the reign of Martin V., 44 still stood in one of the thirteen or fourteen regions of the city. To this mischievous purpose the remains of antiquity were most readily adapted: the temples and arches afforded a broad and solid basis for the new structures of brick and stone; and we can name the modern turrets that were raised on the triumphal monuments of Julius Cæsar, Titus, and the Antonines. With some slight alterations, a theatre, an amphitheatre, a mausoleum, was transformed into a strong and spacious citadel. I need not repeat that the mole of Hadrian has assumed the title and form of the castle of St. Angelo; the Septizonium of Severus was capable of standing against a royal army; the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus were occupied by the Savelli and Ursini families; and the rough fortress has been gradually softened to the splendour and elegance of an Italian palace. Whatever is fortified will be attacked; and whatever is attacked may be destroyed. Every building of defence was exposed to a siege; and in every siege the arts and engines of destruction were laboriously employed. In comparing the *days* of foreign with the *ages* of domestic hostility, we must pronounce that the latter have been far more ruinous to the city. The influence of the two last principles of decay must in some degree be multiplied by each other; since the houses and towers which were subverted by civil war required a new and perpetual supply from the monuments of antiquity.

§ 7. These general observations may be separately applied to the amphitheatre of Titus, which has obtained the name of the Coliseum, either from its magnitude, or from Nero's colossal statue: an edifice, had it been left to time and nature, which might perhaps have claimed an eternal duration. Whatever was precious, or portable, or profane, the statues of gods and heroes, and the costly ornaments of sculpture, which were cast in brass, or overspread with leaves of silver and gold, became the first prey of conquest or fanaticism, of the avarice of the barbarians or the Christians. In the massy stones of the Coliseum many holes are discerned; and the two most probable conjectures represent the various accidents of its decay. These stones were connected by solid links of brass or iron, nor had the eye of rapine overlooked the value of the baser metals; the vacant space was converted into a fair or market; the artisans of the Coliseum are mentioned in an ancient survey; and the chasms were perforated or enlarged to receive the poles that supported the shops or tents of the mechanic trades. Reduced to its naked majesty, the Flavian amphitheatre was contemplated with awe and admiration by the pilgrims of the North; and their rude enthusiasm broke forth in a sublime proverbial ex-

pression, which is recorded in the eighth century, in the fragments of the venerable Bede: "As long as the Coliseum stands, Rome shall stand; when the Coliseum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome falls, the world will fall." In the modern system of war, a situation commanded by three hills would not be chosen for a fortress; but the strength of the walls and arches could resist the engines of assault; a numerous garrison might be lodged in the enclosure; and while one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was intrenched in the Lateran and the Coliseum.

In the 14th century a scandalous act of concord secured to both factions the privilege of extracting stones from the free and common quarry of the Coliseum; and Poggius laments that the greater part of these stones had been burnt to lime by the folly of the Romans. To check this abuse, and to prevent the nocturnal crimes that might be perpetrated in the vast and gloomy recesses, Eugenius IV. surrounded it with a wall; and, by a charter, long extant, granted both the ground and edifice to the monks of an adjacent convent. After his death the wall was overthrown in a tumult of the people; and had they themselves respected the noblest monument of their fathers, they might have justified the resolve that it should never be degraded to private property. The inside was damaged: but in the middle of the 16th century, an æra of taste and learning, the exterior circumference of 1612 feet was still entire and inviolate; a triple elevation of fourscore arches, which rose to the height of 108 feet. Of the present ruin the nephews of Paul III. are the guilty agents; and every traveller who views the Farnese palace may curse the sacrilege and luxury of these upstart princes. A similar reproach is applied to the Barberini; and the repetition of injury might be dreaded from every reign, till the Coliseum was placed under the safeguard of religion by the most liberal of the pontiffs, Benedict XIV., who consecrated a spot which persecution and fable had stained with the blood of so many martyrs.

§ 8. The peaceful authority of Martin V. and his successors restored the ornaments of the city as well as the order of the ecclesiastical state. The beauty and splendour of the modern city may be ascribed to the abuses of the government, to the influence of superstition. Each reign (the exceptions are rare) has been marked by the rapid elevation of a new family, enriched by the childless pontiff at the expense of the church and country. The palaces of these fortunate nephews are the most costly monuments of elegance and servitude: the perfect arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture, have been prostituted in their service; and their galleries and gardens are decorated with the most precious works of antiquity, which taste or vanity has prompted them to collect. The ecclesiastical revenues were more decently employed by the popes them-

selves in the pomp of the Catholic worship: but it is superfluous to enumerate their pious foundations of altars, chapels, and churches, since these lesser stars are eclipsed by the sun of the Vatican, by the dome of St. Peter, the most glorious structure that ever has been applied to the use of religion. The fame of Julius II., Leo X., and Sixtus V., is accompanied by the superior merit of Bramante and Fontana, of Raphael and Michael Angelo; and the same munificence which had been displayed in palaces and temples was directed with equal zeal to revive and emulate the labours of antiquity. Prostrate obelisks were raised from the ground, and erected in the most conspicuous places; of the eleven aqueducts of the Cæsars and consuls, three were restored; the artificial rivers were conducted over a long series of old or new arches, to discharge into marble basins a flood of salubrious and refreshing waters: and the spectator, impatient to ascend the steps of St. Peter's, is detained by a column of Egyptian granite, which rises between two lofty and perpetual fountains to the height of 120 feet. The map, the description, the monuments of ancient Rome, have been elucidated by the diligence of the antiquarian and the student; and the footsteps of heroes, the relics, not of superstition, but of empire, are devoutly visited by a new race of pilgrims from the remote and once savage countries of the North.

Tomb of Metella Cæcilia.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

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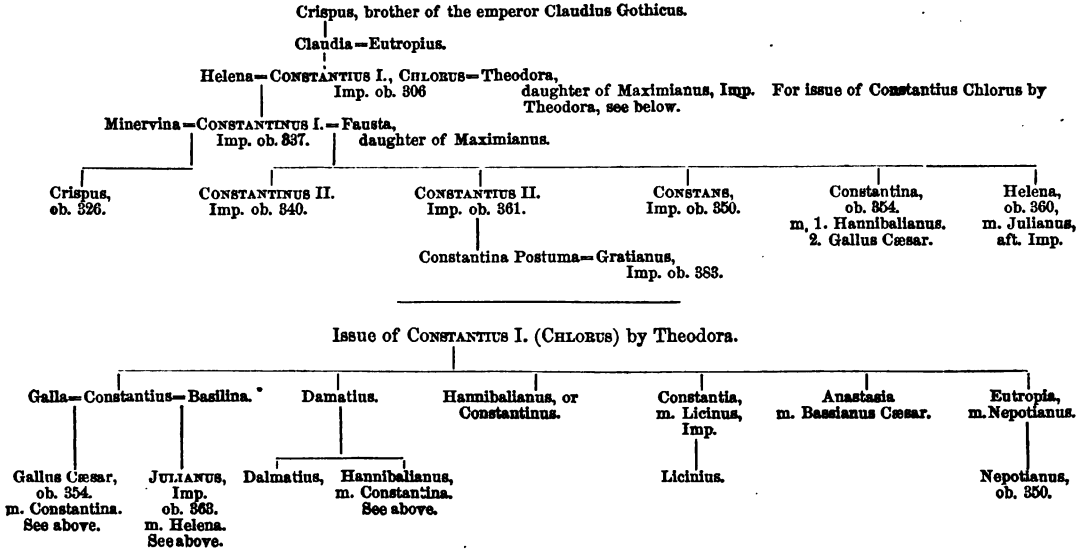
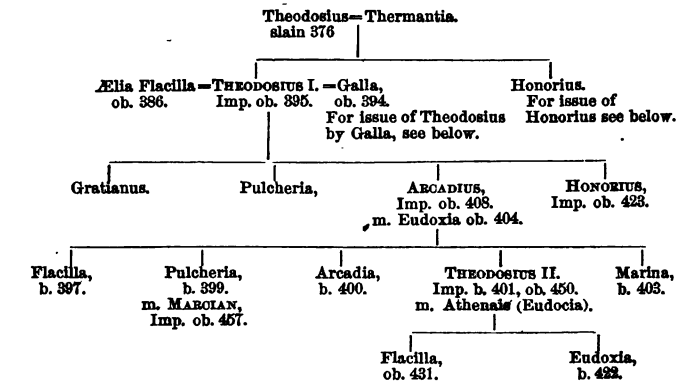
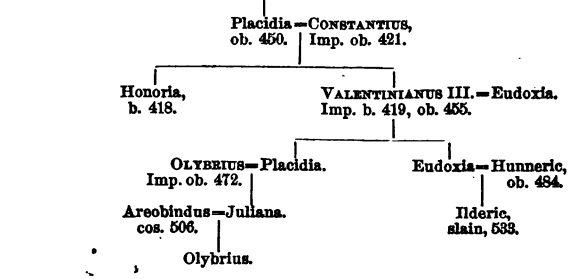
I.—Family of Constantine.



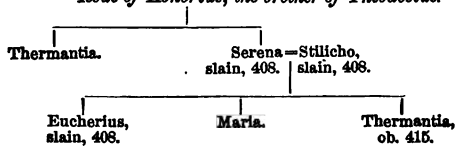
II.—Family of Theodosius.



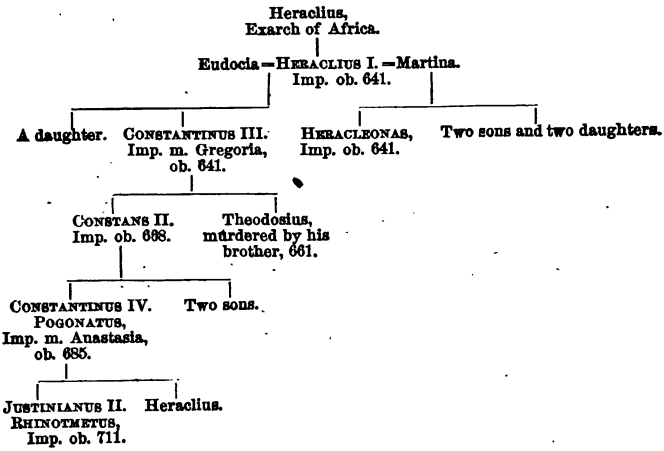
Issue of Theodosius I. *by Galla.*



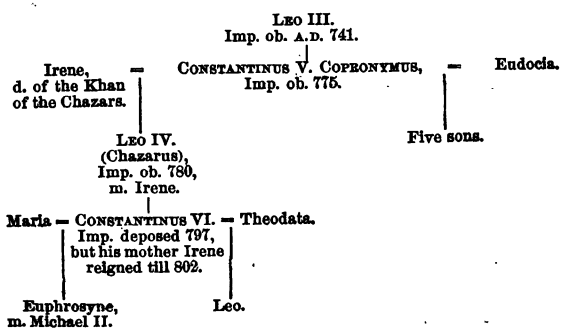
Issue of Honorius, the brother of Theodosius.



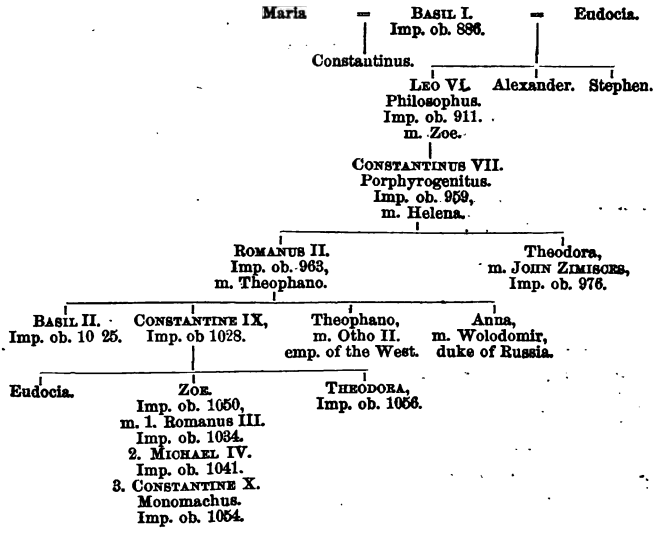
III.—Family of Heraclius.



IV.—The Isaurian Dynasty.



V.—The Basilian Dynasty.



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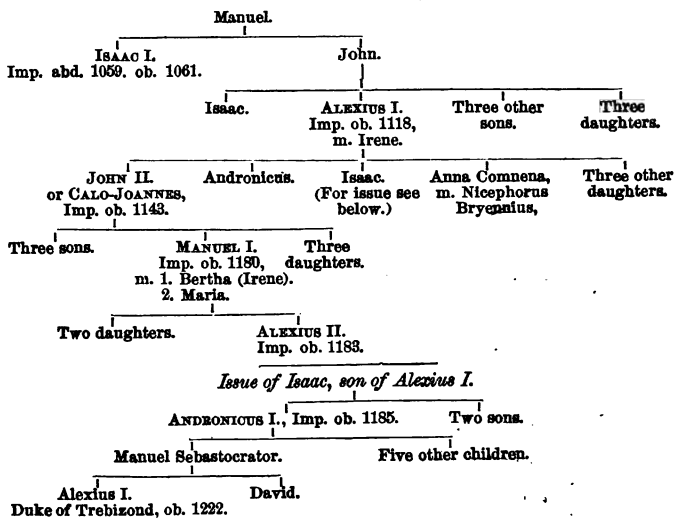

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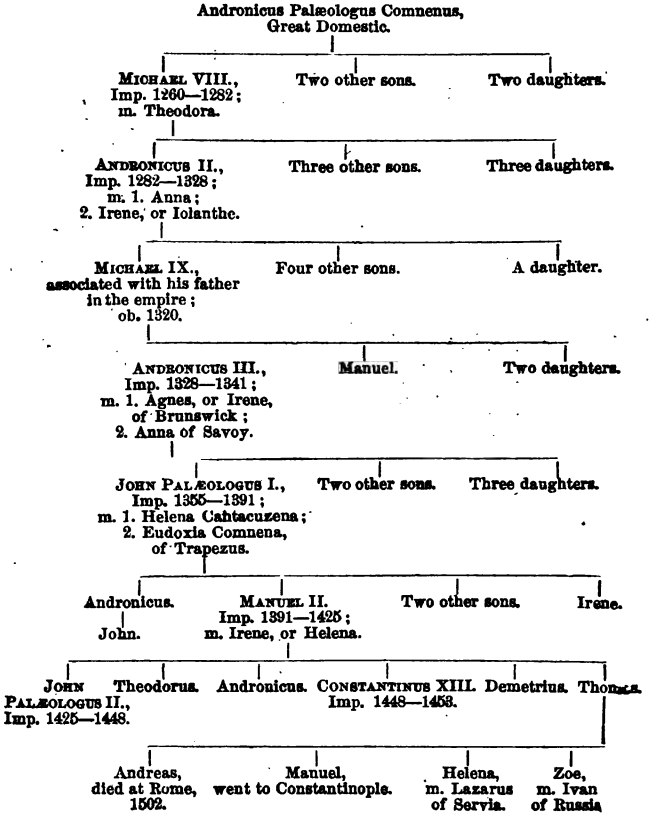

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